

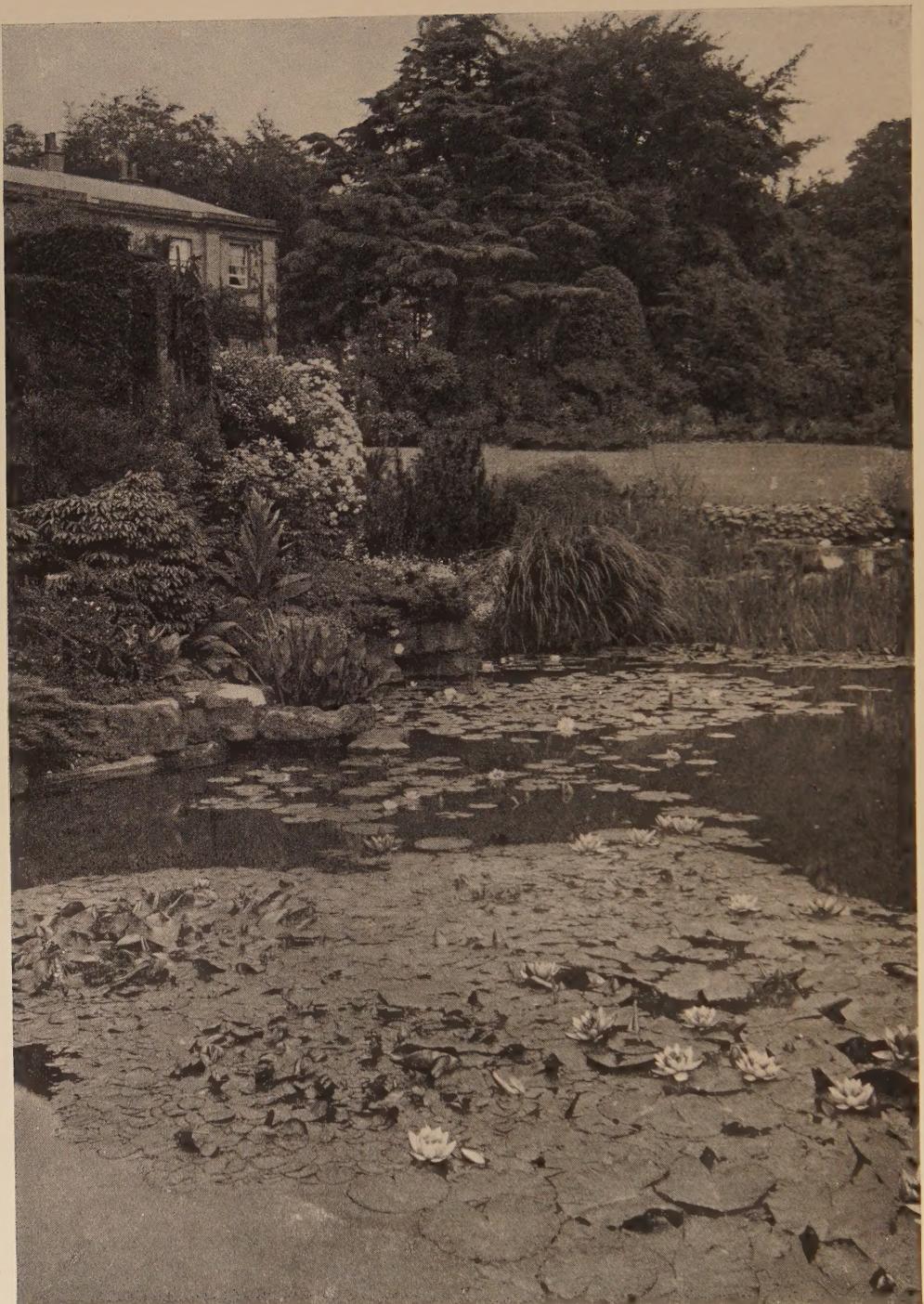


THIS BOOK
IS A GIFT TO
WHEATON COLLEGE

NORTON
MASSACHUSETTS

FROM
Carnegie corporation
to the art department

A HISTORY OF
GARDEN ART
FROM THE EARLIEST
TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY
IN TWO VOLUMES



WATER-LILIES IN BLOOM

MARIE LUISE GOTHEIN

A

HISTORY OF GARDEN ART

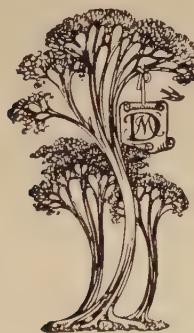
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With over Six Hundred Illustrations



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CHAPTER XI

GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS IN THE TIME OF THE RENAISSANCE

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WHEREVER the German language is spoken the history of garden art has been varied and irregular, but interesting. There was a miscellaneous collection of workers in this field, just as there was in all the other departments of study and culture that flourished at the time of the Renaissance. Side by side were princes, burghers and learned scholars. In many ways the division of labour and interests was a check on the development of large standard types. Hitherto we have found this development working outward from individual important centres. In Italy one great town handed over the leadership, so to speak, to another; in France, England and Spain everything was concentrated at one royal court and in the nobility that was so closely connected therewith; but in Germany a peaceful uniform progress was out of the question. True, the stream of Italian art breaks through with much force at the end of the fifteenth century, but it is at once dissipated in a multitude of different channels whose fructifying work disappears only too often from our sight. Therefore we get the surprise of some work of art suddenly appearing, apparently in no connection with anything else that is going on; and we cannot feel (as we so strongly felt in France, and even in England) that foreign influence is simply food for what is indigenous to the soil; because these separate creations for the most part seem to fade away, leaving no real successors.

Almost at the same time that Charles VIII. took his adventurous journey through Italy to Naples, a German prince, Duke Eberhard von Würtemberg, made his way across the Alps. He travelled modestly, like a tourist, with only a small retinue, among whom was the learned Reuchlin. Lorenzo de' Medici received him as his guest in Florence, and showed him his garden, among his other treasures, with great pride. The duke, like his learned friend, admired everything immensely, but his own estate was too small to allow of his making anything similar at home. His journey must be counted among those numerous travels for purposes of study that were taken by learned men of his day. The result was not so much that they gave a strong impetus to effective art at home as that they imbibed at the great universities that interest in botany which was now flourishing in Italy, and caused it to spread rapidly in Germany from the first years of the sixteenth century. An accurate knowledge of medicinal virtues was in great demand, and almost all the plants then known were used in medicine. From this point of view most foreign plants were introduced, even in the first half of the sixteenth century, and the earliest botanists were physicians: they were the men who made botanic gardens in their own country when they came back from their travels in Italy. For the most part they were burghers of wealthy flourishing towns, and they had the means for indulging their tastes. These learned students maintained intercourse eagerly with one another. Their gardens

were worth seeing and attracted visitors from abroad. There is no doubt that in the first intention they were laid out for botanical purposes; but as soon as educated persons had returned from Italy, where they generally spent years, and had assimilated the art and skill they desired, it was natural that, in those early days when utility and ornament had gone hand in hand, the chief honour should be given to utility.

All the important scientific workers at botany in Germany were the owners of large gardens. As early as 1525 Henricus Cordus started a garden in Erfurt after he had taken a doctor's degree at Ferrara, and therewith added a new title of honour to the town: at that time it was already called the Garden of the Holy Roman Empire because of the extensive gardens there. When, five years later, Cordus left for Marburg as professor, one of his first acts was to lay out a garden. His son Valerius, like himself a learned botanist, was a close friend of Conrad Gesner, the well-known physician and man of varied learning at Zurich, who devoted his entire life to science, and died in 1565 at the age of forty-nine of the plague, which he was attempting to combat a second time in his native city. Gesner was the centre of all botanical study in Germany and far beyond. At Zurich he owned a lovely garden, he travelled a great deal, and in his writings he has left behind the names of the well-known gardens of his time, with information about them. These gardens, belonging at first to private scholars, soon became attached as academic properties to the universities. After the Italian botanic gardens founded at Padua, Bologna, and Pisa about the middle of the century had shown how helpful they were for medicine, for plant production, and for the acclimatisation of foreign herbs, Germany and the Netherlands were the first to follow the lead. In 1577 there was founded a botanic garden at Leyden, in 1580 another at Leipzig, and in 1597 another at Heidelberg, to mention the most famous; but soon there were smaller ones in nearly all the universities.

The interest in botany in German countries was now so much in the foreground that it gave a certain scientific character even to the private gardens of important and educated owners. Erasmus, in his *Convivium Religiosum*, makes the guests walk before their meal into a well-kept garden, a square with a wall round it. "The place is dedicated to the honourable pleasures of rejoicing the eye, refreshing the nose, and renewing the spirit." Only sweet-scented herbs grow therein; the plants are set out in the most perfect order; every species has its own place, and each one has its own *vexillum* with its name and special virtues. Thus for example speaks the marjoram: "Keep away from me, swine; my scent is not for you," for although this plant has a sweet smell, swine cannot endure its scent. Thus the owner has talking plants, not dumb ones. The individual beds are enclosed with palisades, in one place striped with green, and in another with the complementary red. The whole garden is divided in two by a brook, which flows into a basin of stucco on whose base one sees beasts of all kinds and colours, and plants mirrored in the clear water. Round about the place there are covered halls, two stories high, making a shady border to the house. The lower story, made with stucco columns, is painted all over, and the pictures portray a second garden with animals and flowers.

Special excuses are given to justify these pictures, and here also the scientific interest in foreign fauna and flora preponderates, in contradistinction to the upper halls, which, lighted from windows on the outside, are painted with serious religious pictures. One gets there directly from the gallery which is beside the house in front of the library. At

the end of these corridors there are little summer-houses where one can rest and look out over the kitchen-garden. This comprises the vegetable-garden, which is called "the woman's kingdom"; and the medicinal-garden, which contains the useful herbs for home consumption. On the left is the playground, a meadow with a quickset hedge, and a summer-house in one corner where people can take meals, and which can also be used as an isolation house in case of infectious disease. On the right of the vegetable-garden is the orchard, where more foreign trees are grown; at one end is the apiary, and by the pillared walk of the flower-garden a bird-house is approached by a flying bridge, which perhaps had water under it for the sake of water-fowl.

All the features that characterise the garden of Erasmus are entirely of the northern

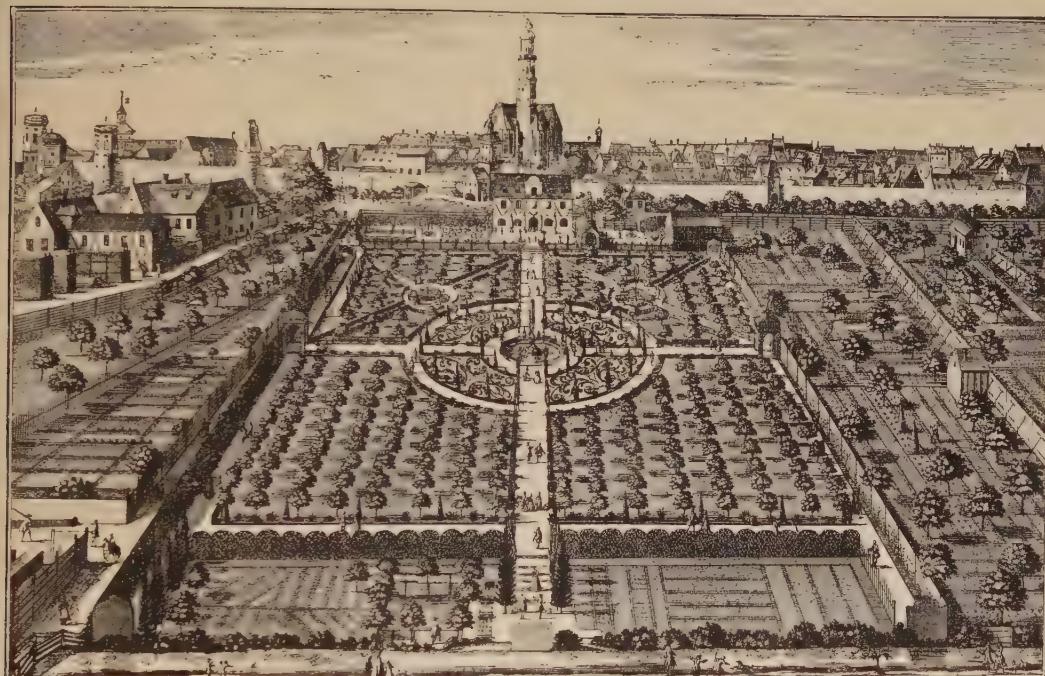


FIG. 356. THE TOWN GARDENS AT AUGSBURG

type—the two-storied corridor in the flower-garden which is laid out with a botanical intention, the bright stream enclosed in a basin, the special meadow playground with hedges round it—all showing the style of the North, one might say the style of the townsman's garden, belonging to the well-to-do scholar; and it is quite likely that Erasmus had in his mind some particular garden of a gentleman's family at Basle.

Germany succeeded earlier than any country of the North in winning a place for the town garden. As a fact, the flourishing towns of Upper Germany, and Augsburg ahead of all, felt the influence of the new art sooner than princes at their homes, because of the trade carried on with Italy. The gardens of the Fugger family play a great part in the history of the town, and when Charles V. visited them in 1539 he was astonished at their splendour. A year later Beatus Rhenanus writes enthusiastically about them, and sets them above the French gardens at Blois. Towards the end of the century these gardens have become so extensive that townspeople complain in 1584 that they are

encroaching on their living space. When Montaigne sees them on his journey to Italy, he has much to say about their water-tricks and devices. Drawings of a somewhat later date (Fig. 356) show a great number of notable gardens at Augsburg, founded in the sixteenth century, as many inside the town as outside the walls. There is as a rule an oblong strip, with leafy paths all round, and beautiful flower-beds. But the botanical interest always reigned supreme. In the year 1560 the famous botanist Clusius went on a travelling expedition with the heir of Count Anton Fugger to collect new plants for his gardens, because everyone showed the utmost eagerness to be the first in introducing a new plant into his own garden. It was a wonderful claim to honour and glory when Councillor Johann Heinrich Herward of Augsburg flowered the first tulip in 1559, its bulbs having been sent to Augsburg by the hand of Busbecq the imperial messenger. Thither went Conrad Gesner, and had a woodcut made for his book *De Hortis Germaniæ*. These flowers were destined to develop to such effect as to influence greatly the history of Dutch trade.

Other towns were not much behind Augsburg, for travelling scholars carried the fashion to all parts. As early as 1489 a garden belonging to the Canon Mariensüss on the cathedral island at Breslau was talked about; and this one, as well as the garden of the physician Woysel (which was flourishing between the years 1540 and 1560), belongs naturally to the class of private botanical gardens, though the descriptions of Erasmus have taught us that such places were not wanting in style and artistic skill. In the last third of that century there was another doctor at Breslau, Laurentius Scholz, and a picture of his garden reminds us strongly of what Erasmus says. Scholz had studied in Padua, leaving there in 1579. Six years later he returned to his native town, and as his means increased so also did his delight in the garden: he felt that the care of it was a patriotic duty, and its reputation soon spread outside Breslau. Like the garden of Erasmus, that of Scholz was a formal square, and was divided into four sections by crossing paths. A Latin inscription was chiselled on the chief gate: "To the praise and honour of Almighty God, to the glory of my native town, for the use of friends and students of botany, also for my own delight, I have established this garden, long neglected heretofore, at my own expense, and have furnished it with indigenous and foreign plants."

The first section, reached from the main gate, was the flower-garden, which was laid out in beds, perhaps enclosed with a palisade, and planted with flowers which were used for wreaths and nosegays. Doctor Scholz took great pains that we should know what the plants were; not only was he a useful medical writer who was always pleased to go beyond his own garden, but after the fashion of his day he had his plants faithfully drawn by a nature artist of Breslau. The chief constituents of his garden were still the old native plants: in spring, snowdrops, violets, crocuses, primulas, auriculas, and crown imperials; in summer, columbines, snapdragons, cornflowers, poppies, and lilies, but during the last thirty years tulips had come from the East, and were shown with great pride in this garden. To the doctor and botanist, however, the second section, the real medicinal-garden, was more important. Here there were 385 kinds, and among them many foreign plants, which the doctor had procured through his connection with Spain, Italy, and Austria. They were planted in beds, and here also for each kind there was a separate bed. By the side of the medicinal herbs (just as we know them by the *Capitulare* and the cloister plan of St. Gall) there are found the aromatic plants of Italian gardens, such as basil, marjoram, balm, hyssop, rosemary, and dittany. But certain novelties also flowered here,

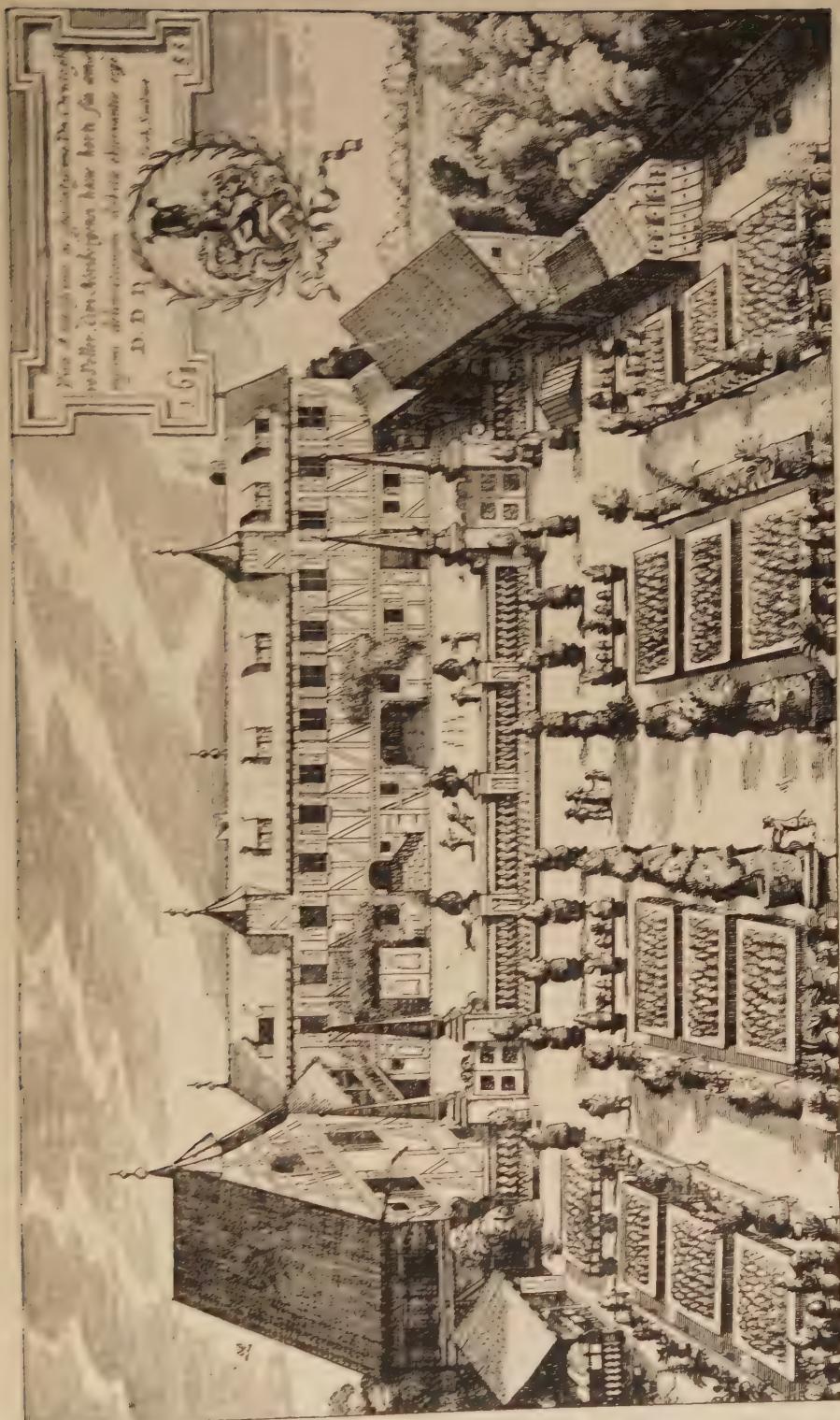


FIG. 357. THE GARDEN OF CHRISTOPHER FELLER, NUREMBERG

which Portuguese seafarers had brought from India, such as canna and balsam, and best of all the hitherto unknown potato.

Next to the flower-garden was the tree-plantation, and then the orchard; and there grew flowering shrubs, such as laburnum, snowball, and Turkish elder. In the shade of covered walks there were many kinds of amusements. In the last section was the labyrinth, its winding ways overgrown with espaliers and all kinds of climbing plants, and farther on the rose-garden with its nine sorts of roses brought from the East, and various vineyards. The middle of the sections is adorned with fountains, and one is overshadowed by a tree of life, the largest, finest, and also the oldest that Silesia can boast of. The Arbor Vitæ was brought by Francis I. from Canada to Paris, and thence spread very rapidly over Europe. On the west the garden was bounded by a winter-house for bays, pomegranates, oleanders and myrtles, and its walls were presumably painted with Italian scenes. There were two aviaries, and a decorated ice chamber, and in a grotto among other pieces there was a Polyphemus hurling his rock, who was much admired. In the middle of the garden was a summer-house which was open on four sides, and contained pictures, works of art, and musical instruments. It was reserved for merry parties.

This famous travelled physician, who also owned a room full of "excellent rarities" of art, held festivals inspired by the true antique spirit. His friends, men and women, were assembled here to a cheerful feast, for song, for recitations, or for conversation, and here they crowned themselves and their goblets, just as people had done on the shores of the Mediterranean. And the people of Silesia, always fond of poetry, were grateful to their fellow-townsman for the joys of garden and feast: Scholz collected no fewer than seventy poems praising his work. What a ray of sunshine we have here in a country whose flowers are so soon to be crushed under the iron heel of the Thirty Years' War!

After Breslau, Nuremberg and Frankfort could boast of fine gardens at an early date. Eoban Hesse sang the praises of Nuremberg gardens as early as 1532 in a Latin poem, and Hans Sachs speaks of them in his smooth words. Towards the end of the century the garden of Camerarius, the doctor and botanist, won widespread fame. A picture by Sandrart shows the garden of a gentleman of Nuremberg, the wealthy Christopher Peller, in the state it was in about the middle of the seventeenth century, when it was still almost unaltered. The main fabric stands round a court, which is enclosed with a very fine balustrade ending in two gates flanked with obelisks. In the court people amuse themselves with all manner of ball-games and ninepins. The garden, of which only half appears in the drawing (Fig. 357), is in four rows of beds edged with stone, each bed made in the old way to contain only one kind of plant. Round the beds, which are joined together in groups of three, there are lower stone borders with ornamental pots set on them: these contain plants of many kinds, with orange-trees and other costly foreign plants that have to pass the winter in a hothouse. To right and left one sees into the tree-gardens, which are separated off by pretty wooden palisades.

Finer than this, which is really a simple garden, is one of the same date belonging to Johannes Schwindt (Fig. 358), a burgomaster of Frankfort who loved display. In this case the enclosure is made of green lattice-work with pillars, windows, and gates. In the windows are pots of flowers; the pillars have little obelisks on them, and busts. One walks into a fine parterre with geometrical patterns marked out in box, and little trees at the corners; round the encompassing hedges there are again benches with flower-pots.

The wide middle path leads into the flower-garden behind, introduced by two huge statues, a Hercules and a Hermes, and flanked by two obelisks at the end, where there is another parterre. Round the second and third sections alleys covered with green lattice and foliage follow the line, with entrance gates and windows. At the sides there are fountains and statues, and the eye passes over the scene into other gardens.

A very charming picture is shown of the garden at Ulm made by the architect and private gentleman Joseph Furtenbach at the side of his pretty house (Fig. 359) after his return from Italy. The garden is certainly small, "but so arranged that an ordinary

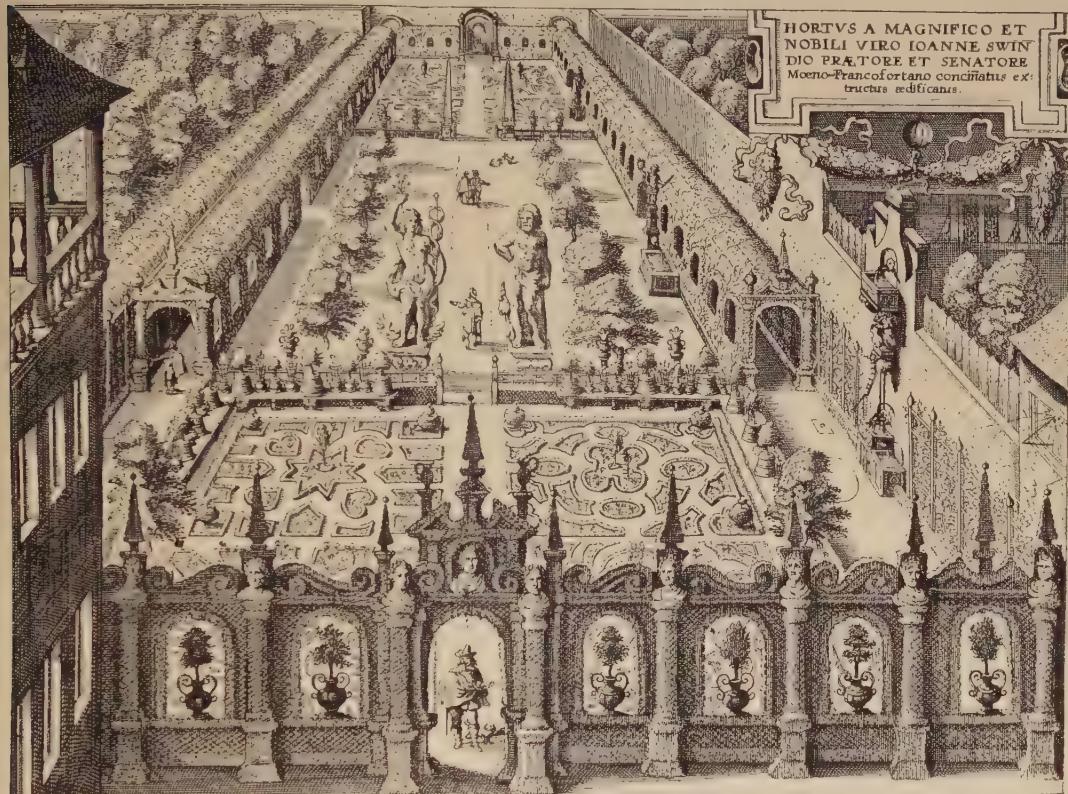


FIG. 358. THE GARDEN OF JOHANNES SCHWINDT, FRANKFORT

private person can get all the pleasures he desires." Because of its situation, which looking to the south enjoys "the blessed sun," it was able to produce an abundance of flowers. The order of the beds as described in 1638 recalls, with their simple walled divisions, the same idea as the garden of Erasmus at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and also is like the garden of Scholz at Breslau. But the flowering bulbs give a greater diversity of colour. The little garden is enclosed by arboured walks on the side of the house, and between these stands the chief pride of the architect educated in Italy—the grotto, a small erection in *rustica* with pretty ingenious devices. Also behind this grotto, quite cutting off the garden from the house, there is a summer-house, thought of as a dining-room, "where the master, if ever he is tired and weary from his daily work, can enjoy his slice of bread with his companions in *bona caritate*, and has a good opportunity of there thanking God for it."

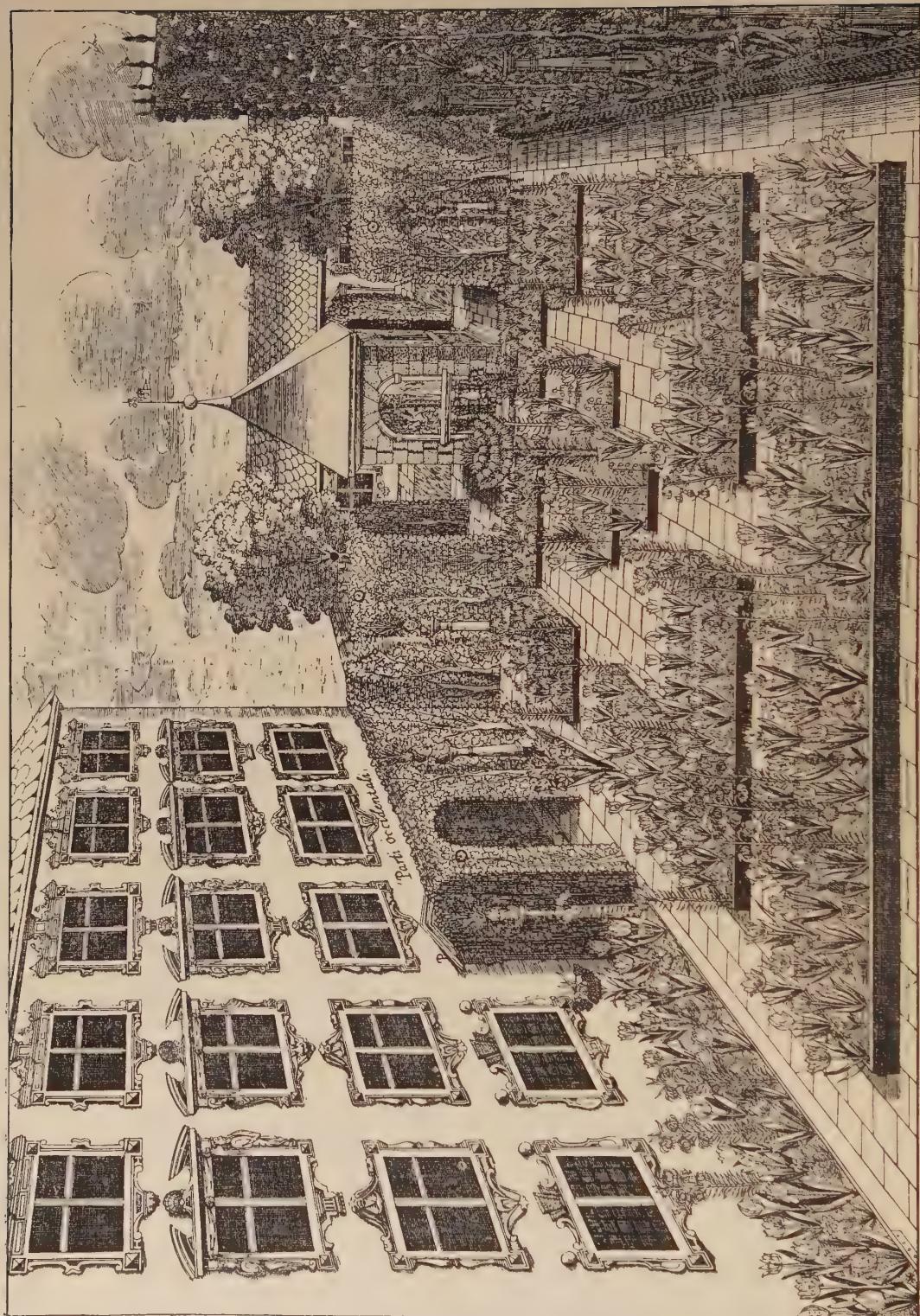


FIG. 359. JOSEPH FURTENBACH'S GARDEN AT ULM

All the gardens that we have observed so far are burgher gardens really, however well they are carried out. But for the gardens of a prince something special was desired at that period. In 1560 Gesner divides up the different kinds, by no means scientifically, but with a view to doing justice to all, in this fashion: "1. Ordinary gardens for the household, with vegetables, vines, orchard and grass for the nourishment of man and beast. 2. Medicinal gardens, containing in addition to these things various healing plants, foreign and native. 3. Miscellaneous gardens, with not only healing herbs but also



FIG. 360. CASTLE GARDEN AND LABYRINTH

peculiar plants that attract attention and admiration. 4. Elegant gardens only meant for ornament, with arbours, pleasure-houses, and places to stroll about in, with fine evergreen trees, and all the various designs that can be made by curving and weaving the branches. Such are the gardens of wealthy ladies and all well-to-do people, especially monks. 5. Show gardens, such as learned men and princes or the state itself may possess, with splendid buildings, ponds, and water-works, artificial mounds, squares for tournaments or tennis." A picture from the Werth collection (Fig. 360) gives an illustration of these requirements for the garden of a prince. Close to the castle is the spacious playground, and behind is the labyrinth with arcades round it and a magnificent fountain, also an animal park with a bath and other features.

Among the princely houses Hapsburg was early addicted to the culture of gardens,

and Maximilian I. himself wrote works on the subject. The relation of Charles V. with Spain we have already studied. He made use of his huge domain, as did his brother Ferdinand, to introduce rare plants into Vienna. At that time this city, the court capital since the eleventh century, was the flourishing centre of culture, before the first invasion of the Turks. In the fifteenth century we find Bonfini praising its marvellous situation, lying like a palace in the midst of suburbs, several of which are comparable with itself for beauty and size, so that the whole of Vienna might be one enormous garden, adorned with vineyards and orchards. In the picture are pleasant cheerful hills, with charming country houses and fish-ponds. But this beauty of the olden time was almost all destroyed in the first cruel year (1529) of the Turkish invasion.

It is not Vienna, however, that gives us the earliest gardens due to a Hapsburg prince, but Tyrol, at the Castle of Ambras near Innsbruck. The Archduke Ferdinand, second son of the Emperor Ferdinand I., gave this castle in 1564 to his wife Philippina Welser. By rebuilding and laying out the garden skilfully he had made an exceedingly beautiful princely seat out of a mediaeval fortress. There lived the fair woman, who had been exalted to the rank of a fully recognised wife by her knightly and (in the truest sense) princely husband. This was in spite of the disfavour of the emperor his father, and in the face of many difficulties. Here she lived a life of romantic love that became almost legendary, in surroundings that were truly worthy of her. In the year 1574, when the castle and its inhabitants were at the very summit of their happiness and glory, they received a visit from the learned Jesuit and jurist Stephanus Pighius, who was conducting the young prince Carl von Jülichberg, nephew of the archduke, on his travels through Tyrol to Italy. He describes how they rode out to the summer dwelling, the *villa suburbana* of the archduke.

The castle was built on the hill, "in magnificence excelling the finest villas of the ancients." In the women's part the visitor first saw hanging gardens and wired aviaries, but it is not clear whether by this is meant real roof-gardens or high terraces, for the gardens proper are at the foot of the hill. Below they saw "paradieses"—probably garden parterres with pillared corridors—labyrinths, grottoes dedicated to various nymphs, and grand fountains; the numerous springs received their supply of water from the natural brooks. Arbours, open and covered, where meals are taken, are decked with the finest topiary, especially one round arbour with a table for guests to sit at in the middle; this table suddenly begins to move, spinning round quicker and quicker till they are quite giddy. In the eyes of the visitors the *chef-d'œuvre* is an underground wine cellar, where they are led through several grottoes into the sanctuary of Bacchus. Round these well-kept gardens lies the park, well supplied with thickets, fish-ponds, cages for animals, and enclosures for game. Near the house are large playgrounds for knightly sport, racecourses, stadiums, and a tennis-house, where the archduke played with his guests.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the elder Merian produced an etching (Fig. 361) which exhibits the garden of the castle, though its size is somewhat cut down, and of the parts on high ground near the women's quarters only one corner can be seen. But at the foot of the hill lies the large square intended for pomps and games, surrounded by buildings among which on the left front the Chamber of Art is especially interesting with its famous collection. Near the Chamber of Art is the granary, and on the other side the library. Above is the part where the master's sons live, with a flower-garden

next to it; on one side this is bordered by an airy walk, and the lower building is very likely the armoury. Perhaps this little garden was one of the "paradeses" seen by the strangers. Close by the castle and in the wall is built the great festival hall, whose windows look out on the ornamental garden below. The second side of this square parterre encloses the covered tennis-court, and there is a low wall protecting the third side, while the fourth appears to be open towards the park, but shut off by a row of tall trees, which follow the line of the house.

The parterre is divided into nine geometrical squares, which are apparently encircled by low fencing. In the centre there is a small round open pavilion on pillars, probably to take meals in, while in the park, which goes all about this side of the castle hill, there



FIG. 361. CASTLE AMBRAS, TYROL

stands, raised high up on the wall, the great round pavilion with the revolving table. A long narrow piece between walls and near the parterre may perhaps be the stadium, and beside it is the cellar with its underground delights. This place corresponds to what Gesner demanded for a princely garden. It makes us think of early French gardens, such as Gaillon or Blois. In the copious supply of playgrounds and their buildings, and in the art collection, we find the personality of this prince, whose knightly nature and love for art were renowned far and wide. At his beautiful seat were held the wonderful Shrove-Tuesday feast, the shows, and the tournaments of the year 1580, when Ferdinand was able to take his delight in splendour and happiness and in his wife's love. But a few weeks later the mistress of the castle died quite suddenly, and Philippina Welser took with her to the grave the finest flowering of the princely home.

Only a short time after Ferdinand had made Ambras the glory of his Tyrolean land, his elder brother Maximilian II. created in the neighbourhood of Vienna a castle of pleasure that not only caused admiration in his contemporaries and surprised wonder in succeeding generations, but has offered many a riddle to ourselves. On the south-east of the town there is still, on a height, a square place surrounded by battlemented walls. These are topped by towers at regular intervals, but in the front, facing the Danube,

where the main building is, the towers are wanting. This gives a warlike appearance, so that to-day it seems only natural that there should be a powder magazine there guarded by a row of sentinels in front of their sentry-boxes. But as a fact within what looks like a girdle of fortresses a "Tusculum" had been erected by one of the most peace-loving of princes. The period of Maximilian's reign brought to the noble-minded ruler many conflicts and sorrows, which saddened his life and left him unsettled; through all his troubles there remained the longing for peace, which he found best in his architectural and gardening interests, as he repeatedly writes to his friend Veit von Dornburg, the Venetian ambassador.

About the year 1569, when we first hear of the emperor's villa, the works at the

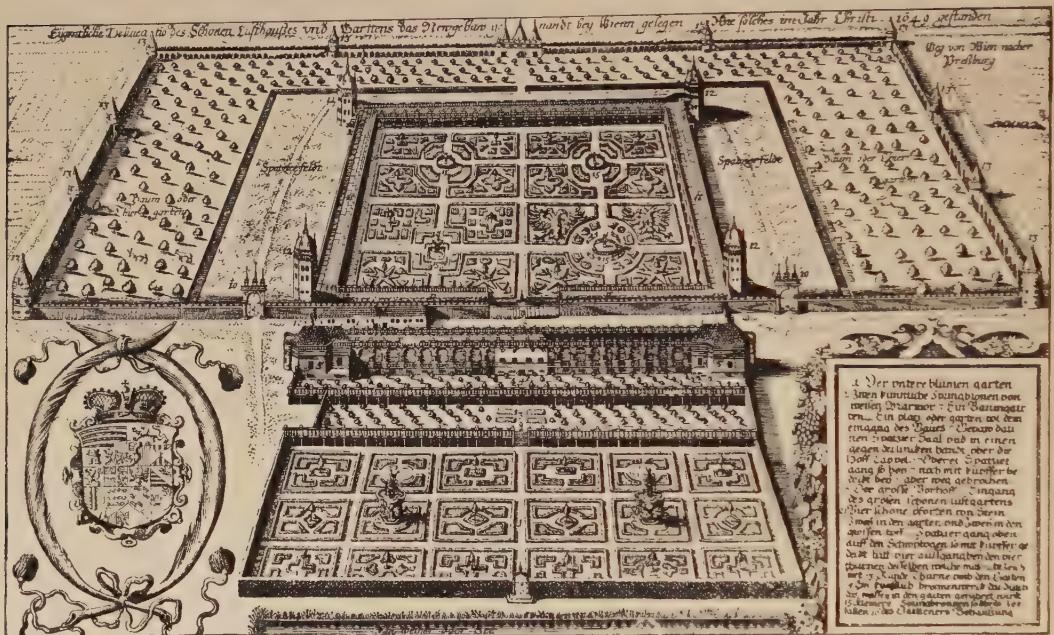


FIG. 362. NEUGEBAUDE, VIENNA—PLAN OF THE GARDENS

"Pheasantry," as it was then called, were in full swing. The name probably came from an earlier pheasantry in the same place, but years later the dull name of "New Building" was used instead, which points to the fact that Maximilian's successor, Rudolph II., completed the main building. What Maximilian had done himself became, two generations later, a very unusual sort of place, which rightly appeared to a good Viennese to have no connection with anything outside; and from the middle of the seventeenth century there was a common legend that could not be got rid of—that the emperor had converted an old camp of Sultan Soliman into a country house. When it was finished the New Building must certainly have presented a far more warlike appearance than it does to-day, for inside the tower-crowned circle of walls there was a second barrier (Fig. 362). There was a square exactly the width of the villa, which was enclosed by a wide wall with arcades: at its four corners it was topped by high two-storied turrets, whose dome-shaped roofs cased in copper commanded a distant view over the outer walls, while on the arcade roof itself there was a fine promenade. This square included the upper flower-garden,

divided into sixteen beds in a geometrical pattern, two of which showed the Austrian arms, the double eagle, and were provided with many fountains. The arcades and the pavilions in the corner turrets were finely painted.

From the upper garden one passed next into a narrow court dividing the garden from the villa. This was enclosed on the valley side by a loggia in the real Italian style. Hence one could see over the lower gardens, which fell away towards the Danube in four terraces, first two narrow ones planted with trees, next a flower-garden in size and situation almost the same as the upper ones, and on the lowest of all a large pond—so at any rate it appears to be in the engravings. Bongarsius, a Swiss visitor, who saw the gardens when they were completed in 1585, speaks of two ponds, but this may not be quite accurate, for he makes no mention of the beautiful fountains adorned with statues which (according to the account of expenses) were set up in the lower gardens. Round the flower-garden of the highest terrace stretched the park within the great battlemented and tower-crowned walls: it was approached through two immense gates on either side. Bongarsius thus describes it: "Round the flower-garden there is a park of fruit-trees planted well, and a fine labyrinth; in the middle of the whole park there is a trench three or four feet wide, marked out by stones, and getting its water from a hill a mile and a half away."

To what class does this place belong as a whole, so separate as it is from any German natural development? The builder of it is unknown, and the court of Hapsburg at that time was quite cosmopolitan. Maximilian himself, great as was his personal inclination towards German Protestantism, employed only foreigners for his works of art, and Italian sculptors and painters were working on the New Buildings. Also for the fortified parts, which Austria at that time constantly had to keep up with a view to the danger threatening from Turkey, the emperor always employed Italian architects. The house at New Building, with its Italian features, leaves no doubt as to the builder's nationality, and so it seems quite possible that one of the architects for fortifications also designed the whole of the garden. We have Italian examples in Vignola's work at Caprarola, and San Michele's charming villa San Vigilio on Lake Garda; and in common with this last we have the swallow-tails on the outside walls; and if San Michele used a fortified tongue of land as a garden-motive, why should not a Venetian architect adopt the tent of an encampment as the ground-plan for a villa?

It remains, however, a strange thing, that the artist should have made anything very anti-Italian in the terrace arrangement of these gardens. The strict axial line has something bald and matter-of-fact in its character that is always avoided in Italian gardens, whether it is by breaking off the set plan, or by introducing important crossways, or by dividing the water-works, or by getting some picturesque grouping of the terraces, more or less as at San Vigilio. On the other hand, to find in Italy an axial order carried out with steps or through an exaggerated emphasis laid on the middle line, we need only think of Villa d'Este. In this place there is nothing of that kind, and however severe the axial line of the gardens in relation to one another, they are each individually treated and separated off in the true northern style. The castellated wall cuts off the upper garden with its arcades from court and house alike. The lower terraces have as a rule no intercommunication, and one would be unable to get into the separate gardens if there were not now a friendly corridor leading as a covered way to the lower ones. The water is only

applied as shell fountains, canals, and ponds—ideas and arrangements that we have long been familiar with in France. The upper garden with its arcades may be more or less likened to Bury, and the corner turrets in both places are turned into pavilions by being painted. The same treatment of arcades is found in nearly all the French gardens, and still more do we feel the resemblance in the wide canals ending in tanks.

The relations between the Hapsburg court and the French were much strained at this period, but later King Henry III. was received at Vienna with great pomp when he was on his journey to take the throne of Poland. Artists of all countries were at that time



FIG. 363. BELVEDERE, HRADSCHIN, PRAGUE

a wandering folk, and at the Viennese court there was always a great deal doing. We do not hear much about actual plantation, but in 1537 Maximilian succeeded in getting the famous botanist Clusius as Inspector of Gardens, and his presence vouches for the cultivation of unusual trees and plants in these gardens. The happy time for the villa was of short duration, for by the end of the century lamentations began about its decay, and in the middle of the seventeenth century buildings and gardens both had lost not only their beauty but also their festive character. Instead of merry guests, wild beasts were entertained there; buildings and gardens became a mere menagerie. At this time was started the fairy-tale about the Turkish camp, and when in 1683 the dreaded Turks really invaded, the legend was so far dressed up that the foreign soldiers were reported to have wept at the sight of the ancient camp of Sultan Soliman. For us, however, this New Building remains as a unique document of German garden art, just because

it stands alone and unconnected. The stream of art presses forward from outside, and is greedily absorbed, but without steadfastness, with no national feeling, which ought properly to accept what is foreign merely as an incentive to its own fruitful development.

Rudolph the Second's increasing estrangement from Vienna, his slackening interest in his possessions there, had brought about the downfall of New Building. More and more did the emperor confine himself to the circle he had himself drawn, till he never went outside his own residential town, Prague. But it was only in his last years that he withdrew, melancholy and hating mankind, from all the outside world. Before that time his interest was centred in art. His Chamber of Art at the Hradschin had a world-wide reputation because of its fabulous treasures. He also felt a wonderful affection for his garden. At the Hradschin he found a particularly fine castle, called the Belvedere (Fig. 363), which was built by a pupil of Sansovino, and was unquestionably the greatest building of the Italian Renaissance on this side of the Alps. From the pillars round the rooms one saw a long garden which had been laid out by an Italian gardener, just like the pleasure place of Ferdinand I. and his son who founded Ambras. Unfortunately, there is no picture or description of it in its early state; we only hear of whimsical festivities, such as the theatre performance at night on the entrance of Ferdinand in 1558, which he saw from the corridor of the Belvedere. It was one of the masques, when the fireworks and automatic arts of this period won astonishing triumphs. But Rudolph soon turned his whole heart to the garden, which was separated from the castle by rather deep trenches where deer were kept. There were wooden bridges leading to the main castle, but the trenches themselves were not filled with water in Rudolph's time, they were changed into a deer-park. It was a wonderful pleasure to watch the wild creatures from the high covered bridges, "especially in the breeding season, when they rushed about over the hill and wall."

The garden itself is almost level, and is orientated with the castle; the main axis is indicated by fountains, one of which, with two shells and ornamental figures, is still preserved before the garden front of the Belvedere (Fig. 364). It bears the name of "the Singing Well," from a bagpiper on the top, who must have blown the water out of his pipe

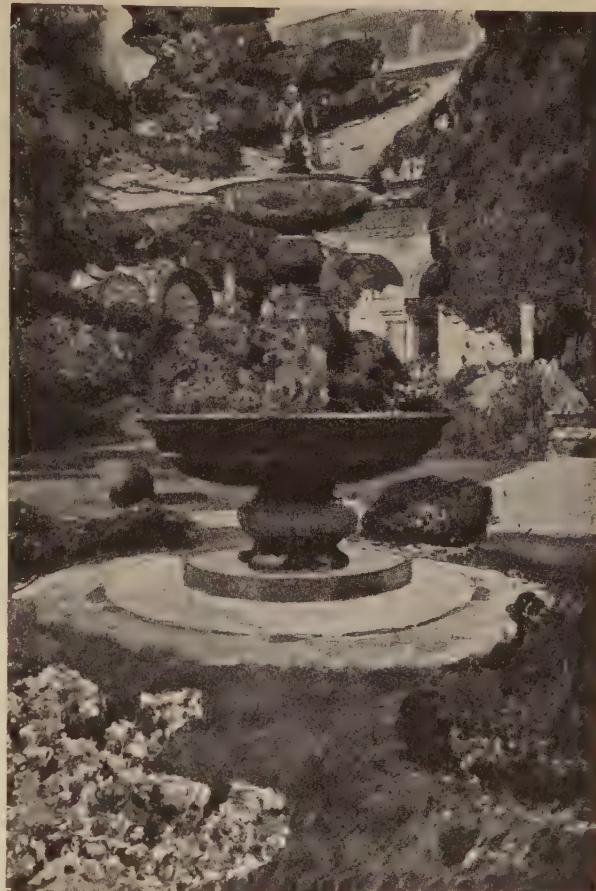


FIG. 364. BELVEDERE, HRADSCHIN, PRAGUE—THE SINGING WELL

with a singing sound. It looks as though an arboured path from this spot marked out the middle. The grottoes were especially famous, and the emperor in his later, sadder days liked to be there, and took pleasure in their wonderful mirrors and invisible music. But visitors liked the wild animals best, and at the other end of the garden there were lions, camels, and other beasts in wooden cages. Later on, towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the noise seemed inconveniently near to the castle, and the animals were moved farther off; for apparently New Building had been turned into a menagerie.



FIG. 365. A FLEMISH STUDY OF SUMMER WORK IN THE GARDEN

with Spain, who ruled the world, the provinces of Flanders at that time provided a favourable soil for the development of the art which from the very beginning had made a great effort in Holland to surpass its natural limitations. With an insatiable hunger, Flemish artists seized upon the material of the whole world. Dutch garden art lives for us still in an abundant supply of pictures, both paintings and woodcuts, and above all in those copper engravings that the Flemish people loved so dearly. It may be that with this mass of material individuality was sometimes wiped out; for in the immense number of pictures of the months and seasons we find spring and summer, April, May, and generally some autumn months as well, depicted as garden scenes; and these in the faithful reproductions of this most realistic kind of art give

Rudolph had plants brought from Italy, Spain, and Asia; pomegranates, oranges, citrons, and lemons were imported, according to an account of the year 1632. And the honour of having been the first to grow tulips in Europe (which so many gardeners tried to do) was accorded to Rudolph by the travellers' books. Rudolph also adorned his garden with beautiful statues, and by the castle there were set up two tennis-courts, which, like the greater part of the garden, were destroyed in the sieges during the Seven Years' War. In this garden the shy prince passed the last sick and sad years of his life; and strangers who wanted to see the emperor came disguised as gardeners or stablemen to satisfy their desire.

Among the painters who experienced the kindness of this lover of art the Dutch stood first. Because of their alliance

many significant details of the style of that day; yet these gardens are not to be taken as individual portraiture, for the same scene is often found transferred from one picture to another. For instance, a painting by Breughel in the Museum at Lille (Fig. 365) and another by Abel Grimmer at Antwerp (Fig. 366) show exactly the same garden with scarcely any change in the accessories. Again, an Italian goldsmith, finding on two drawings by Hans Boll certain garden scenes, copies them on an embossed plaque, adding details of ornament in the Italian style (Fig. 367). It is still harder to discover what is truly Flemish in the pictures produced by those Dutch artists who went to earn their living at foreign courts. There is no doubt that the beautiful garden landscape by



FIG. 366. A FLEMISH STUDY OF SPRING WORK IN THE GARDEN

Valckenborch (Fig. 368) in the museum at Vienna really depicts the seat of an Austrian prince, with labyrinth, pond, and different gardens.

The architectural painter Vredemann de Vries lived and died at the court of Rudolph II. His numerous garden sketches, which were published in 1568 and 1583 in a series of engravings called *Hortorum Viridariorumque Formæ*, have more of the town character; and although he chiefly took his examples from the gardens of his own home, they are best ranked as specimens of the German style. De Vries was a zealous student of Vitruvius, and thought that his gardens could have no higher recommendation than that they were divided as Vitruvius demanded into Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. But it is not the fact that there is any real difference in style. The gardens are very much alike, even in so far as they try in individual parts to obtain a great variety. At any one site there are always different gardens divided by hedges or barriers, and seldom with any axial arrangement. For the most part they have a tree in the middle, now and then a pavilion (Fig. 369) with a fountain, and occasionally are varied with a sunk basin. Round the grander gardens run pergolas with doors, windows, and domes (Fig. 370); the arbours are often supported

on pretty pillars with Herms, but there are very few real statues. The beds are always laid out geometrically, and often have small trees at the corners or in the middle, and borders of stone or box. Frequently the whole garden is enclosed with galleries. This sort of parterre is not as a rule next to the house, which usually has a lawn by it, meant



FIG. 367. THE GARDEN IN APRIL; FROM AN EMBOSSED PLAQUE

for a playground. There is not much water, and this is generally treated as a fountain in the middle, never as a canal unless that is just a large basin—the sort so commonly found in French gardens of the same date.

If we compare the drawings of de Vries with gardens that were really carried out at this time, such as the Kielmann gardens at Vienna (Fig. 371), the relationship is easy to see. This important place, in spite of its coherence in general plan, is divided up into a whole series of separate gardens, each dominated by a summer-house with which



FIG. 368. VIEW OF A GARDEN IN FRONT OF AN AUSTRIAN TOWN

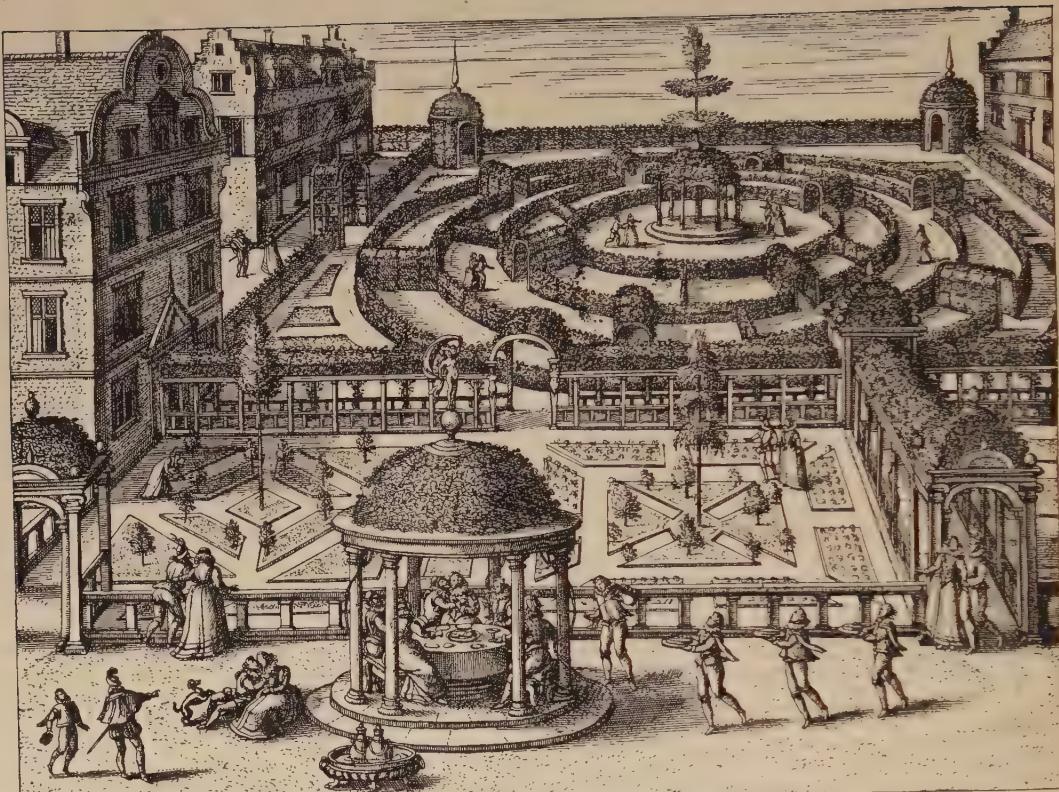


FIG. 369. A DUTCH STUDY OF A GERMAN GARDEN WITH ARBOURS

are ranged twin fountains as chief ornament of the geometrical beds. The bordering of arbour walks and the entrance gates recall the Schwindt garden, to which this one is superior in size and magnificence, but not in the feeling for style.

To this period belongs the garden full of a proud and artistic charm that was laid out by Rubens at his fine house at Antwerp (Fig. 372). A triple "gate of triumph" leads out of a great court beside the house, and gives a view of the garden, which has a pretty summer-house at the end of it, set up in that peculiar mixture of Flemish and Italian styles which is characteristic of the whole house. If we pass into the garden, the large parterre decorated with vases is at our side in front of the chief room of the house. On this follows a curiously divided plot of garden, where a very fine pavilion of lattice-work between pergolas divides the place either from the neighbouring garden or from a final tree-garden of its own. Although the laying-out of the parterre as shown in the engraving of 1692 points to a later time, the actual site, the complete absence of water, the gaiety of it all, the garden houses, and also the simplicity of the carved work, indicate that spirit which pervaded wealthy Antwerp at the turn of the century, when its greatest artist could make himself this lovely home, he being also one of its most important citizens.

The flat country of Holland hardly comes under consideration at this time in respect of garden formation. Dutch families were still living outside the towns, mostly in their strong water-castles. In the last decades of the century Dutch trade first made its

marvellously rapid start, and from the beginning concentrated on flowers and the importation of foreign plants to Holland. It is obvious how great a difference the bulbs, and especially tulips, must make in the appearance of European gardens; but in spite of this the development of French gardens and parterres was to become more influential, and to grow less and less like the gay variegated show of Holland. It came about that the tulip trade when finally established diverted men's minds from the true art of gardening, and became only an affair of bargaining, for which the innocent bulbs served as material. All the same, the interest in botany bore timely fruit in Holland, and by 1557 the Botanical Garden at Leyden was founded, which for some time was at the head of all the scientific gardens. But the real importance of the Dutch garden begins at a later period, when in the seventeenth century this country of rich tradesmen set up flourishing villas on the outskirts of the growing towns, and along the course of the canals.

In Germany garden interest reached its highest point at the turn of the century, before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. In Vienna a garden was shown on Shrove Tuesday, 1613, by the barons Georg Wilhelm Jörger and Wolf Tonradtel, "decked with lovely trees, citrons and others, and with music playing." French and Italian books on the subject now began to be translated into German. In 1597 appeared the first German garden book, by Johann Peschel, which (in its long title) proposes to give instruction in all garden matters. For the lay-out he demands before all things that it shall be thought out and drawn on paper first and properly squared, then the beds are to be put

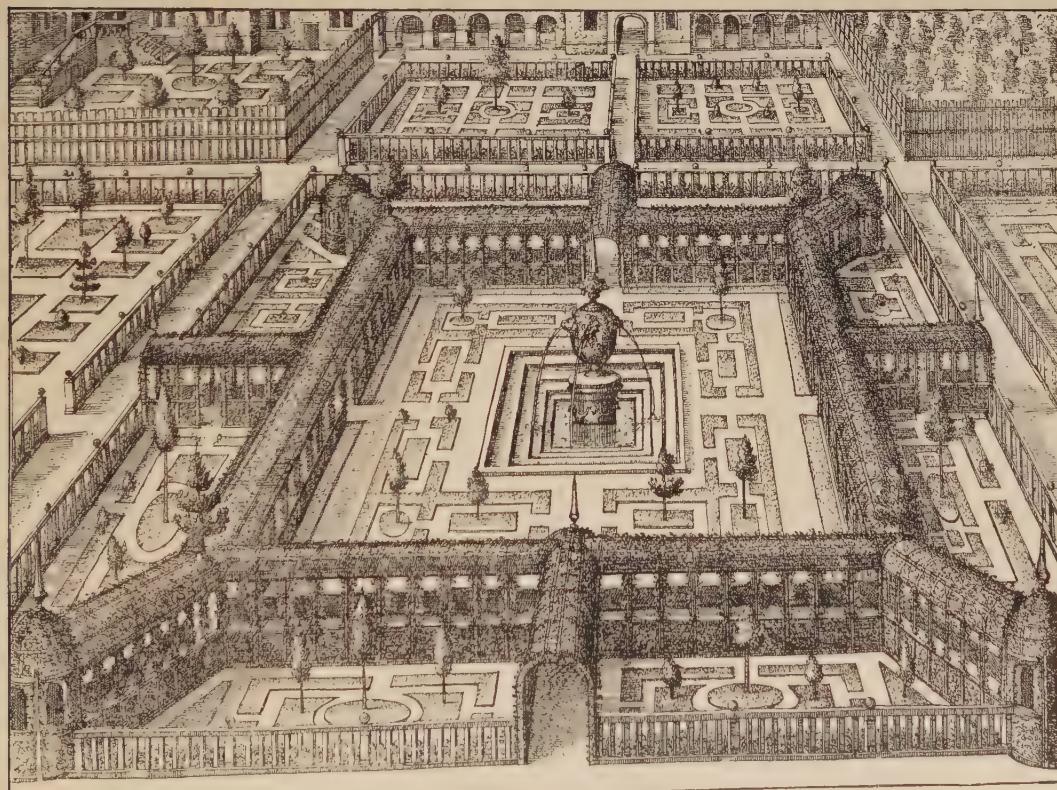


FIG. 370. A DUTCH STUDY OF A GARDEN WITH PERGOLAS AND DOME

in. But there must also be covered walks, and these he calls *Stackete*, or *Gelender*, or *Khemerer*. Only after all has been thought out, set on paper, and strictly measured, can the plan be transferred to the land. This demand shows the German spirit in the tendency to theorise. Peschel's book passed through many editions, and its first rival in success was the garden book of Doctor Peter Laurenberg of Rostock: this work appeared in a German edition in 1671. But the numerous copperplates of parterres taken from French examples were influential also.

About this time there was for the most part no lack of examples of any kind of art, and in particular the copper engravers followed the lead of the Dutch by using their

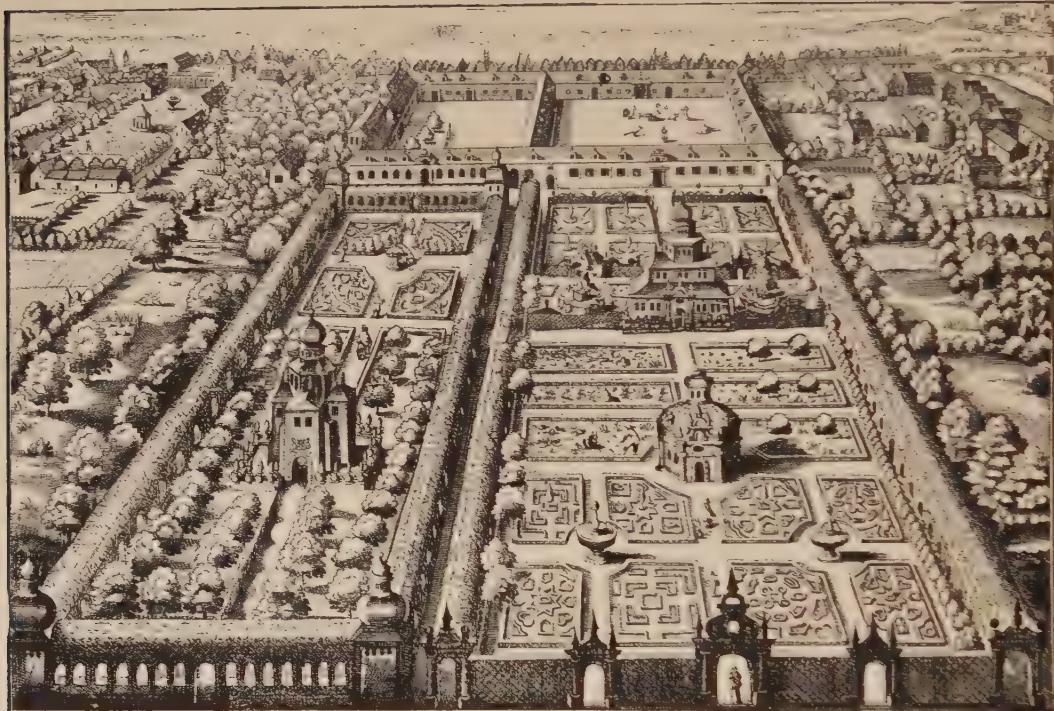


FIG. 371. THE KIELMANN GARDENS AT VIENNA

skill in the service of the garden. Right in the front stood Joseph Furtenbach of Ulm, who lived ten years in Italy and pursued his architectural studies there. He resided for the most part in Northern Italy, but had travelled about the other districts, and especially had studied eagerly at Caprarola. His plans for gardens show a strong inclination for fortress surroundings. When he went home he published a book of travels which was much read at the time, and then published his studies and sketches from 1628 onward. But although the small garden at his own house did not go beyond the ordinary town garden of the German Renaissance period, his plans clearly show the signs of a foreign influence. There are architectural plans which bear the stamp of a school in their severe regularity and axial arrangement, while the gardens are often surrounded with moats treated in the style of a fortress, and with little cannons, in the fashion of the time, stuck up on the projections.

This man, so industrious and so full of imagination, was also much concerned for the



FIG. 372. RUBENS' HOUSE AND GARDEN AT ANTWERP

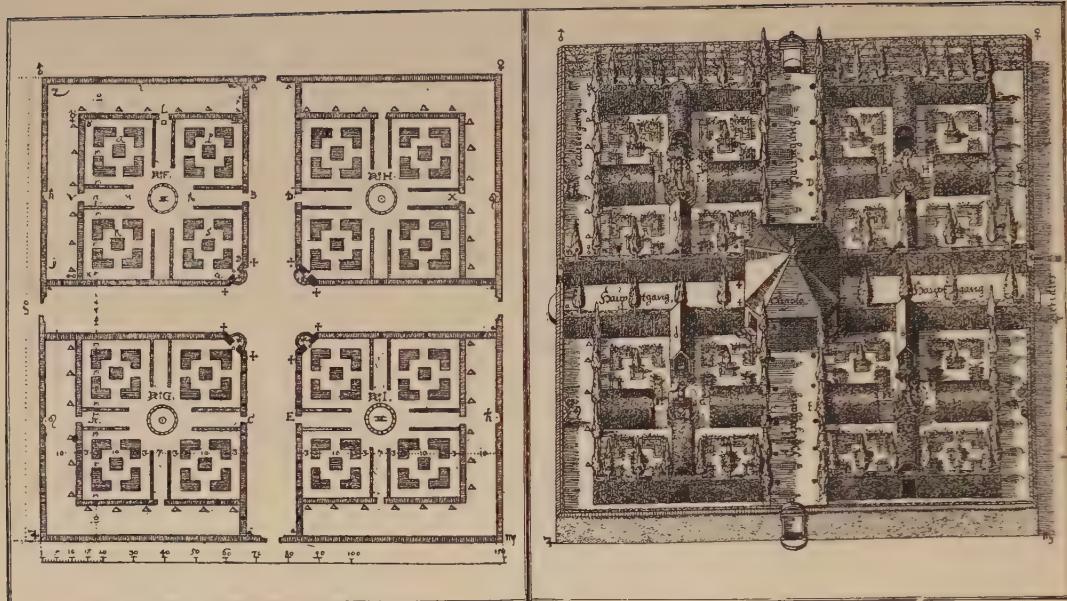


FIG. 373. A LITTLE GARDEN OF PARADISE—A DESIGN FOR A SCHOOL GARDEN

welfare of his native town, and thought out a careful social scheme which was very far in advance of his time, and has only nowadays pressed into the circle of modern interests. For not only did he plan school buildings, where seats and tables were carefully designed for the children's health, but he wished to have a school garden in front, which he named the "little garden of Paradise" (Fig. 373), "so as to awaken good thoughts in the children, of walking in Paradise, and so practising them in the Christian religion and other good, useful and honourable studies." Thither the teachers were to take their scholars, and there a public examination was to be held. As a room for trials, he designed a large domed place in the middle of the garden, with four chairs in it, where there should be children, boys and girls together, holding their little disputation, and on the walls there were to be hung up the things they had made. Four doors led into the quarters of a large garden square that was traversed by wide walks, and these divisions were cut up by little arboured paths into four flower-gardens, where the young examinees were allowed to gather the flowers in the beds as a reward; in the middle was a large fountain. In the first section there was a model of Adam and Eve, with the mother of mankind plucking an apple from a real tree of Paradise and offering it to her spouse. Below this group the children could read the words, cut in stone:

Through Adam's fall, on garden ground,
Mankind, alas, his ruin found.

But consolation was at hand in the garden section on the right, where on a "very charming mound in the middle there was a figure carved in stone of Our Lord and Only Saviour Jesus Christ rising out of his grave in the garden," with the following inscription below:

In garden ground, where Christ lay dead,
Mankind is now deliverèd.

When there was to be no examination, the children were to run about in the garden, and

enjoy its beauty; they might pick flowers and fruit, and each child was to receive a cake baked for himself. It does not appear whether the people of Ulm ever carried out a scheme so kindly and so good for children, or whether this too was only an architect's dream.

At the same time as Furtenbach, the elder Merian began his useful work, though perhaps he laid less stress on the garden side of it. He gives a great number of illustrations of German castles and the gardens attached to them, and these have the advantage of having been actually carried out. But the pictures of foreign gardens, Italian and French as well as German, must have had a great influence on his contemporaries.

Among those that were immediately affected by Italy, Hellbrunn, at Salzburg, stands supreme. In the years 1613-19 Marcus Sittich was bishop of Salzburg. He was a member of the Hohenem family, who because of their origin on the borders of Latin territory had a very close connection with Italy. Since the time of Pius IV., the family had continued to live in a similar fashion to "nephews" in Italy (where we have often found them as predecessors of the Borghesi) with the same delight in buildings and gardens as they showed in Germany. Marcus Sittich first completed the Mirabellschloss built by his predecessors (Fig. 374). The ornamentation of the garden, the design of the parterre, belong to the French period, but the whole lay-out has preserved its Renaissance character. It is not only that any connection with the castle is entirely absent, and the chief garden separated from the sides by high walls that are only broken by narrow doors, but the separate beds are encircled by balustrades which interfere with the *ensemble* of the design. This whole scheme differs little from the town gardens we know so well at Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Vienna.

The most original creation of Marcus Sittich is the charming little castle of Hell-

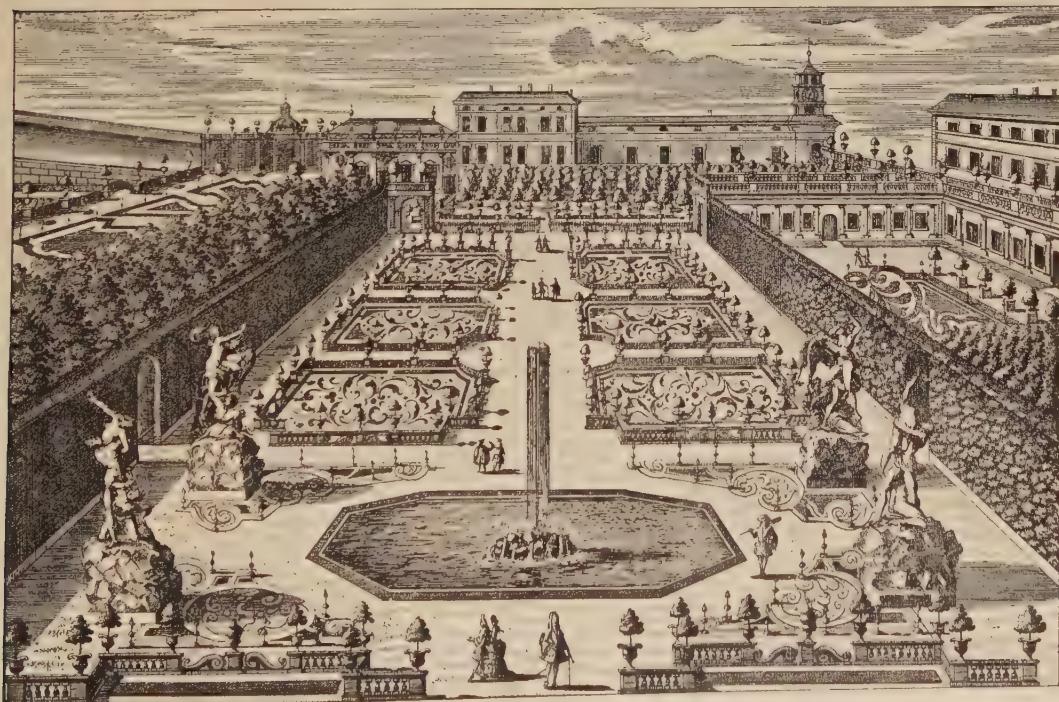


FIG. 374. MIRABELL CASTLE, SALZBURG—THE GARDENS

brunn before the gates of Salzburg (Fig. 375). He started it as soon as his rule began, and finished the whole thing in fifteen months. Although the garden in some parts was changed into an English park, and in others was enlarged under French influence, it still preserves in a great many respects the character that Sittich gave it. In the castle itself grottoes were introduced on the ground floor, not only on the entrance side (1) but also on the garden side. By the garden below the terraces there is a great grotto construction; here we find the abundance of statues, water-plays, and automata, which we recognise as like those in Italian gardens, and which are still mostly intact. There is the

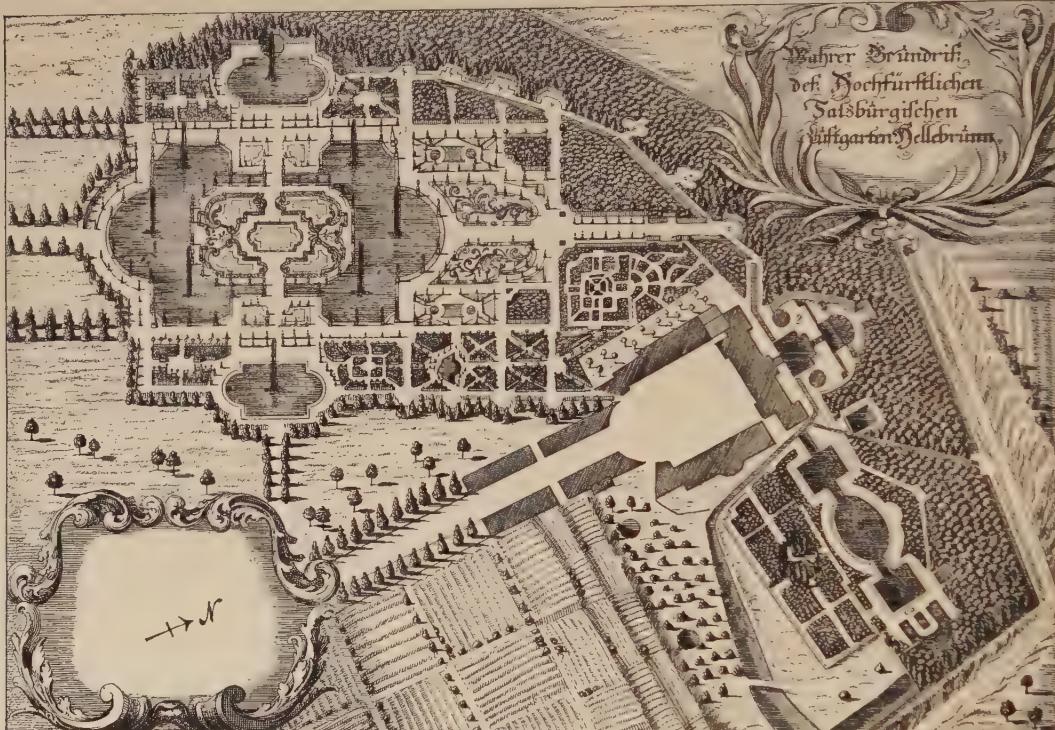


FIG. 375. HELLBRUNN, SALZBURG—GENERAL PLAN

rain grotto, the mirror grotto, and another with a dragon coming out of a hole in a rock, who drinks from a fountain and vanishes again. There are all sorts of birds singing, and actually the beloved “vault of ruins” is not wanting, with its stones threatening to fall.

In front of this garden façade extends the large, deeply-sunken star-pond (2), into which falls a cascade of three tiers, ending above in a semicircular theatre. The ibex, the Hohenem crest, is to be seen everywhere, and is a sure guide to the estates of Marcus Sittich. A long narrow canal passes out from this pond on both sides, beset with an inexhaustible supply of grottoes and little water-plays. Certain regions at the end of the canal hail from a later day, as for example the mechanical theatre, a costly toy with marionettes doing all sorts of things. The passion for grottoes is at its highest in this garden. An engraving by Merian shows a great number of small grotto-houses, which enliven the garden, sometimes open at the top and sometimes shut.

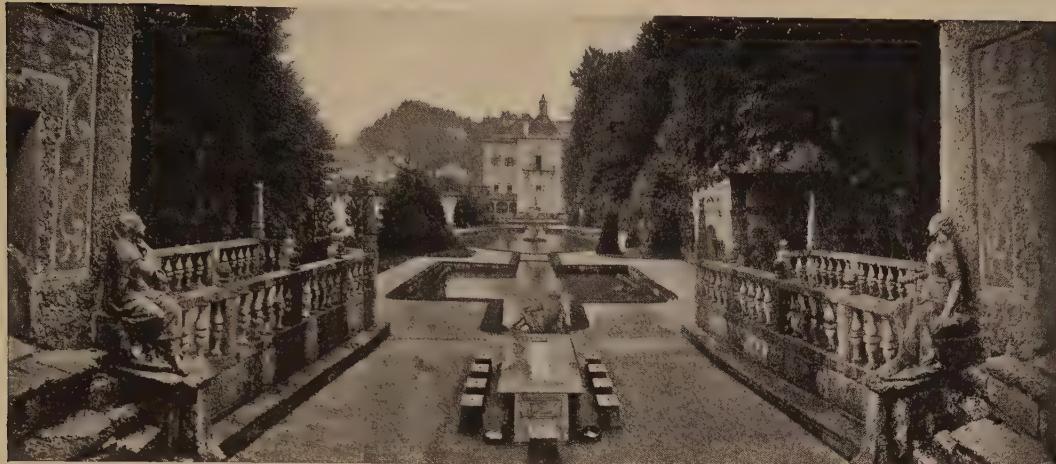


FIG. 376. HELLBRUNN, SALZBURG—THE WATER ON THE EAST SIDE

On the other side of the walk of grottoes there stood near the house a small summer pavilion, which was orientated as centre piece with four corner turrets and a tank in the shape of a trefoil. People were beginning to imitate Italian casinos by setting up unusual summer-houses in their German gardens. We find them still more varied in the seats of princes of Middle Germany, and it looks as though a peculiar style of central erection came about with this feature much emphasised. The chief parterre at Hellbrunn was a water parterre: there were four basins on small lawns, the middle one having a summer-house on a round hill which was approached by thirty steps. On the eastern façade of the house there was another water site (3), which, unlike the chief garden, is still for the most part preserved (Fig. 376). It has three basins, one behind the other, the middle one oval, and the two others square; these are connected by narrow canals, and with each is a fountain group with a stone table and ten stone seats. In the middle water poured forth to fill the drinking-glasses; but woe betide those who sat down on the seats. They were driven off by water spurting out, and if they tried to escape back to the steps that led to the semicircular theatre at the grotto, or to the pretty balustraded galleries on the side, they were met by a fresh shower of rain from many little pipes. From pedestals Democritus and Heraclitus—allegorical figures of tragedy and comedy—looked down upon this merry play; while above was Rome, placed in the broken gable of the semicircle, which was adorned with blue stones and shells, above the arms of Marcus Sittich. On the right near this part there was similarly a small grotto-house, which contained Orpheus and a sleeping Eurydice and all sorts of animals; near by was a charming little menagerie.

The archbishop made something else that was very remarkable at that time, in his park up on the Waldberg, and named it Hohenems. He built a little casino, called the Castle of the Month, because it was said that, to gratify the wish of a Bavarian prince who was passing through, he surprised him on his way back, after one month, with the place quite finished. Nothing is preserved of the garden, but at the back of the small castle there is a very interesting wide road. From an opening we walk down into an antique theatre cut in the living rock, with seats all round and entrances and exits. Perhaps a stage was also set up for the occasion. Marcus Sittich had pastoral plays and operas performed, as for

example on 31 October, 1617, before the retinue of a prince who was on the return journey after a hunting expedition to Berchstoldsgaden.

This theatre is important, not only because of its attempt to revive Palladio's great effort to have an antique theatre at Vicenza, but also because of its position in a lonely park, set in the cleft of a rock, all of which creates a feeling that we often find in the gardens of the later eighteenth century. Also it is the first permanent theatre in the open air about which we have any information; for the use of natural stages, with hedges as side scenes, certainly came in quite a hundred years later. We have already noticed, in France and Spain, how closely related in Renaissance days were the feelings for pleasure, games, and piety; and Marcus Sittich was wont to lead his guests from the

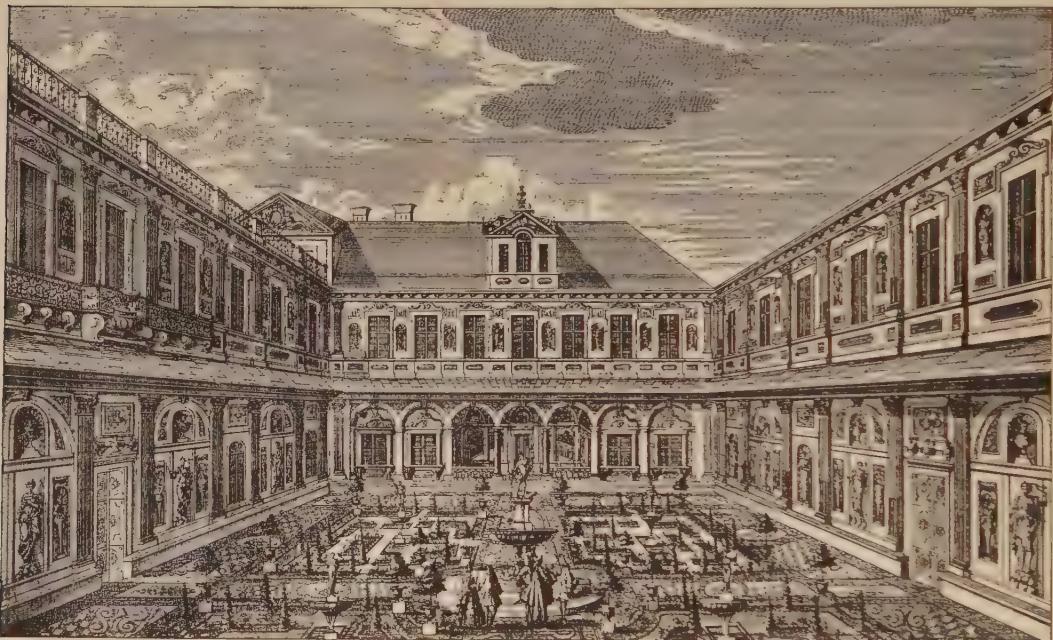


FIG. 377. THE "PRETTY GARDEN," MUNICH

theatre in the rock—through the deer-park, where white stags were kept—for a few minutes into his hermitage. He entertained them in the little castle of Belvedere, in the room with the pictures, from whose windows they looked over the Salzach towards Hallein, and led them to the eight hermits' cells which he had put there with six small chapels. In one of these lived a French brother, called Antonius the Fifth, whose tombstone at the parish church of Anif hard by thus told of his life:

Nicholas Mudet was my name,
From Lyon city first I came.
With fear of God, by lonely ways,
At Hellenbrunn I spent my days.
Often at Rome the time I passed,
But here I found my grave at last.

The garden owed this abundance of ideas, and its fanciful arrangement, to the owner's connection with Italy.

In the rest of Germany also the intent eagerness of the many smaller princes was aroused, and everyone jealously observed the progress of his neighbour. On the other hand, there was a good feeling that prompted them to share all new discoveries. The book of travel by a gentleman of Augsburg called Philip Hainhofer, written between 1611 and 1613, gives us an amusing view of this exchange, which was of course concerned first and foremost with special botanical wonders. Hainhofer was an art-dealer at court, perhaps one of the earliest of his kind, a man of great learning, fine taste, and intelligent eye, all of which helped him to that knowledge of men which he needed: he was vain

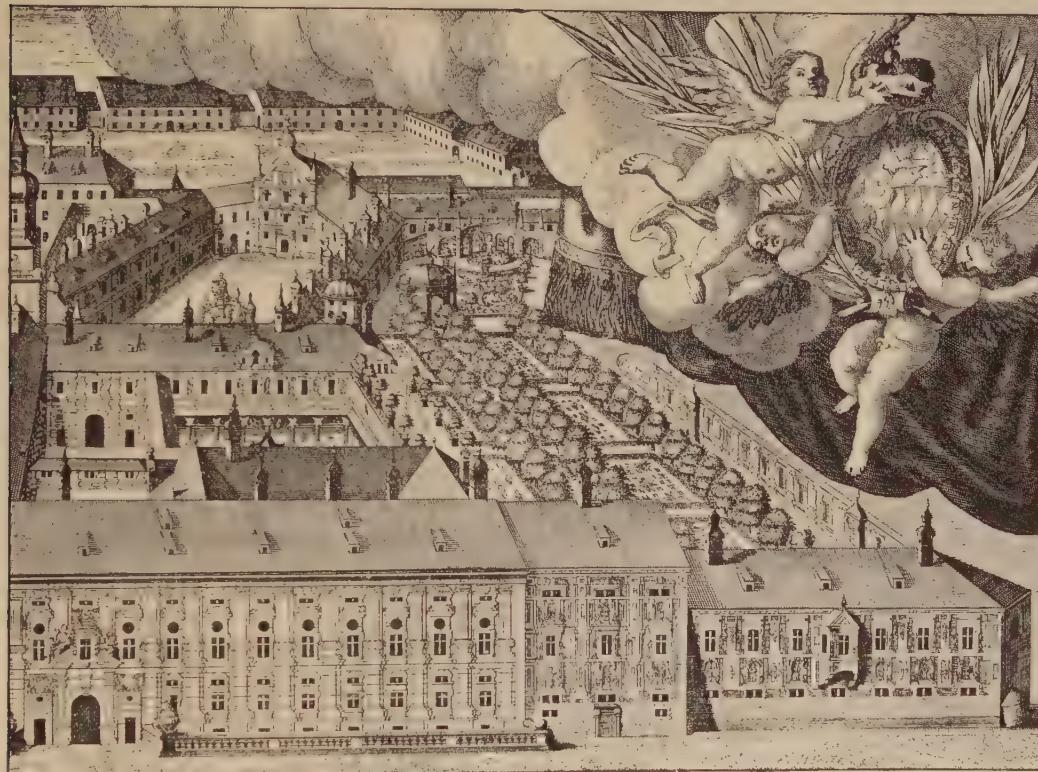
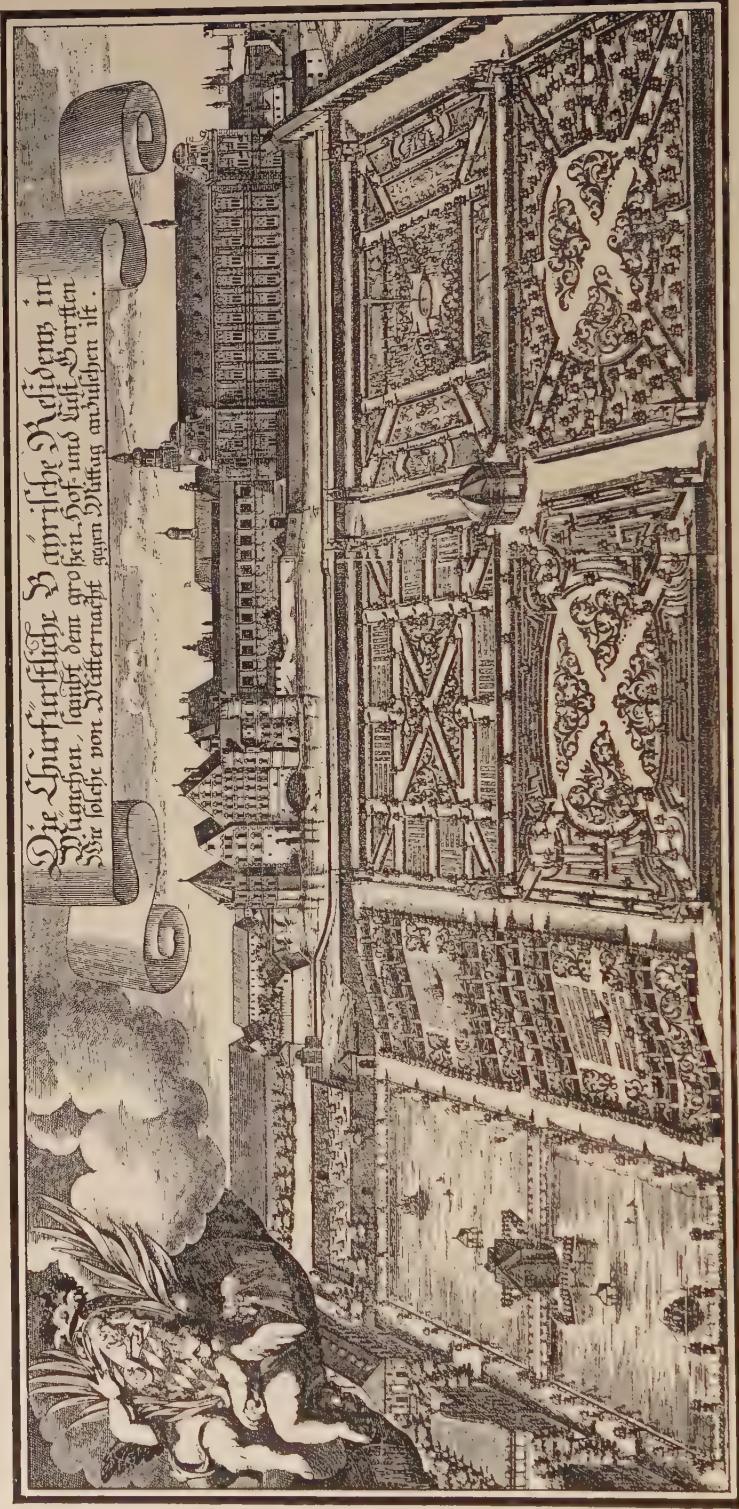


FIG. 378. THE RESIDENCE GARDEN, MUNICH

enough and snobbish enough to let princes feel that he enjoyed their condescension and confidence; and clever and unconscientious enough to help himself with time-serving, if it was to his own advantage. He became so indispensable to princes that they also employed him on their lesser diplomatic errands, but he never abandoned his chief aim of being an art agent. Into chambers of art and houses of pleasure he was constantly seeking an entrance, and also into their gardens, so that we owe many happy descriptions to him.

He seems to have cemented his earliest alliance with the Pomeranian Duke Philip II., who desired to build a pleasure-castle, in 1611; for this was acquired by means of Hainhofer's duplicates of plants, and his drawings and sketches of other German castles. The old Duke William of Bavaria, who devoted most of his leisure to art after he abdicated in favour of his son Maximilian, wanted to show his gratitude to the Pomeranian lord, and commissioned Hainhofer, during a visit to Augsburg, to make a journey to Eichstätt,



Die Kurfürstliche Residenz ist
ein prächtiger, sauber, dem grossen Hof und Lustgarten
gegen Mitternacht
die ganze Nacht von Mitternacht

FIG. 379. COURT GARDEN AT THE RESIDENCE, MUNICH

whither all botanical interest was directed. The learned, high-minded, though frail and delicate Johann Conrad von Gemmingen, a prince of the Church, had built a fine castle, Willibaldsburg, close to the bishop's see, Eichstätt, and had laid out the gardens afresh. Hainhofer enumerates eight different ones, "which are variously adorned in area, in divisions, in order of flowers—and wonderful with their roses, lilies, and other plants." They are all, as at Ambras, at the foot of the hill, with the castle at the top, which according to his account has a moat round it. The bishop was at that time very busy with the rebuilding of the castle, and wanted to "make the garden turn the other way and (going down the hill) unite together castle and mountain." Whether the plan was carried out is doubtful, for the bishop died in 1612, and in 1634 the Swedes razed the castle to the ground. The prelate, however, had made a monumental work for his contemporaries and one of lasting renown for a later world. He had all his plants drawn and then engraved in copper. Week by week a messenger on horseback with a box of fresh flowers was sent to Nuremberg, where the chemist Basilius Beseler made drawings of them and arranged them according to their time of flowering. This work was valued at 3000 florins, and first came out after the bishop's death in 1613 under the title of *Hortus Eychstedensis*. All the princes added flower pictures of the same kind, though not in such a costly get-up as this, and made exchanges by way of polite greetings.

Soon after Hainhofer's journey to Eichstätt had been accomplished to the satisfaction of his patron, he went to Munich to report to Duke William. Munich was already, under the rule of the duke's father, Albert V., embarked upon its first great period of building; and he had at his residence, on the east, the other side of the city trenches, enlarged the pleasure-garden and laid it out in the Italian style. In this garden, called "Rosengart," at the fête held in honour of Charles V., the emperor had led the dance with the duke's consort. Hainhofer, who was always well received, obtained admission, and saw this garden, whose days were numbered, and he describes a very pretty pergola, and a pleasure-house that was handsomely painted, and from the back looked into a deer-park. But far more important in his opinion were the two gardens which William laid out during his residence in the new part on the south. The smaller one of these, called the "Pretty Garden" (Fig. 377), is now only known under the name of the grotto court, but it is the most attractive feature of the residence. The grotto still remains, fantastically made of stalactites, shells, and many half-precious stones; it contains a golden Mercury reminiscent of Giovanni da Bologna, and other fountain figures. The painting of the walls is for the most part restored. In the garden, scarcely thirty by twenty metres in size, only the beautiful middle fountain, a copy of Benvenuto Cellini's Perseus, which was intended as a fountain figure, has been preserved. "The water runs out from head and neck, like blood from human veins and arteries," says Hainhofer. But in his time "the garden was divided into four compartments, the plots with the beds marked out in white marble, in each division a stone trough with running water for irrigating the plots." The walls were adorned with statues, and in front of the grotto was a mosaic of blue stone worked in the Italian manner. This pretty scene was viewed from a balcony with a gilded parapet.

Turning from this look-out to the opposite side, one saw the other garden (Fig. 378), which had for chief feature an open room with inside decorations of fountains and statues. The garden itself was a long oblong, with an open loggia on one side, and on the other a trellis covered with greenery; six of the divisions are bounded by hedges, and

two of them by white stone. Small trees stand at the corners, and inside it are "all sorts of pretty flowers." But the chief piece is a great tank at the end of the garden with a fountain and many figures, Neptune being the most imposing one; and opposite is a grotto bearing a life-size Bavaria at the top, which now ornaments the rotunda in the chief garden. Finally, there is a round temple, with a Pegasus. There is a surprising number of fountains for a garden that is not large. In this ornamentation Hainhofer forgets his interest in botany.

Duke William has here made a masterpiece of a Residence garden, a place to live in the open, where artistic ornament was of chief moment. But at that time he was not living at the Residence, which his reigning son improved very finely, but had his own private place, now Maxburg, where Hainhofer certainly found no garden, but tells of a hermitage instead; and this proves that places of the sort were not only set up in remote parks as at Gaillon and Hellbrunn, but also in the middle of the town, at a Residence. "All this grotto is made in one piece, just as we see them copied in paintings and copper-plates of fathers and hermits." So says the learned Hainhofer. "It is made out of the actual rock with cells cut in it, and there are firs and wild trees all about it, and water gushes out of the rock, making a stream and a little pond; therein, made of lead, are snakes, lizards, toads, crabs, etc. In this grotto everything is woven of bass, straw, and sticks, and the altar is made of rock. In the little room in the winter there is only a poor oven, and it is all dark, melancholy, gloomy, and even frightening. On the wall St. Francis in the Wilderness is painted, and the ceiling is thatched with straw and sticks as huts are. On the wall there is a tree with a stopper in it; and when you take out the stopper you see through the tree out to the tower in the city, and its clock, and thus know what hour has struck; and this is the peculiarity of the grotto. It also has a little loggia above the water, and in it a long plank on trestles, and there are twelve low stools of straw and thatch, made for the use of the princes . . . when they take a meal with the Carthusians in the grotto. There are two of them here, a priest and a lay brother. I asked the priest if the time seemed long and he said 'No,' for he was always meditating as to '*quid Deus fecerit pro se, quid Deus faciat in se, quid Deus facturus sit de se.*'" This was quite in accordance with William's way of thinking, who always went about in coarse clothing like a monk, and dressed all his servants in black; he had private paths made from his castle to the Jesuits and the Capuchins, although his whole time and inclination were devoted to the art and pride of this world.

But the main garden of the Residence was not even started at the time of Hainhofer's first visit, for Maximilian laid it out soon after in the north at the other side of the town trenches, as the last grand work of his otherwise completed Residence, after the old pleasure-garden had fallen a victim, as we have related, to the extension buildings. This garden was absorbed into town fortifications at the time of the Thirty Years' War, but at the outset of this fatal epoch it was already finished. Maximilian had made a journey to Italy as heir to the throne, and there his taste for art was much enlightened, which made a great difference to the internal ornament of his Residence. The garden (Fig. 379) certainly has a fine Italian casino with a flat balustraded roof and an open hall as chief feature, but in its *ensemble* it shows far more leaning towards French examples. In front of the casino there are two ponds separated with a balustraded path down the middle, where there are fountains. Half-way down this middle walk, which widens out into a



FIG. 380. HAIMHAUSEN CASTLE

rotunda, a green pavilion was erected later. But from the beginning the large centre pavilion, which connects the separate parts of the garden, appears to have been ornamented with the "Bavaria" from the Residence garden. This great place is higher up than the ponds, and leading to it is an inclined slope in six divisions. There are special gates covered with greenery leading into all the four parts of the garden. The plantation shown in the picture belongs to a later date, to the end of the seventeenth century, and the engraving by Merian has preserved the far simpler arrangement of beds.

Maximilian's brother Albert also practised a fine style of gardening; his handsome place was at the so-called Sailor's Gate, on the far side of the town prison. There Albert used to go with his friend and protégé, the Jesuit Jacob Balde, who was the last and best of the neo-Latin poets, and sang the praises of his patron in Horatian verse. These have passed into the German language in Herder's translation. Balde speaks of hanging gardens; leaning over the columns he gazes with his royal friend into the depth of the prison, which was laid out as a garden in times of peace. At the entrance stood the charming figure of a boy in stone, with a wonderful song of praise upon it, and the words: "Did Flora give thee life, when like a mother she had ordered all this garden?" The



FIG. 381. STUTTGART—THE CASTLE GARDEN

poet knows not how he can praise enough the exuberance of the flowers in this starry meadow, as he calls it. This was in the middle of the Thirty Years' War, which hindered building activities even in Bavaria. But at any rate the gardens were kept up as protection in the precincts of the town until a more peaceful time should arrive.

The period before the war when people were interested produced other charming works in Bavaria, and not only at Munich. The castle of Haimhausen (Fig. 380) shows a

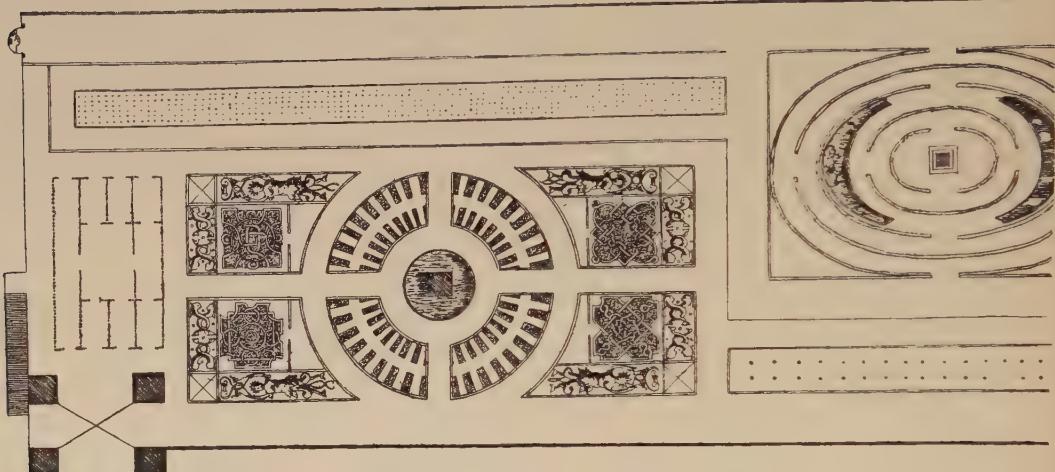


FIG. 382. HEIDELBERG CASTLE—PLAN OF THE GARDEN

feeling for style that is almost Italian in its fine array of terraces with a grotto, and an approach by steps. At the end of the garden the kitchen court is decorated with a fine fountain, flanked by two tall trees, in which are fixed rooms and seats in different tiers: this is a custom inherited in the Middle Ages from antiquity, but in Germany carried particularly far.

In rivalry with the princes at Munich, Frederick of Würtemberg made a new castle at Stuttgart (Fig. 381). Here too there is no immediate connection between the noble residence and the flower-garden, for they are separated by a wide walk. The garden has certainly a summer-house as architectural centre, but this idea is overmastered by the northern spirit which prevails throughout. This fine pleasure-house, with its wonderful mixture of Gothic and Renaissance forms, has artistic charm on a large scale: the wide, airy balcony that runs round the place with corner turrets and lofty gable is a capital room for a cheerful party, and here we might perhaps find an immediate link between house and garden; but one must needs compare with it the severe axial lay-out of those gardens at Munich that really feel French influence. There appear in these any number of distinct ideas, and every part is treated individually, with no reference to its neighbours. The chief feature, the large flower-garden, certainly is at the side of the house, but is not connected with it: thus the middle division, a circular hill with steps, corresponds to the style of the house because the pavilion at the top is treated as a little castle. Among the other parts of the garden, playgrounds and tree-gardens, a special ornament is the orangery, one of the oldest and most famous in Germany.

In almost every garden, or group of gardens, we have been able to detect a new style and its influence, but in these busy times no unity of style is found in Germany, in spite

of close communication and eager exchanges. We pass from one German individuality to another, always to find a new picture, and that a different one. France and Italy begin to contend for supremacy in Germany. The originators of the castle of Heidelberg near Stuttgart took a high aim in their rivalry. There is scarcely a building in the

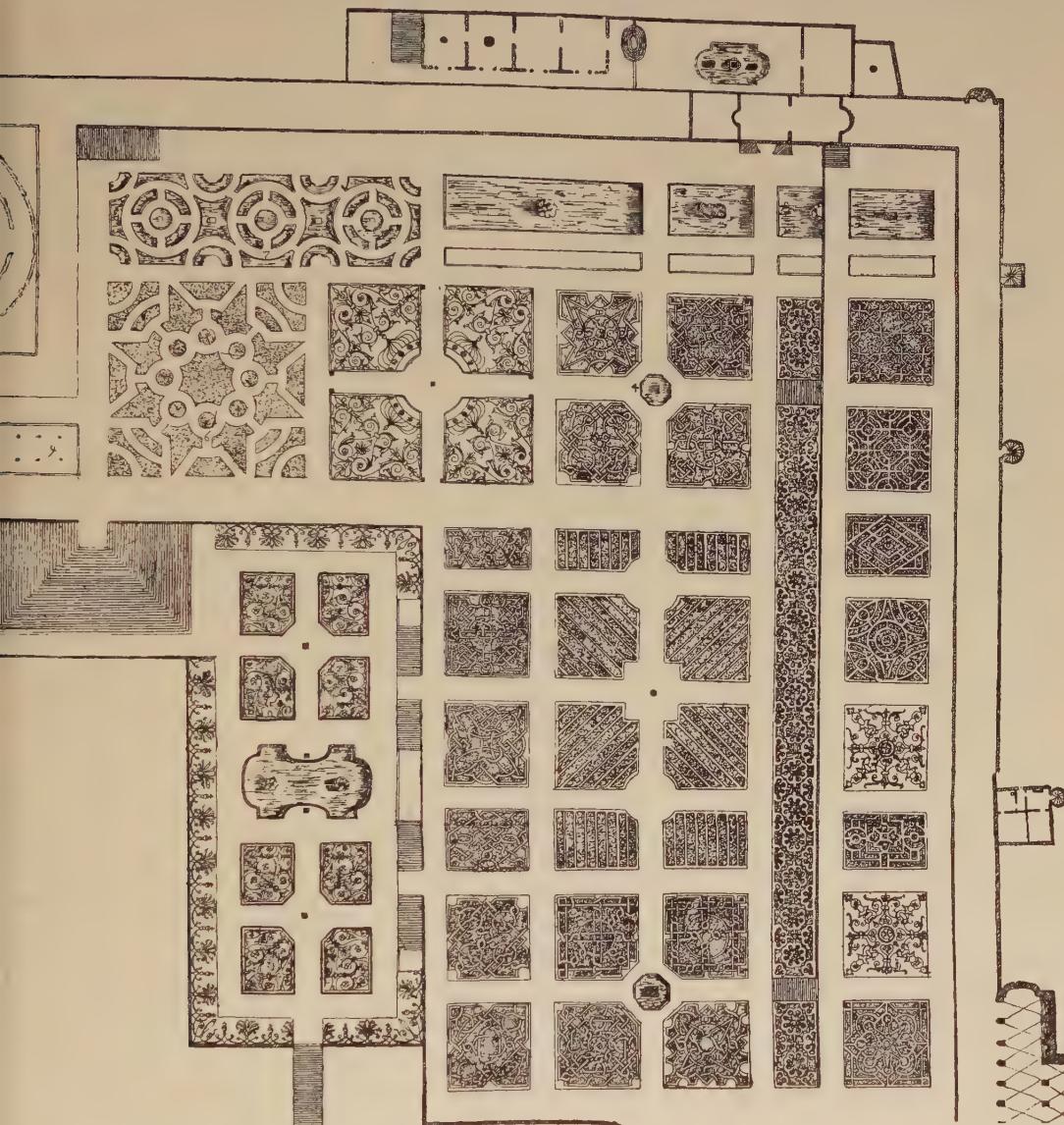


FIG. 382. HEIDELBERG CASTLE—PLAN OF THE GARDEN

whole world which has excited admiration of so varied and so critical a kind as this castle in the pleasant valley of the Neckar—as much in the days of its greatest pride and glory as now, when, in ruins, it has acquired a new charm. The steep projecting spur of the “Königsstuhl” would add to the difficulty of making a garden in any sort of larger style, and accordingly the Counts Palatine were satisfied for a long time with keeping a garden on the flat land in front of the walls of their little town, and this was called the

court or the lord's garden. It cannot have been without importance, for it contained beautiful fountains, and most of all its orangery enjoyed a world-wide reputation as early as the end of the sixteenth century. Olivier de Serres in his book praises the orangery at Heidelberg as a marvellous example. At that period these noble trees, and figs also, were not planted in pots, but straight into the earth, and in winter a wooden house was built over them, so that in summer people could stroll among the trees as in an orange grove in the South. For long enough this kind of protection for southern trees had been known in Germany. Here also the princes sent their specimens, and as early as 1559 Joachim II. of Brandenburg received one from Prince August of Saxony.

It is not only Olivier de Serres who speaks of the size and beauty of the Heidelberg trees with admiration, but also the curious adventurer of those parts, Michael Heberer, who was nicknamed Robinson of the Palatinate because of his sea voyages, his imprisonment in Turkey, and his wonderful escape. This great traveller says he "never found the like in Italy or Egypt." He continues: "His lordship has also a large, lovely garden next to the town, below the mountain [Gaisberg], which is enclosed by walls and partly by noble vines. In this garden there are often held knightly exercises by the gentle-folk, and also meetings of the rest of the rural population." But it gradually came to be felt that the long way from the castle to this garden was inconvenient. When Frederick V. of the Palatinate married Elizabeth, the daughter of James I. of England, in 1613, and soon after became the ruler of his own country, he made a plan for a large show garden (Fig. 382) beside his castle, such as Germany had never yet seen.

Elizabeth knew the right man to carry out this plan, and summoned her own tutor, Salomon de Caus, who since her brother's death and her own departure from England had lost his occupation. Elizabeth had been very fond of her brother Henry Frederick, whose intention it had been to accompany his sister to Germany for the wedding festivities; and now, at Heidelberg, she was glad to keep a living memorial of her lost brother in this teacher whom they had shared; thus it came about that Salomon de Caus became architect to the Palatine court. He made a little book of a collection of drawings of fountains and grottoes, and dedicated it to Elizabeth in 1615 in memory of her brother, to whom he had already dedicated an earlier work in 1612. It was destined to serve him as a real support and storehouse of ideas in aid of the great work that he now began without delay and with the utmost eagerness—the construction of the gardens of Heidelberg.

At that time he found outside the walls by the castle nothing besides a little level plot made in 1508, about two hundred feet square, with a wall. This ground was called the hare garden; and the few drawings show nothing at all of real garden design, though we may assume that there were vegetables or something of the sort. Above this place the mountain rose steeply, broken by the deep dip of the Friesenberg valley. The configuration could not have been worse for a garden site with terraces, such as de Caus desired; and it is indeed wonderful what the architect accomplished by hewing away the mountain side and filling up the valley. Even at the Villa d'Este there were no greater difficulties to contend with; in many places the walling amounts to seventy or eighty feet, so that the colossal niches which are visible in the great terraces are not by any means the least important part of this earthwork. And in two years the completion of four and in some parts five terraces was accomplished, so that it could support the famous garden of Heidelberg Castle (Fig. 383).

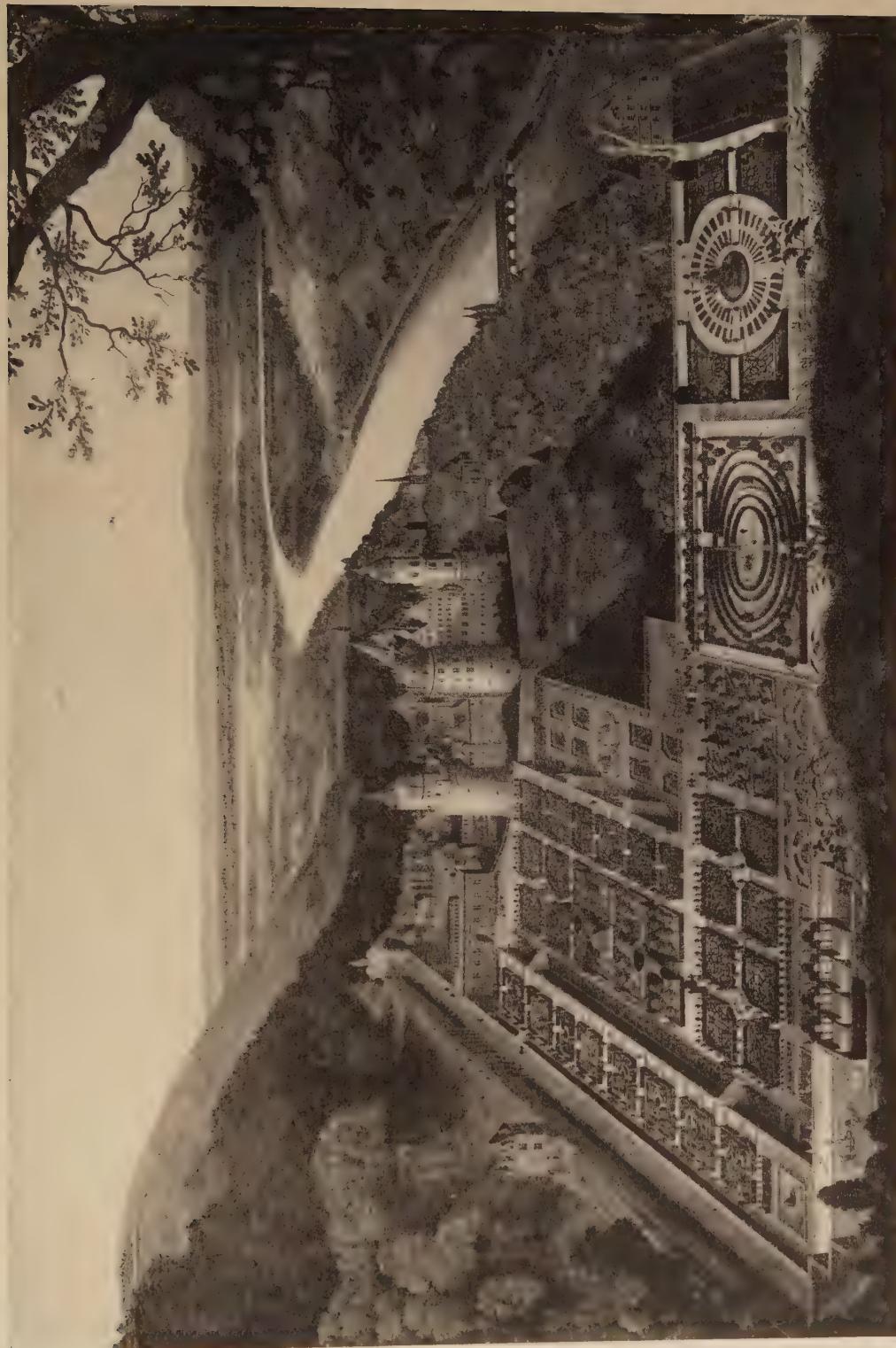


FIG. 383. THE CASTLE AND GARDEN, HEIDELBERG—GENERAL VIEW

Although de Caus proved in these foundation works that he was indeed a master of the soil, he was nevertheless unable, in spite of his Italian travel, and of his studies at Villa d'Este and Pratolino, to make his own the idea of artistic unity, of proportion, of the subordination of all the parts to the whole. He was a person of many-sided intellect, and not without considerable artistic gifts, as is proved by the number of his ideas, more plentiful in this garden than in any other of the time. He also had propounded to him here an extraordinarily difficult task, for the garden was situated outside any possible connection with the castle. It was a collection of gardens, which very different centuries had thrown together, each in its own style, each picturesque, but without any uniformity. The irregular trenches separated castle from hill, and to make anything really satisfactory the count would have had to create some quite new middle point in a summer-house on

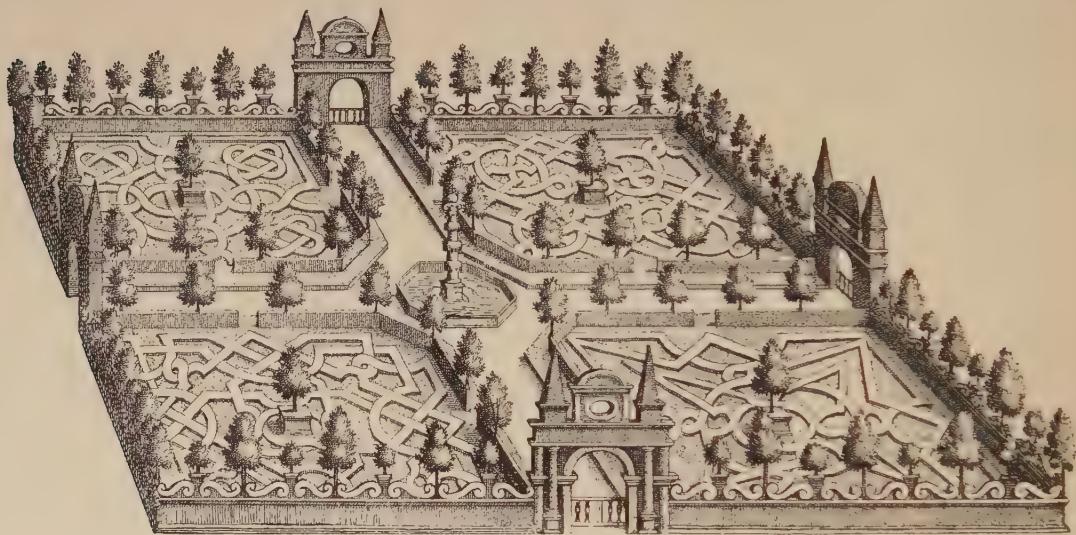


FIG. 384. HEIDELBERG—PARTERRE IN THE CASTLE GARDEN

the heights; but there was no need for this. Because architectural co-ordination could not be ensured, de Caus renounced all axial order, but this was owing chiefly to the fact that making steps was not really feasible. The garden at Heidelberg is the best argument on the negative side of the immense support given to the structure of a terrace garden by well-proportioned steps of harmonious design. Here all artistic plan is wanting in the steps, and they are nothing but steep breakneck connections between the terraces.

The Italians, above all the Romans, had long learned what a good background is provided by ornamental and convenient steps for any ceremonious occasion or large party. On the steps of such delightful gardens one imagines groups of lovely smiling ladies and proud nobles, moving up and down, whereas on the steep steps of the Heidelberg garden we see at best nothing but the young Lieselotte [Princess of the Palatinate, and afterwards Duchess of Orleans] jumping and scrambling down, tired with a romp on the upper terrace at ball or ninepins. But independently of the steps difficulty, an axial arrangement was outside any possible artistic idea for de Caus. He was compelled by the Friesenthal to bend the garden in two at a right angle, and so he got two sets of terraces. In each case he equipped the upper one with a fantastic but effective top part

with grottoes. But on no side was the view arranged so as to get a middle point; both groups of grottoes are set—it would appear to be intentionally—to one side, while the eye seems to be straining to look out at the end. In the same fashion the water is on several sides, but not treated systematically. The architect had too deeply engrained in his nature the mediaeval custom of treating every part separately, and never once is a terrace combined with anything else.

Salomon de Caus described the garden exactly two years later, in words and by illustrations, after the building had been rudely interrupted in 1618 when Frederick V. was called to the throne of Bohemia, and the Thirty Years' War broke out. Thus we have before us not only the work that was completed with amazing quickness up to the year 1618, but also the plan of the whole garden as the architect designed it. After this publication the Fouqui re picture was painted, which again served as a copy for the engraving of Merian.



FIG. 385. HEIDELBERG—FOUNTAIN STATUES IN THE CASTLE GARDEN¹

On the wide main terrace, which is on the same level as the castle entrance, we walk through a building at the end, a kind of aviary, and then stroll through five different parterres, each treated separately, and often cut off by special little entrance gates (Fig. 384). There is a fountain or a statue in the centre, and the paths are bordered with hedges or with pergolas and pavilions. The beds are laid out in different patterns so as to hold flowers, or little orange-trees, or tiny lawns. Behind, close to the wall of the terrace at the top, is a water-garden. From the basin at the corner of the higher side-terrace the water flows into a fountain, and a basin lower down transfers it into two receptacles adorned with statues (Fig. 385). The place ends with a pretty and effective water-parterre (Fig. 386), but oddly enough this is not arranged axially with the basins.

In the wall of the higher terraces, almost at the corner of the garden, is the entrance to the great grotto, which receives its waters from a reservoir that is again bordered with balustrades and is turned aside and adorned with a Venus fountain. The water plunges down on a step inside the grotto, and thence throws out streams to various fountains (Fig. 387). From the Venus fountain a peculiar convex double stairway leads to the pretty structure carved in greenery on the highest step. The long terrace at the

side, to which the two steep stairways lead, has insignificant parterre beds, and above lies the long narrow tennis path, which is cut off on the mountain side by a great alcove, still to be seen, crowned with the portrait of Frederick V. A similar construction should mark the end at the other side also. The intention of the architect was to carry on this road

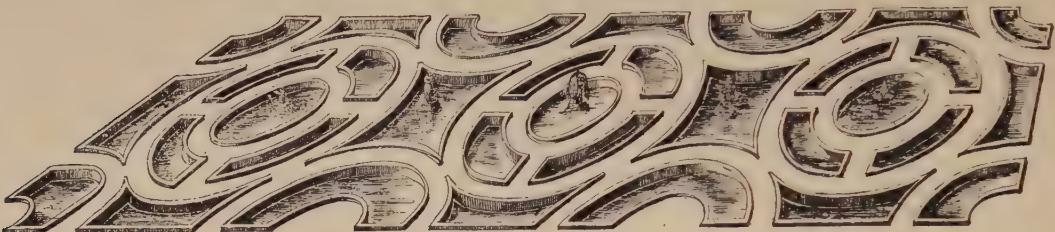


FIG. 386. HEIDELBERG CASTLE—THE WATER PARTERRE

at right angles as far as the end of the great terrace. Opposite the entrance to the castle, on an ascending terrace, more large grottoes were planned, wonderfully decorated on the façades, and with fountains and statues inside, but this part was never quite finished. The great terrace also, which stands opposite the castle on powerful arches above the Friesenthal, has only in part kept its early form.

At first the famous old orange-trees had been brought out of the garden up the mountain side with incredible pains and difficulty, and had been replanted in a long narrow garden—a thing that rightly caused universal admiration. De Caus wanted to replace the wooden winter-house with a stone one, whose roof and window could be taken out in summer, so that the supports might act as a broken wall. Above this garden, which was 280 feet in length, a labyrinth was to have been put, as a crown to the garden and also a protection, but it was never finished. Behind lay the medicinal garden, in a pretty part with pavilions at the corners, and lastly was to come a great square tower, with near it a small room cut out of the hedge; the tower also was never made, except its foundations. In the corner of this large middle terrace there was a three-sided stairway on a large scale, but very clumsy, leading to the lowest of the gardens, which, as it was so small, was treated as one whole. On both sides of the large basin adorned with figures which stood in the centre, there were beds held together in fours by a statue, while steps in sets of two, at the front dividing wall and with a slight edging of fountain-work, led to the higher terrace. All this must have made a separate garden, pretty and characteristic.

It is curious that de Caus says nothing in his description about the special piece in front of the new building which he made for his young mistress Elizabeth, and yet this garden on the level on the terrace next to the town was no doubt actually laid out. The decorative entrance-gate, which still stands, shows the same type of architecture that de Caus proposed for his stone orangery. There is an inscription which says that the Count Palatine erected this gate in honour of his wife. It was let into a wall, which had at its other end an aviary against the wall of the terrace. There is no picture giving the interior divisions of this garden, which was united by bridges with the new part of the castle. It was remade after the ravages of the Thirty Years' War, and little alterations were made here and there, before it came utterly to grief, castle buildings and all. At last in 1805 a terrace garden was laid out in the English style in a most unfortunate attempt to accommodate the picturesque grouping of shrubs and trees to the mighty terrace skeleton.

To-day one seeks with great difficulty for specimens of wrecked remains of grottoes and alcoves, to build up the old scene.

Andreas Harten, a deeply religious man and an enthusiastic Protestant, published a curious pamphlet about gardens in 1648, in which in 233 pages he compares the Bible to a pleasure-garden. The title of his book, which is full of superstition and witch-lore, is *Worldly and Heavenly Gardens*. In spite of everything, including his start in life as a taverner, he was himself a clever gardener, and at that time in the employ of Christian von Schönburg-Glauchau-Waldenburg, at Rochsburg in Saxony. Harten describes this garden (which he brought to great beauty), with its hedged-in paths, furnished with domes, towers, doors and windows, symmetrically laid-out parterres, again broken up into separate divisions with box edging, and each of these containing only one species of plant. He says in his book that since the Reformation (to which he attributes every good thing) "useful and necessary buildings for gardens and herbs have again reached so flourishing a state, though after great expense, that there is hardly a townsman who keeps anything in a town, but spends his all on garden building, to say nothing of potentates, lords, and nobles."

Harten contrasts this happy time before the Thirty Years' War with the gloomy days he was then living in. "To hinder the delightful garden-building day by day, the devil is always at work, and seeks out the right places; that is, on account of our sins, he incites the great potentates against one another, so that they lose sight of all the peaceful pleasures of eye and heart (which aforetime they took in their gardens), and he makes them



FIG. 387. HEIDELBERG CASTLE—THE INTERIOR OF THE GROTTO

go forth and spend all they have on unspeakable dissensions and wars (wherfrom they suffer not only pain, want, and danger, but all manner of adversity), though before they had spent their substance on beautiful pleasure-gardens, whence they got all that they needed and enjoyed and which they might still enjoy." But in the midst of the storms of war which are hostile to all culture and especially to the gardener's art, there were many exceptions. Harten himself boasts of his master "that he felt a remarkable kindness and affection for fine garden-making." And in the same year that Harten wrote, another prince's gardener gives a detailed description of the garden of his patron, the Duke of Brunswick. The beautiful garden of Hessem at Wolfenbüttel surrounded by water

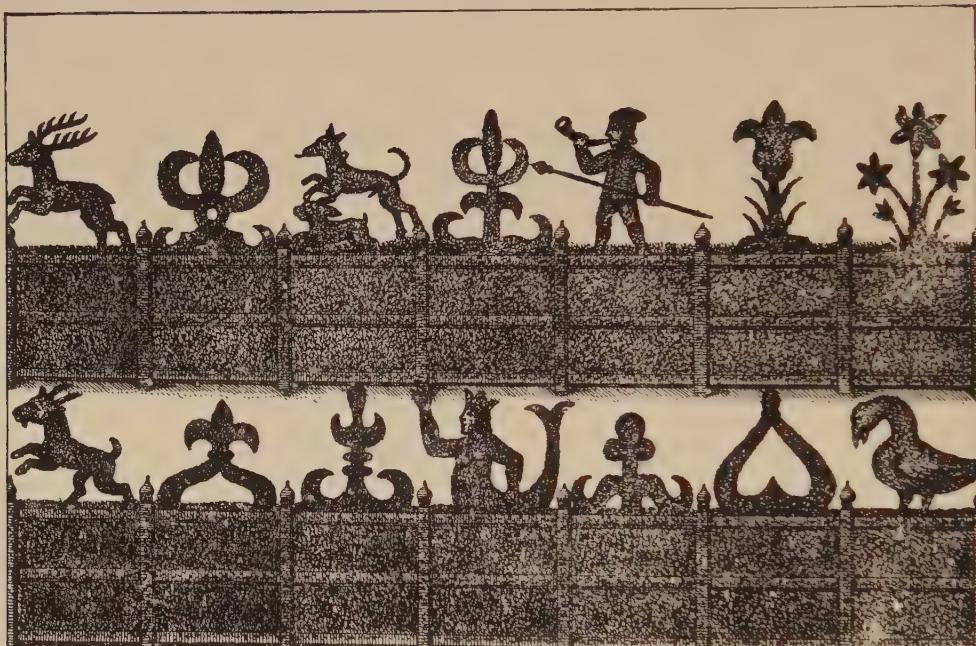


FIG. 388. CLIPPED HEDGES IN THE CASTLE GARDEN, HESSEM, BRUNSWICK

has its different parterres richly supplied with every kind of figure cut in the hedges (Fig. 388). The parterres are most elaborately laid out with stars and armorial bearings. One of these contains a masterpiece, a magnificent fountain that was once bought from merchants at Augsburg for 8000 gulden.

Out of the middle of the war-time, when the heart of the country was beating most wildly and restlessly, we hear a voice which is never tired of calling people to the peaceful art of garden-making, from the greatest sites to the smallest. Wallenstein never lost sight of home-life, although he himself stood over a dizzy abyss. When he took for his residence Gitschin in Bohemia, it was a wretched patch of 198 shingle-roofed houses. With unwearying trouble, warnings, threats, and most of all with money support, he brought the townsmen to the point of building better houses, and introduced orderliness and sobriety. He built a great castle for himself, and untiringly superintended its building. The garden, which lay behind the castle, appears to have been like the one he planned afterwards at Prague. In June 1630, shortly after his fall (in consequence of

the assembly of princes at Ratisbon and just before he took up his residence at Gitschin), he writes as follows: "If I am correct, there is no fountain in the garden plan exactly in front of the loggia. Tell the architect that there must be a large fountain put right in the middle of the square before the loggia; all the water must run into it and then out, dividing into two streams right and left, making the other fountains in the courts run in the same way. Send me the design of the garden, with not less than one of each set of fountains marked with numbers, and write what is needed for each of them."

Gitschin had an imposing park suitable for a country house, whose area amounted to 12,000 metres; and a wide avenue of limes with four rows of trees led to the town. The prince ordered guards to be set there "so that the limes should not be spoiled by the numbers of people who come from the town." In the park he grew uncommon trees and shrubs. The water in the garden, six fountains and a pond for swans, was conducted by eight artificial canals; there was a pheasantry and a garden for animals. We can get no clearer picture of his garden at the town house in Prague, "the Duke's house," with which he was concerned during the last years before he was murdered. He had about twenty town houses and other buildings taken down so as to obtain a good site here. As at Gitschin, the garden front of this large, irregularly built house had a loggia in the pure Italian style (Fig. 389). On one side was the prince's bathroom, treated in the grotto style. A winding stairway led from here to his private workroom. In front of the loggia was a wide square of garden with a beautiful fountain in the centre, and round this four beds making a parterre.

The unfavourable nature of the place does not allow the garden to stretch out as far as it should in length, and thus neither the noble loggia nor the garden can make a really finished picture. To get a view of the length axis, it is necessary to go to the aviary at the side of the hall, and here also the parterres are connected with fountains, and the garden is bounded along its whole breadth by a large water-mirror; in the centre is an island, with very probably a fountain group to make a *point de vue*. In the arcade-like



FIG. 389. WALLENSTEIN'S GARDEN AT PRAGUE

alcoves, statues used to stand, for the letters speak of their being set up there. Among others there was a bronze Hercules standing even as late as 1793. The aviary is a great wired building, the walls adorned with all sorts of shells and stalactites, and this is still there. In the aviary there were, in the Italian style, hedges, bushes, and trees, and the birds nested in them, as at the Palazzo Doria at Genoa. Italian influence is supreme in all these minor details, and at this period is very conspicuous. Baccio di Bianco, the gardener who afterwards migrated to Spain, was active here for a time. But the whole picture of the Kleinseite district at Prague must have produced an Italian effect in its buildings. The great pile of the seventeenth century, the Belvedere, was on the high part, the palaces of Lubkowitz and Fürstenburg on the slopes, with their terrace gardens: of these one can still see certain traces in isolated remains of steps, grottoes and pavilions, in what seem to be their former places, and lastly on the level ground the house of Wallenstein.

A man similar in many respects to Wallenstein, one whom the long war had moulded as a hero, and yet one who had added to the life of adventure a keen delight in the works of peace, such as building and gardening, was Maurice of Nassau. He certainly outlived the war, and his building activities in Germany belong to the period that followed it; still he had shown beforehand how well he knew how to combine the arts of peace and war. Fabulous stories are told of his buildings in Brazil, where he was sent in the service of the Dutch State. In the short space of seven years he had built no fewer than three great places in what is now Pernambuco, of which two, Freiburg and Boa Vista (Bellevue), were palaces; and these were castles with trenches round them and flanked with towers, according to superficial, untrustworthy accounts. There were bridges that led into fine pleasure-gardens, where probably French influence will have predominated, as also in the buildings, though the tall vegetation of the South must always have given a peculiar effect.

After Maurice came home to Europe in 1644 his work went to pieces. But he created a new field of activity, when in 1647 he entered the service of the "Great Elector." His lord wanted, like himself, to make the country more beautiful. With this intention he furthered the plans of a stadholder, who, though in his service and domain, began to build in the spirit of an independent prince. Just as Wallenstein converted Gitschin, so did Maurice convert Cleves from a wretched place into a flourishing residential town, and that in a very short time. He put avenues everywhere, and when he found a view but not enough height, he piled up artificial mounds, and built a series of country houses. These, according to the accounts we have, showed a purely Italian influence, especially the ornamental part of the so-called new animal-garden, which was built in terraces, one above the other, adorned with fountains. The lowest of these splashed its water up to a height of twenty-four feet from the beak of a black eagle which stood in the middle of a basin, of which the back wall was covered with rock-work and masks. The end at the lowest level was defined by two carved heraldic lions, a present from the Council of Amsterdam, and a fountain, in the shape of a star, sprinkled water above. On the third ascending terrace was the figure of a boy blowing in a shell and sitting on a dolphin. Finally the whole place was crowned by a Minerva in white marble, also a present from Holland: she stood in an amphitheatre adorned with vases, urns, and basins. Maurice was a travelled man, and acquainted with the gardens of the South; so although his eyes were often

directed towards Holland, which was near at hand, a place like this did not originate in Holland; and he was always able to tell his chief, afresh and justifiably, that his guests from Holland were full of admiration and astonishment for his work.

But a flourishing creation like this, coming immediately in the war and out of it, was a strange exception, for only slowly and little by little did people begin to recover tracts of land that had been entirely laid waste, and to build and plant anew. Therefore the Thirty Years' War completely put an end to the renaissance of garden art in Germany. The German princes once more had power and sufficient substance. Ornament and luxury in their homes became an increasing need. And a new star which gave an irresistible direction to culture of every kind, but especially influenced garden art, had arisen: this was Louis XIV.

CHAPTER XII
THE TIME OF LOUIS XIV

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IN the second half of the seventeenth century France held the leadership, obtained after long efforts and severe struggles, over the whole of Europe. She was incontestably at the highest summit of political power, but was still more obviously of first-rate importance in her culture, which was fortified by foreign examples and yet flourished independently on her own soil. Italy was compelled to resign the sceptre in many departments of art, but especially in gardening, to this rival in the North, after fulfilling her mission during a century and a half on the other side of the Alps.

The growth of native art in France was greatly favoured by the fact that there were no outside disturbances to hinder it. At the beginning of the seventeenth century garden art had received a strong impetus everywhere in the North, while in Germany the Thirty Years' War had left few flowers untrampled, and in England the rule of the Puritans, with their hatred for luxury, had perceptibly interfered with garden tradition. In France, however, progress had not suffered; for the civil disturbances of the Fronde were really only a trial of strength—skirmishing which could be put a stop to by reconciliations and persuasions, not war to the knife and therefore hostile to art. After the death of Henry IV., the king, as such, was in a less commanding position for a time, and the long regencies and the great power of the Church had made it easy for proud nobles to raise their pretensions to an equal height with his. The waves of political life communicated movement even to garden art. After the building of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Henry the Fourth's stately home, there was no important new royal house, and the old ones like Fontainebleau added few new features to castle and garden. On the other hand the Luxembourg, the residence of the queen regent, grew; and Richelieu's country house at Ruel attracted foreign visitors. With this a nobleman's castle like Liancourt might compete, or indeed that of a foreign adventurer, like Saint-Cloud. And if Fontainebleau and Saint-Germain may be included, they are after all only acquired properties, and at best the gardens and castles stand *inter pares*.

About the middle of the century, on the threshold of a new age, there stood out conspicuously a man who by virtue of his personality seemed to exhibit the spirit of his time—both the arrogance and the autocratic defiance characterising that period: this was Fouquet, the Finance Minister of Mazarin. Fouquet's delusion, and the snare that led to his fall, was that he—although having the finest instinct for what the future held in matters of art and science—failed entirely to realise what the embryo monarch would prove himself to be; and so in blind security rushed to his fate. There was an element of noble tragedy in his career. A shining example to Louis XIV., who knew himself to be his pupil but never acknowledged it, he was nevertheless overthrown by the king.

Fouquet was in the prime of life and at the zenith of his powers, when at the beginning of 1650 he arranged a contract with the architect Le Vau to build a castle called Vaux in his own viscounty, at Melun. He was still under forty, and he had no reason to doubt that by favour of Mazarin he would soon be appointed First Minister of

Finance, and he supposed that the rivalry of Colbert might be easily ignored. The young king, carelessly enmeshed in his love affairs and other pleasures, did not appear to feel the least desire to take the reins of state into his own hands. In order to clear the ground for castle, garden, and a proper open space round them, it was necessary for Fouquet to buy three villages, and to pull them down. The place grew with astonishing quickness over its foundations. The powerful financier had inexhaustible wealth at his disposal, so he pressed on the work eagerly. It is said that at times as many as eighteen thousand labourers were employed together, and the cost was computed at sixteen million livres.

Vaux-le-Vicomte is a fine building with pavilions about it, and has a wide moat all round (Fig. 390)—the natural thing for any country place, for almost without exception the neighbouring castles of recent

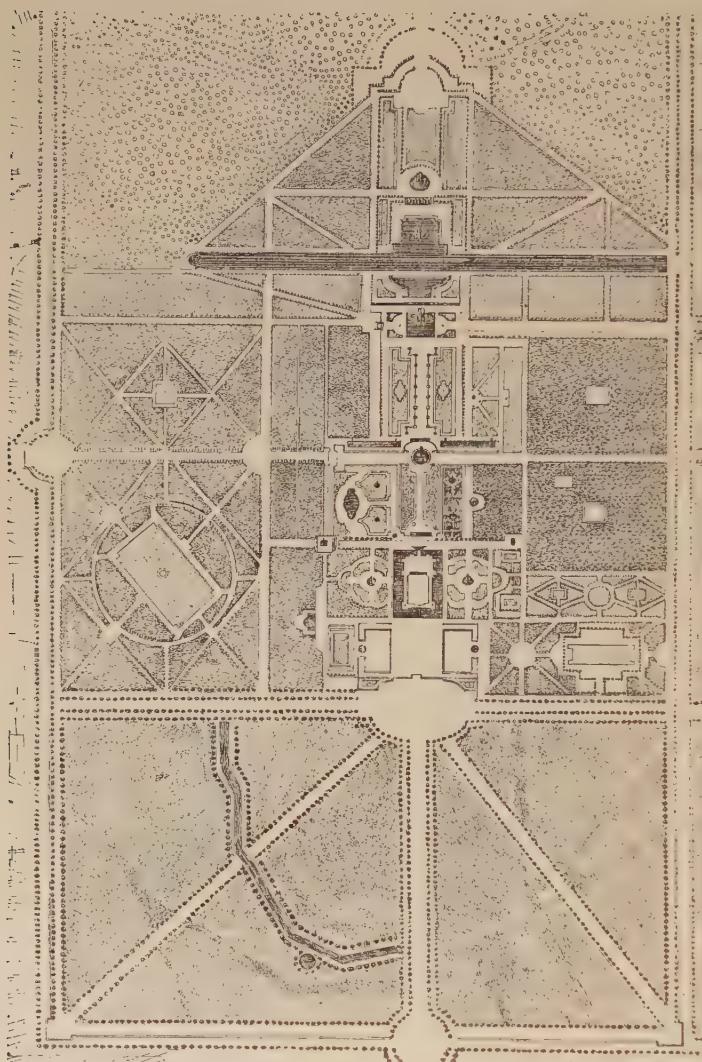
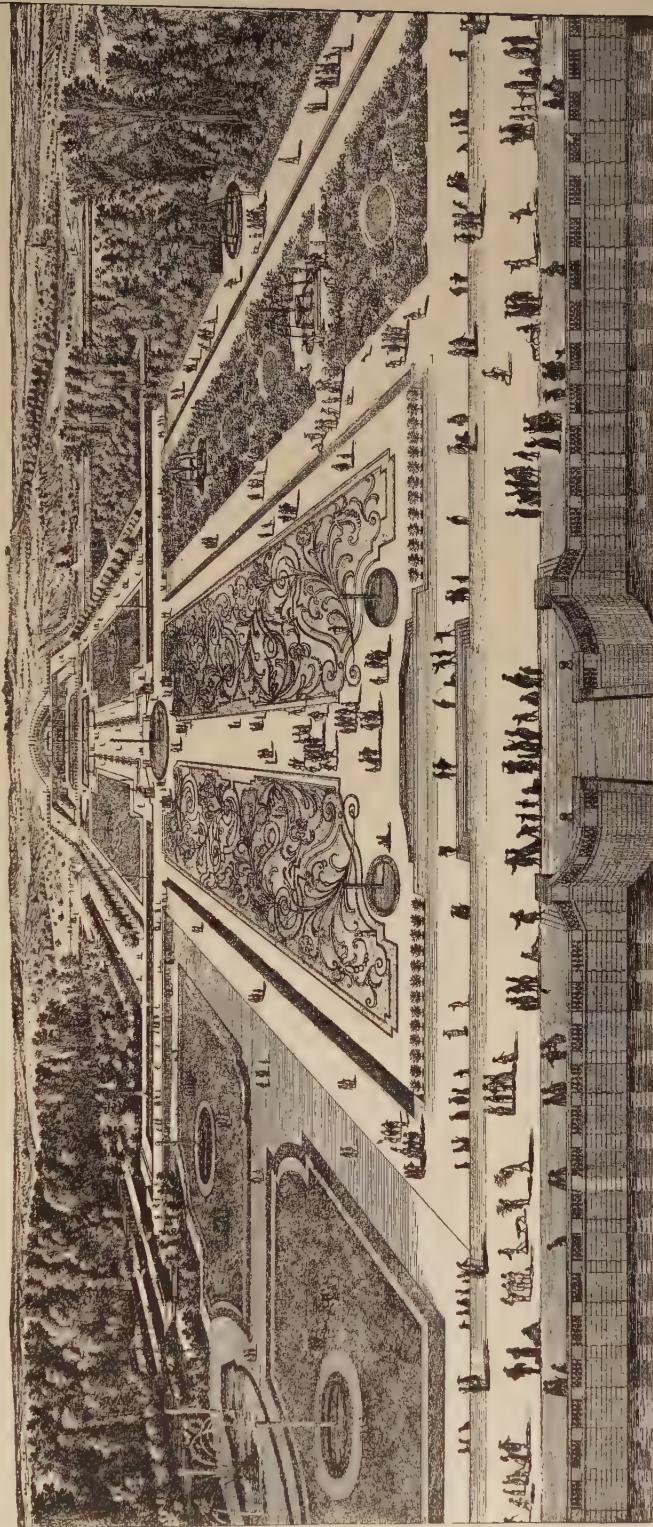


FIG. 390. VAUX-LE-VICOMTE—GROUND-PLAN

erection were still made as water-castles, for instance Ruel, Liancourt, and Louis the Thirteenth's palace at Versailles. In front of the castle was the wide entrance court, the *cour d'honneur*, cut off by a handsome semicircular balustrade and fine trellis barriers, to which the broad carriage roads of the park led. The stabling on both sides of the court covered kitchen places and vegetable plots. On the other side of the house, erected on terraces that were built up artificially, there was a vestibule inside the moat, which was bordered by a balustrade. From here there was a very good view of the greater part

FIG. 391. VAUX-LE-VICOMTE—VIEW OF THE GARDEN FROM THE CASTLE TERRACE



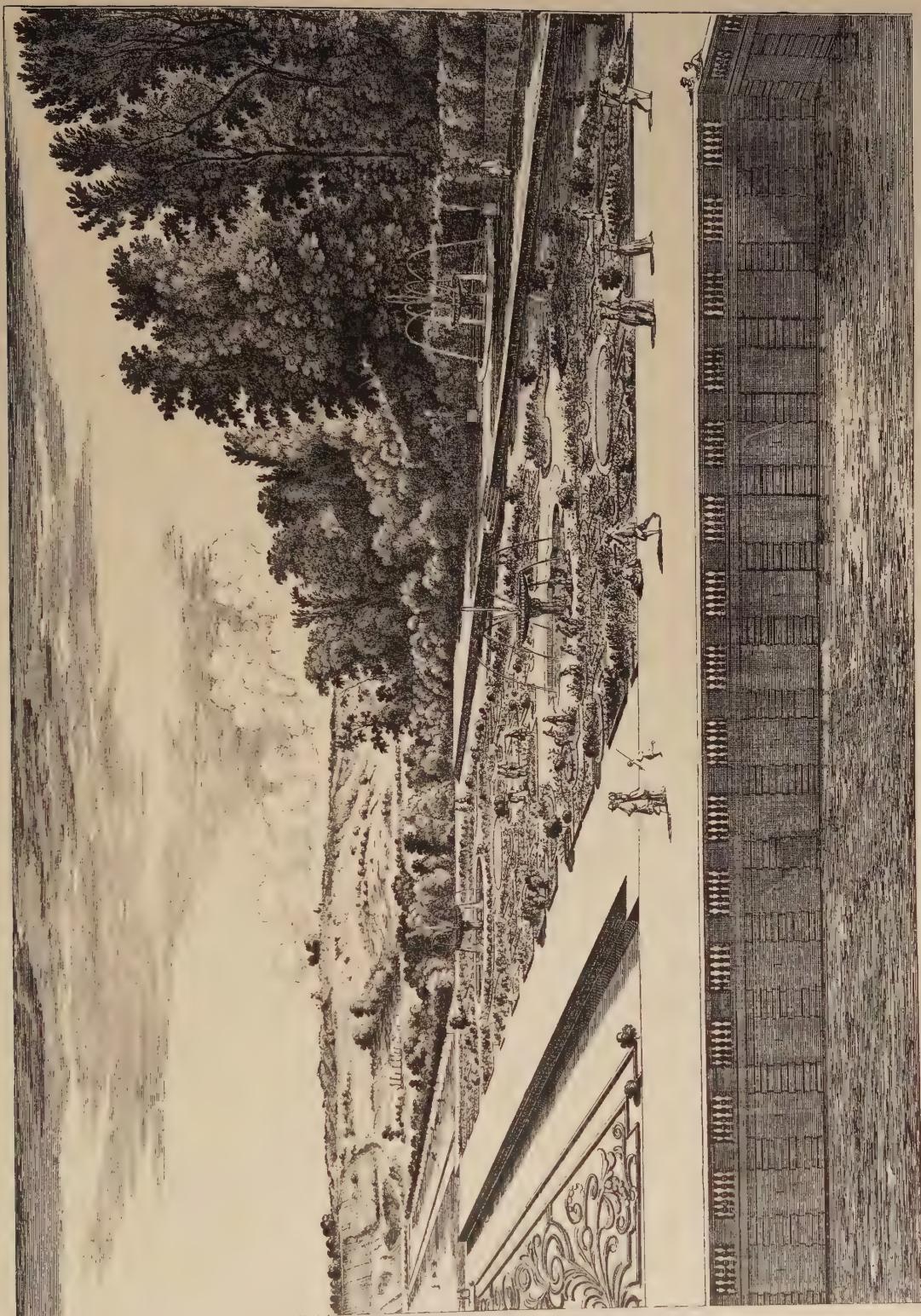
of the garden, which had perhaps been begun before the foundation stones of the castle were laid.

As early as 1625 the editor of Claude Mollet's work, *Le Théâtre des Plans et Jardinage*, dedicated it to Fouquet, and in it speaks of the wonderful garden at Vaux-le-Vicomte, where "they very delightfully allow art to strive with nature, and every day bring fresh beauties and new treasures." The work at the garden must at that time have been carried on with much eagerness, and it is certain that it was in great beauty when the castle was finished. Fouquet secured the then famous painter Charles Le Brun to decorate his castle and the other rooms at the villa. Le Brun then recommended to the Minister of Finance his young friend André Le Nôtre, who had, like himself, studied painting. He had got to know and like him through their common teacher, Simon Vouet, and he admired his imaginative fancy in decoration and his knowledge of garden art. Le Nôtre owed his scientific knowledge to his own home. His father was superintendent of the Tuileries Gardens. Here in Vaux-le-Vicomte André was to win that rank as an expert which was recognised half a century later all over Europe.

Mademoiselle de Scudéry, who describes Vaux in her novel *Clélie*, says soon after the place was completed: "The most wonderful thing is how this garden lies between two shrubberies, which agreeably break the view." This fine observer has here caught the peculiarity of the garden. We can stand with her on the terrace of the castle, whence a drawbridge leads over the moat (Fig. 391). On both sides of the castle there are parterres decked with fountains, intentionally made in simple lines so as not to distract the eye too much from the fine *parterre de broderie* that lies below the house. To right and left there are flower-gardens, which are worked out with much play of fountains (Fig. 392). The greatest admiration is caused by "la fontaine de la couronne," which balances on the shining waters a crown of water-spouts: there is a round fountain at the end, and the parterre is finished off with two small, narrow canals. Hence one goes down by the main path through a watery road. On both sides there are lawns edged with flowers and decked with fountains, and the water finds its way into a great square basin. If one stays to look from the terrace, the bright ribbon of the canal can be seen glittering from the depths below. This canal ends the garden abruptly, and has no bridge: it widens into a large basin, behind which the natural hill rises somewhat steeply. A triangle, regular but ending in a semicircle, occupies a space in the park ground.

The hill is marked out and ornamented with grotto-work, fountains, and water-beasts right up to the top, where the imposing scene ends with a huge figure of Hercules and a great column of water. This limitation of the background corresponds to the confinement of the sides with shrubberies. On the left of the castle the ground rises; and this is made use of for a terrace, approached in the side-garden axis by a small piece of ground with a cascade and a fine ascent of steps. On the other side are shrubberies with trellis bordering the walks, and here are found either flower-lawns or gardens, or paths with fountains, or what is called a water-theatre. Leaving the castle terrace and going down through the water road to the terrace of the great canal, the visitor is met with a surprise. At the dividing wall of the castle, and so not visible from there, a cascade appears, a contrast in life and movement to the peaceful gleaming line of the canal. But such cascades are not only the adornment of the lowest of the terraces, which is sunk

FIG. 392. VAUX-LE-VICOMTE—PARTERRE AT THE SIDE OF THE CASTLE



between two high places, they also enliven the scene from the hill where the great Hercules stands with a view of garden and castle (Fig. 393).

Two important currents of thought that in every field were dominating men's minds at this period were now adopted by Le Nôtre, who saw how to use them in his gardens from the very beginning and how to blend them. The one represented the spirit of discipline, of firm, distinct, defined rule, of proportion: this idea found expression in literature in the work of Boileau, in politics in the ever-increasing monarchical sentiment, in fashionable life in etiquette cultivated to the very extreme of refinement. In opposition to this, however, there was the unrestrained and constantly growing desire for variety, for change. The society which was subjected willingly and consciously to this spirit of discipline, and found therein the expression of its highest culture, the fixed form and rule of life, would have grown old before its time, indeed would have died of sheer boredom, had it not been for its constant search—so often perplexing to us—for novelty and change, which rendered its votaries continually breathless and excited. Vaux-le-Vicomte was the first attempt to combine these two requirements.

French gardens before then had the severe axial order, even from the time of Du Cerceau, but the terraces in his day presented the same or similar pictures, each separately; the parterres again were exactly alike, and symmetry was marked in the repetition of the same lines. When then in the seventeenth century Italian influence began to be felt in a new direction, there was no real mastery of the novel idea of the whole and its parts. The cascades at Saint-Cloud and Ruel lie at the side in their own special axis, with no relation to that of the house, and the famous "variété" at Ruel is, as a whole, unrestful and scattered. But Le Nôtre perceived that the most important thing was to create a magnificent scene which could be viewed as a whole from the house, and demanded this character of being visible before anything else, although its main lines might show all sorts of variety in parterres and in water: for this garden was intended to serve for royal fêtes and the display of magnificent costumes, exercises, and fireworks; everything and everybody must be seen. But for a picture a frame was needed, and this was provided by shrubberies that each separately constituted a private garden, in which more and more variety would be found to answer the most extravagant demands.

Fouquet had before all things in his mind, at the making of Vaux-le-Vicomte, the holding of great fêtes, such as France had never yet heard of. He could scarcely wait till everything was quite ready, but in the summer of 1661 he gave his first great fête in honour of the young, much admired lady, Henrietta, wife of the Duke of Orleans, the king's brother. Molière, at that time in Monsieur's company as actor and poet, first introduced his *Ecole des Maris* at this entertainment. Fouquet seemed overwhelmed with every sort of good luck, and in the year 1659 he became sole "General Intendant." His party seemed extraordinarily strong, though certainly for a few months past storm-clouds had been rising, and on 9 March Mazarin had died. In the conferences at his minister's death-bed the monarchical feelings of Louis seem to have matured and hardened to decision. Soon after Mazarin's death he summoned his cabinet, and announced that henceforth he was going to be his own prime minister.

Fouquet still did not believe the signs, or the warnings of his friends, while Colbert was steadily working towards his downfall. Nothing could show up the perilous system of Fouquet to hostile eyes more glaringly than the hitherto unheard-of magnificence of

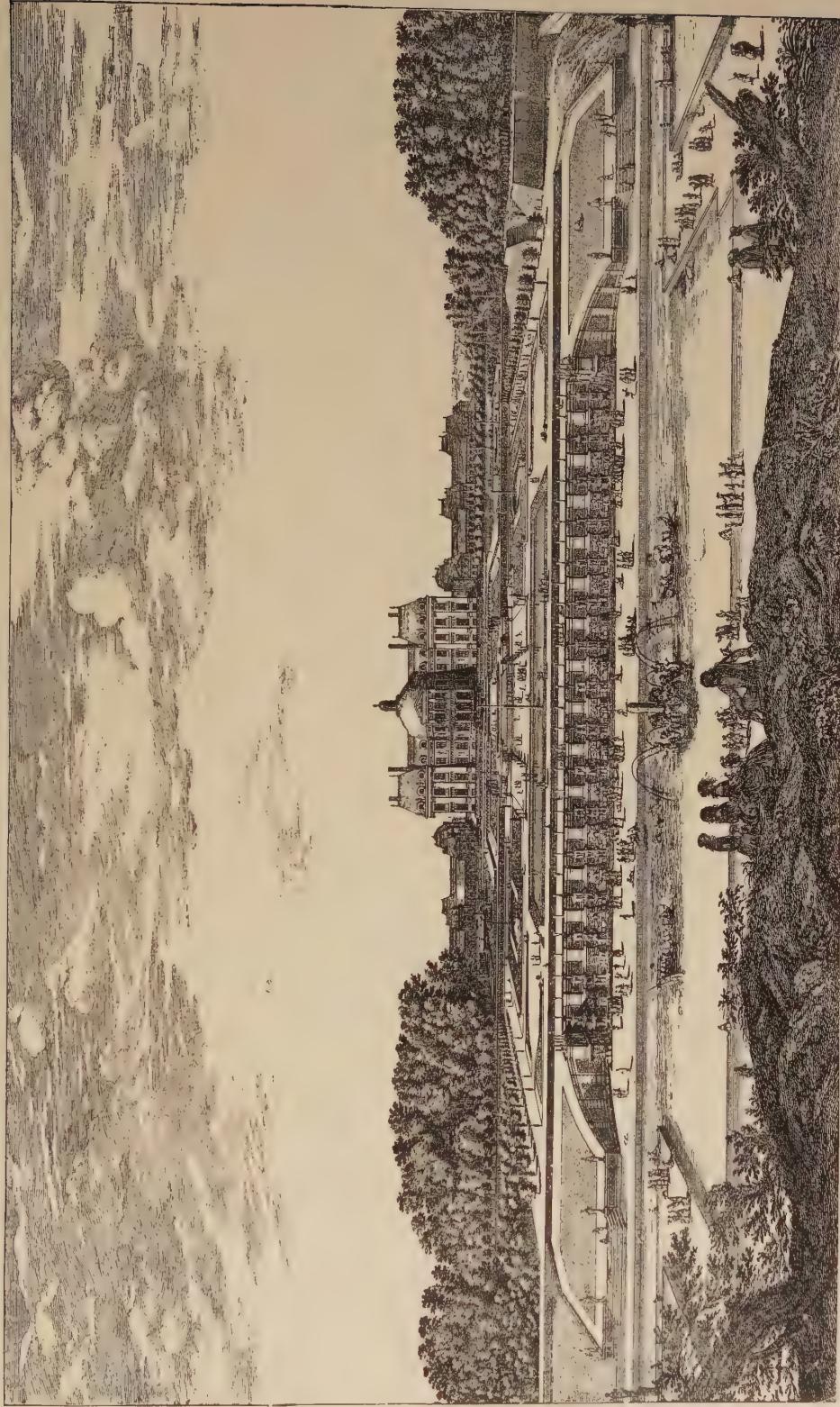


FIG. 393. VAUX-LE-VICOMTE—VIEW TOWARDS THE CASTLE FROM THE CANAL

his new castle. It was said that Colbert visited it secretly while it was still in course of building, and informed the king of the immense number of workmen and the enormous expenses. The brilliant fête, at which the king was not present, excited his anger and also his greed, and he offered to appear at another one on 17 August. But Fouquet's fall was a prearranged affair; indeed the king had purposed to arrest his host at his own house while the fête was going on, and it was only his mother who dissuaded him from this. The king arrived, and was received with pomp; but he could scarcely restrain his anger at the luxury which he could not equal. In the grand procession which inaugurated the fête, he saw everywhere the armorial bearings of his minister, an ibex with the proud but ill-starred motto, *Quo non ascendet*.

After the great feast came the performance, in the garden, of Molière's piece, *Les Fâcheux*, at the theatre erected at the end of an avenue of pines. This had been written in fifteen days especially for the festival. Le Brun had painted the decorations; and Pélixson, the well-known prose writer, and Fouquet's secretary, had composed a prologue for it, which was recited by the best actress of the day, La Béjart. A ballet, suited to the persons of the comedy, was conducted by Giacomo Torelli of Urbino, whose cleverness at decoration and machinery had gained him the name of "Le grand Jongleur." After the acting a firework display caused the greatest enthusiasm. At this there occurred an unfortunate accident: two horses belonging to the queen-mother's carriage shied and were drowned in the great canal. Lafontaine, who wrote an eloquent description of this gala to his friend Mancroi, ends his letter with the words: "I did not imagine that my account would have such a sad ending." The poet did not know what a gloomy import these words held; for he and the host of admirers never suspected that, one short month later, their Mæcenas, their friend, and their protector, in strict custody, and accused of high treason, would only just escape a sentence of death, and that his doom of exile for life would only be commuted to imprisonment for life by the king who hated and would not forgive him.

The wonderful beauty of Vaux-le-Vicomte flowered quickly but soon faded and was gone, leaving behind only loneliness and neglect. But Fouquet's name and character never shone so brightly in the days of glory as now in the season of misfortune. Though a strong opposing party might have oppressed him, though his own ambition might have so far misled him that he had become a dangerous servant to the king, and though the new course of the ship of state might have baffled him, he did as a fact acquire a glorious halo, arising from the love, the unwearying faithfulness, and the active help of friends, poets, artists, and men of letters. Fouquet was no ordinary patron; he knew how to make these people his friends. He was really something of an artist himself, and understood what he gave other people to do. It is related of him that, when he was coming out of the sessions room during his own trial and was being led through a court outside, he saw some workmen busy at a well; he stopped and went up to them, and forgetting his own troubles, gave them advice as to how they could start it better, "for I have some knowledge of these matters."

The kind thought that he had constantly for those about him was shown in various ways. Corneille, who wrote his *Oedipus* at Fouquet's request, says in his preface that Fouquet, who at that time was living at the fine castle of Saint-Mandé, had opened his library in the town (as well as the one in the country) as a waiting-room. Scarcely was the news of his downfall known when a general cry of lamentation arose. Pélixson, who had

been confined in the Bastille, wrote from there one pamphlet after another against Colbert. Loret, a journalist who had glorified Fouquet's life and his festivities in his paper, both in poetry and prose, published such a violent article against Colbert that he was deprived of his pension. As soon as Fouquet in his prison heard of this, he wrote to Mademoiselle de Scudéry asking her to send an indemnity to his faithful friend. Lafontaine, who had spent some happy years in Fouquet's circle of artists, composed a moving poem praying the king to grant mercy. "The air in your deep grotto is full of laments, the nymphs of Vaux are weeping." Lafontaine had already begun a small book, in Fouquet's day of good fortune, wherein he was to sing of the beauties of Vaux in allegorical style. This remained long a mere unpublished fragment, but ten years later he issued it under the title of *The Dream of Vaux*, and in his introductory verses musically laments the fate of the unhappy man "who displeased his king and lost his friends, yet to whom in spite of his fall I dedicate these tears." In honour of Fouquet he makes four fairies appear, Architecture, Painting, Garden Art, and the Art of Poetry: they approach the Judge's seat, where Fouquet presides, and plead for the foremost rank. After Architecture and Painting, who advance proudly and certain of victory, Garden Art appears, so fair, quiet, and lovable, that the judges are at once struck by her modest charm. Then when she simply and sweetly spoke of her beauties, all hearts were disposed towards her; and had not Painting brought forward a picture the truth of which Garden Art sadly admitted, showing what she was like in winter, the prize of victory, ultimately carried off by Poetry, would have been awarded to her.

Thus high did Garden Art stand among her sisters, whose best representatives all assembled around Fouquet. "He was called *Le cœur le plus magnifique du royaume*, but this meant wounding Louis XIV. in his tenderest spot and incurring his spite." So writes Sainte-Beuve in his essay. And yet perhaps it was the greatest reward that the prisoner won within his dungeon walls, that Louis could do no better than take into his own service (being as he was the real pupil of his hated minister) that same circle of artists which Fouquet had collected about him, to educate them and fill them with his own spirit—so much so that they never lost their longing and their compassion for him. When in the king's mind the plan ripened of building at Versailles a royal palace which should eclipse every other, he took Le Vau as his architect, Le Brun as his painter, and Le Nôtre as the designer of his garden; while it was Lafontaine and Molière who contributed to the palace half its glory and splendid shows.

Ever since the year 1624 Louis XIII., whose only passion was the chase, had had a small shooting-box in the wide marshy ground at Versailles. He first hunted there when he was a boy of six, and had gone to Versailles since with an ever-increasing affection. The little castle, made of brick and rough-cast, built round a court with pavilions at the four corners, and surrounded by a wide moat, was pretty. The garden was quite in the style of the first third of the seventeenth century, and was laid out by Jacques Boyceau, who was superintendent of it as long as he lived. In his work there are two drawings still to be seen of parterres at Versailles, one a *parterre de broderie*, near the front of the castle on the garden side, the other a *parterre de pelouse*, with larger strips of lawn; and as this one is inscribed "from the park at Versailles," it was probably farther away. There is no reason to suppose that the garden was extended so early as the time of Louis XIII., nor, as many have assumed, that it already showed the main lines of its later state.

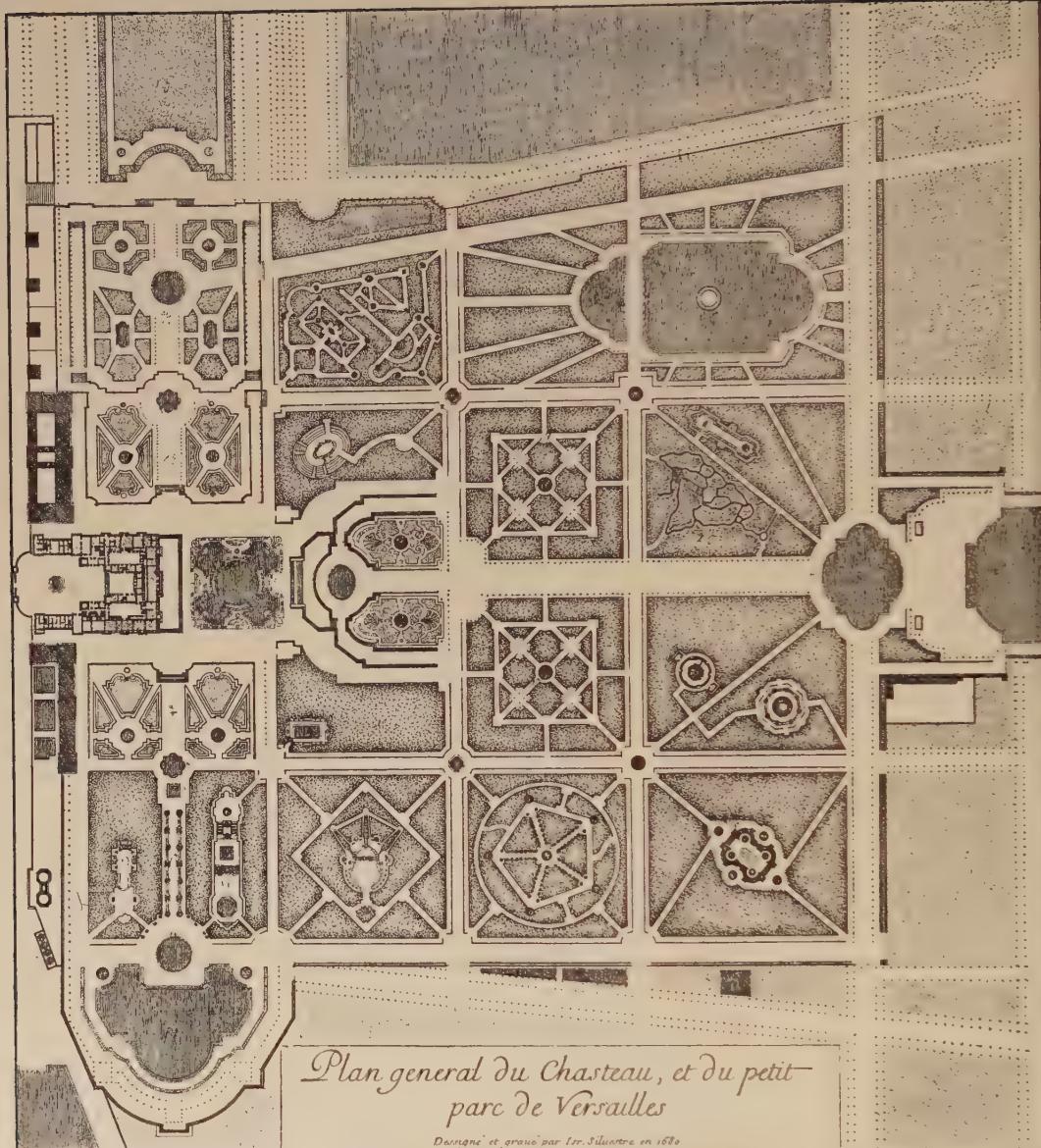


FIG. 394. VERSAILLES—PLAN OF THE PETIT PARC

Also the plan drawn by Gomboust in 1652 of Paris and its environs shows Versailles with only a few parterres and surrounded by an immense park.

Louis XIV. seems to have shared his father's affection for the place from the beginning. Its interest turned on the hunting; and after he had his first hunt there as a boy of twelve, he grew so fond of the simple, pretty little castle that it took him a long time to decide on a new building. He never did make up his mind to pull the old one down but instead gave the builders the hard task of making new shells, one after another, round the old kernel. And so it was the garden and not the beauty of the castle that first excited his envy and sense of rivalry at Vaux-le-Vicomte.

The main lines of the gardens of Versailles must have been planned immediately after the fall of Fouquet—in 1662–3 (Fig. 394). In these days we have accustomed ourselves to bring the immense castle buildings—showing a garden front of 415 metres—into harmony with the powerful lines of the garden, and to understand one by way of the other. But when the king gave orders to Le Nôtre to design a royal garden such as the world had never yet seen, there was nothing but the little hunting-box; and since he carried out the garden in its main lines and huge dimensions in those first six years before Louis could make up his mind that Le Vau should undertake the first extension of the buildings, we must imagine that Le Nôtre had in his mind some sort of vision of a palace of immense size, for he could hardly have ventured to combine this little moated castle with a far-reaching garden scheme of such magnitude.

As a fact, Louis did help him with his demands and desires. He often came out to Versailles, and the castle was itself changed and made magnificent inside. Here Le Brun was quite in his proper place, with his inexhaustible fancy in decoration. Fouquet had already started a Gobelin factory, and Le Brun was at the head of it, and had his own ideas carried out there. In this too the king had copied him, or rather he had had the factory moved to Versailles. But if he did have his rooms set out more tastefully, his hunting-box could not extend beyond the moat, and Louis planned fêtes that should even surpass those of the Spanish court in style and magnitude. Therefore, the garden must serve as a theatre, since the castle could not; and Le Nôtre knew very well what he was about when he brought down the horseshoe paths from the great upper terrace, and there laid out a second large parterre, and followed on with a very wide avenue, 335 metres long. This avenue passed from the parterre through thick, park-like shrubberies, of which at first only two were completed with their inside decoration, to a great oval basin, beyond which a wide cross-road formed the end to the garden. In 1664 the king was at the height

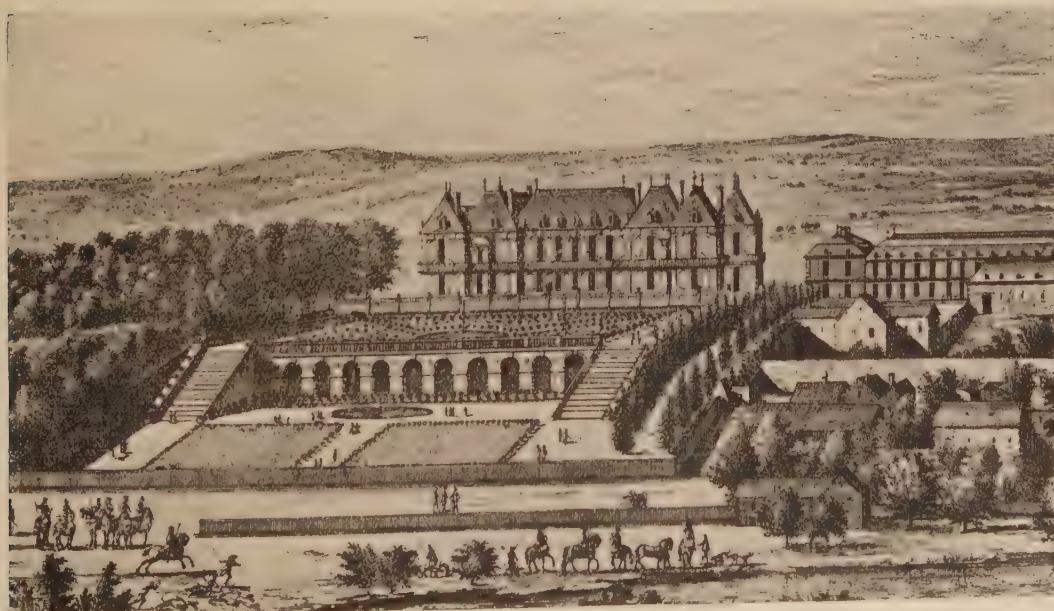


FIG. 395. LOUIS THE THIRTEENTH'S OLD CASTLE AT VERSAILLES, WITH THE ORANGERY

of his passion for Madame La Vallière, with whom he frequently had a rendezvous in the hunting-box at Versailles. It is reported that it was in honour of the birth of her child that the king designed the grand fête which from the seventh to the fourteenth of May converted the lower part of the garden into the fairy palace of Ariosto's *Alcina*. The palace itself was built in the middle of the great pond at the end of an island; the four walks in the avenues leading to the rotunda ended in triumphal arches, and between there were rows of seats rising like an amphitheatre, where the spectators were to sit and look on at performances, exercises, and sports, and as a finish at the wonderful



FIG. 396. VERSAILLES—WATER-AVENUE AND DRAGON FOUNTAIN

firework piece, wherein after the disenchantment of Ruggiero the magic castle goes up in flames. On another day, a hundred paces farther along, there was an improvised theatre, covered with a white linen cloth, and here Molière's *La Princesse d'Elide* was produced. There were water-sports in the moat, and a royal lottery came at the close of this most varied fête. As it was blessed with the finest possible weather, it was a brilliant success. In spite of all, the courtiers were angry, as Madame de Sévigné says, because the king had invited six hundred people and had not paid the least attention to their accommodation, "so that the gentlemen of Switzerland and Elbeuf had not a hole to hide in."

Meanwhile the king did not contemplate any enlargement of his castle, though the works in the garden were pressed forward eagerly. The orangery under the south parterre was made before 1664 (Fig. 395); it was only half as wide as it is now, thus corresponding to the small building, and it had twelve narrow arches with the parterre and its basin in front, where the orange-trees were placed in summer. Louis had 190 trees transplanted

from Vaux to Versailles, getting them brought there by Fouquet's former gardener, La Quintenay, whom he also took into his service. Above the orangery was the flower parterre, which must have existed in Louis the Thirteenth's time, for Boyceau had made the plan of it. This parterre was shut off towards the castle garden by a wooden lattice, and remained of the same size when the castle was enlarged the first time; it was only much later that it was made twice as big. From 1678 it looked over the new orangery made by Mansart, and beyond it to the huge *pièce d'eau des Suisses*, at the side of which were the

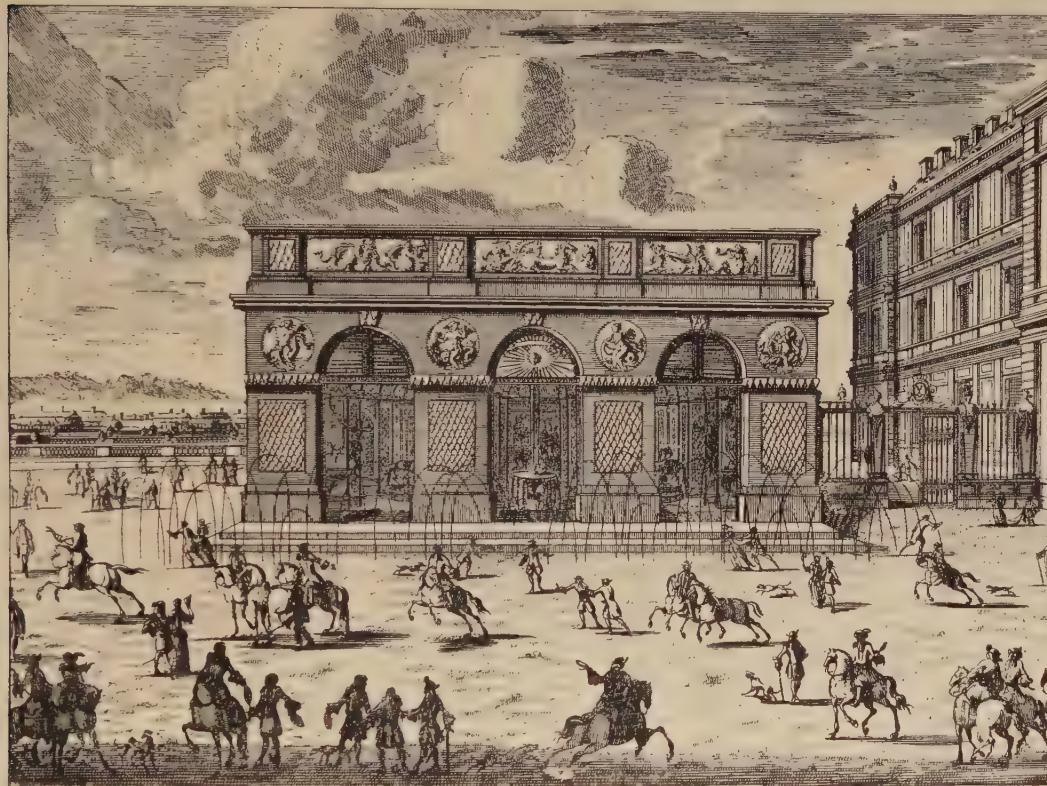


FIG. 397. VERSAILLES—GROTTO OF THETIS

tree- and kitchen-gardens. But on the north side the corresponding part towards the castle already had in 1664 its large parterre and wonderful water-devices whence the avenue with the pretty groups of children slopes gently down to the Basin of Neptune between two boskets that were often altered (Fig. 396).

The finest piece of ornamental work, however, on the northern side was one of the earliest that Louis made, the Grotto of Thetis (Fig. 397). It was situated where the chapel is now, and later it had to give place to the extension buildings of the castle's north wing, carried out by Mansart. The maker of the grotto was a certain Francini, no doubt one of the family of architects that Maria de' Medici summoned to France. We hear of two brothers Francini who did their utmost as architects in water, and utilised every drop they could find in the neighbourhood, which was poor in springs. The chief reservoirs were put above the grotto, in the three chambers of which the water was dispersed into thousands

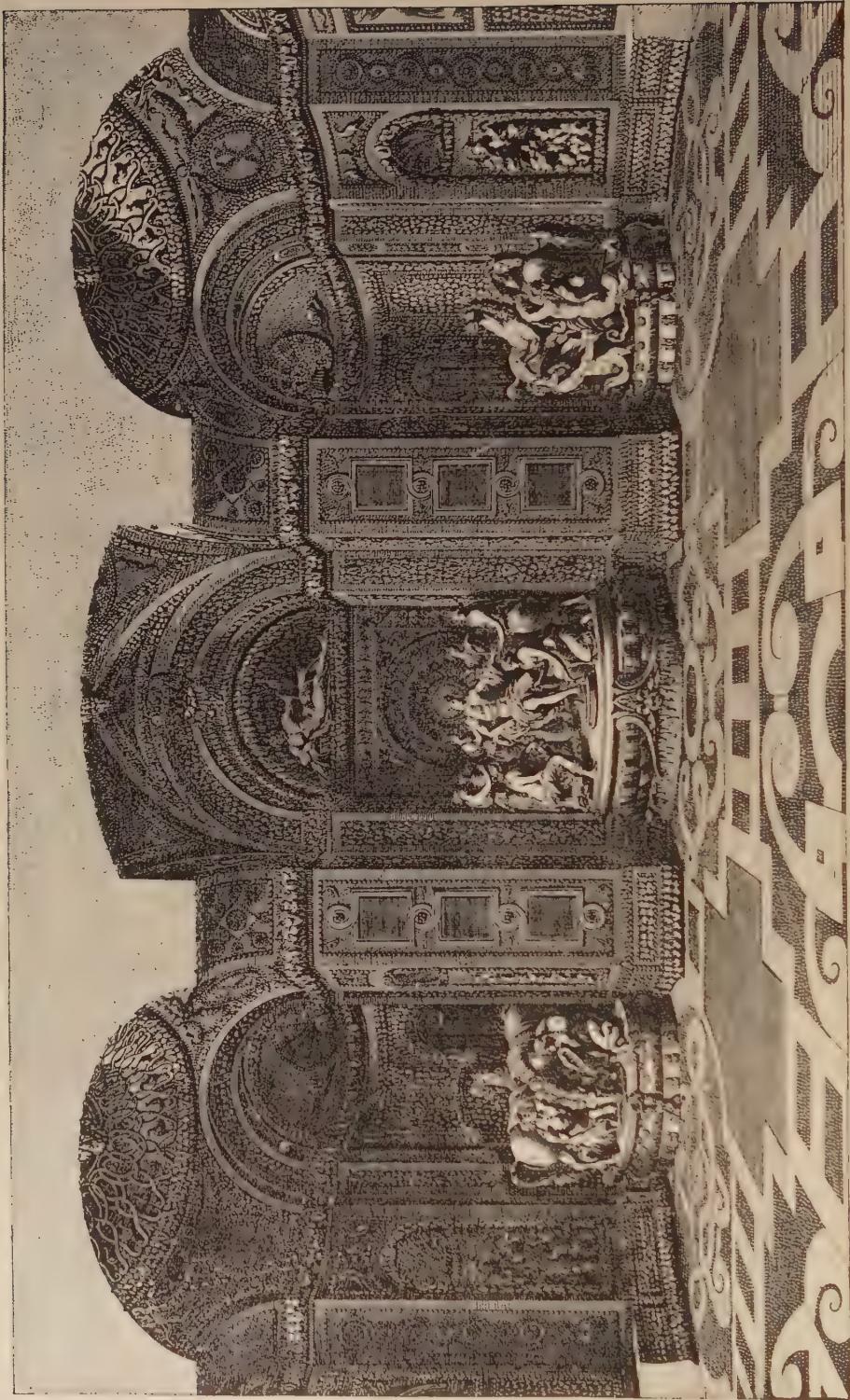


FIG. 398. VERSAILLES—INTERIOR OF THE GROTTO OF THETIS

of the devices so popular at the time, and into fountains. The approach to the grotto was closed by three gigantic arched gates with gilded iron openings, upon which rays starting from a sun disk streamed down to six maps of the world in the form of medallions. Here started the worship of the sun, which the king himself personified in many and various ways at Versailles, as "Le Roi Soleil." Above these gates was seen a relief carving of Helios coming down to Thetis and hailed by nymphs and tritons. The interior of the grotto with its endless decorations of shells did not receive its finest ornamentation till 1675, when three groups of statuary were put up: a reclining Apollo



FIG. 399. VERSAILLES—THE LATONA FOUNTAIN

with nymphs around him, and to right and left the horses of the sun-god being watered by tritons (Fig. 398).

The great terrace immediately before the castle was a child of many sorrows for Le Nôtre, because no other part of the place was changed so many times. First of all there was a way across the drawbridge over the moat, with balustrades here and there, leading into a formal carpet-patterned parterre. This is what Boyceau designed, and what Le Nôtre found. He does not appear to have altered it at all for some time, because the first water-parterre is seen in the pictures that give the castle as enlarged by Le Vau. Originally only gently inclined walks of semicircular shape led from the great terrace to the Latona parterre, which from its form got the name of the Horseshoe. It was in 1666 that Le Nôtre laid down the imposing steps which gave the feature of immense size to the show-garden, which again derives much of its importance and justification from the new buildings of Le Vau. In these years also the ornamentation was carried through of the two

basins at the beginning and end of the great King's Avenue, intended to give the proper rhythm to the middle axis of the garden. If the cult by courtiers of the "Roi Soleil" had already begun in the grotto, the brotherhood of earthly and heavenly Sun-Kings had purposely united, so that the whole garden could be converted into a veritable temple of the sun.

The decoration of the water in the Horseshoe depicts the birth of Latona's son. On an island the goddess, with the twins at her side (Fig. 399), is praying Jupiter to



FIG. 400. VERSAILLES—THE BASIN OF APOLLO AND "TAPIS VERT"

pour his anger upon the rough people who, scattered about in the water below, are spurting jets upon her, that rise out of human bodies with mouths of frogs or from actual frogs. The original place was like this, but later on the noisy horrid creatures were quite close to the goddess, and had been reared up so that when the jets were playing the whole place looked like a water-mountain. But at the end of the avenue, in the centre of the gigantic pond, which once had supported Alcina's palace of enchantments, there arose from the waves the young god with his four fiery steeds, just surmounting the water with half their bodies (Fig. 400). Tritons trumpeting at the side announced the new light of day. But behind the Apollo fountain men were eagerly digging out the great canal. Le Nôtre had never felt the smallest doubt as to constructing this work on so immense a scale and with such incomparably imposing effect; for it was started at the trench of the crossways, and was gradually extended farther to the four points at the ends. This work satisfied by one ingenious effort the practical necessity of draining the marshy ground of the low-lying

park, and of collecting the many separate canals and ponds into one, so making the garden an enclosure and giving it width at the same time, as only a moving mirror of water on a large scale can do. Possibly the canal at Fontainebleau had led the way to this, and the first attempt at Vaux had also been happy in garden and ground; but the wide canal at Versailles, 1560 metres by 120 metres, whose cross-arms (Fig. 401) extended to the length of 1013 metres, achieves the finest realisation of this idea of a French canal garden; and from then till now it has never been surpassed, but only imitated.

Louis had done a great deal for the garden, but still could not make up his mind to enlarge the little house. At the beginning Colbert was very hostile to Versailles, and he could not bear to see Le Nôtre and Le Vau always coming with new plans, so as to keep in the king's good graces—plans that Louis accepted unhesitatingly and with real pleasure. There is a story that Le Nôtre was one day walking through the garden with the king, who gave the same cheerful answer to every proposal of his, "Le Nôtre, I will allow you 10,000 francs for that," when Le Nôtre suddenly stopped and exclaimed, "I will not say another word, or I shall be the ruin of your Majesty." It was far more in accordance with Colbert's ideas to enlarge the Louvre in a grand way, and so to fix the king in Paris. In 1664 he wrote him an outspoken, pressing letter: "Your Majesty is aware that, except for brilliant deeds of arms, nothing shows the greatness and the spirit of a prince so much as monumental buildings. Posterity esteems a prince according to the measure of those noble buildings that he puts up in his reign. How deplorable will it be, if the greatest and mightiest of kings, who shows excellence in the highest degree that a prince can attain to, should be measured by the standard of Versailles!—and such a danger is likely to befall."

As events proved, Colbert's fears were justified up to a point that he could never have dreamed of.

Louis did certainly build at the Louvre, but with little interest, for he did not care for Paris, and it was at Versailles that he celebrated his festivals and his victories. In the year 1668 the Peace of Aix was made the occasion of festivities far more splendid and fairylike than anything that took place four years earlier. Madame La Vallière was nearing the end of her power, for the king had just come under the influence of Madame de Montespan, who, like himself, was in the full tide of youth. Louis had carried out the fateful ideas of monarchic rule, the Fronde affair was over, and its supporters were now his faithful servants; he had also been victorious over the foreign foe. The lady was beautiful and full of spirit and caprice. Madame La Vallière, who was modest and affectionate and inclined to be sad, hesitated a little while and then retired to a "cloister.

In 1668 the king would only have about him what was entirely pleasurable. The garden was now, as we have said, quite ready as seen from the castle, with its great lines, and its main ornament—the parts for show. But the twelve shrubberies made in the three main walks and the three crossways were at that time for the most part only simple *massifs*, as they were called, consisting of groups of trees with paths among them. There is only one of these thickets that appears to have been turned into a decorative garden inside, perhaps with a view to this fête; it was called the Water Hill, on account of the rock-like fountains springing from a round basin; or else the Star, because of the five paths which approached these fountains and were bordered by trellis in a clever way. Here the "grand folk" took their breakfast, where the place was ornamented with

vases, arcades of cypresses, and sculptures. From here they proceeded to the theatre at one of the crossings, and soon came to the basin where the Saturn fountain was set up, with foliage overhead and costly tapestries intended to imitate marble. Here Molière's comedy *Georges Dandin* was performed, with music by Lulli. As early as 1665 Molière had become the king's court poet; and Louis (who had at first detested him because of his satire) treated him later on as protégé and friend, as long as Molière lived; and it is well known that the greater number of his comedies were written for the king's fêtes and were often directly commissioned.

In French gardens permanent theatres of greenery, without which later on in the eighteenth century no garden was complete, were still unknown. Pastoral plays and masques, which originated at these fêtes and because of them, were by preference played with a garden background. Spain had done things of the sort, as we know, that were quite astonishing. The theatre at Buen Retiro, with the stage opening into the park, was a peculiar blend of permanent theatre and garden background. When the party stayed in the garden, the stage was placed here or there in a suitable place. It was the business of mechanicians and stage-managers to produce surprising effects and wonders of decoration in the least possible time. The theatrical performance was for Louis XIV., as for Philip IV., the centre point of the splendid fête.

A place specially beloved by the king was the grotto, which he also used as a background for all kinds of musical performances. The other festivities on these May days of the year 1668, the supper and the tennis, took place at the various crossways of the avenues, or at the basins of Flora and Ceres, which were converted by the artists into wonderful rooms, all green and adorned with fountains, sculpture and draperies, so that people could say (comparing them with the rooms in the castle which had their own fountains and flowers at these fêtes) that "palaces have turned into gardens, and gardens into palaces." Two displays of fireworks given in the chief walk came at the end of these joyful days: the cost was computed at nearly 120,000 livres. A picture by the artist Patel has preserved the scene of castle and garden, as the king arrived at the fête in his chariot with six horses.

Shortly after this, when the remains of the fête were still ornamenting the garden, Lafontaine paid a visit to Versailles accompanied by three friends, Racine, Boileau, and Molière, with a view to seeing the king's new arrangements. Lafontaine made use of this visit in a kind of prologue to his poem *Psyche*, and to him we owe the first description of the garden. The friends came in a carriage, and made their first halt at the menagerie. This perhaps belongs to the works of Louis XIII., and is situated in the park at the place where the cross-road of the great canal ends, and where the Trianon stands on the opposite side (Fig. 401). But Louis XIV. was incessantly building there: the central piece which comprises the chief animal-house in the middle, and the little ones grouped round it like the spokes of a wheel, was designed by Mansart, and has supplied the pattern for many other menageries in parks. Next to the menagerie comes the beautiful orangery, and this draws spirited verses from one of the three.

At table the writers talk about the owner of all these lovely things. "It is only Jupiter who can without rest rule the world; human beings need to pause. Alexander gave his leisure to debaucheries, Augustus to games, Scipio and Lælius often amused themselves with throwing flat stones over the water, but our king is content to build



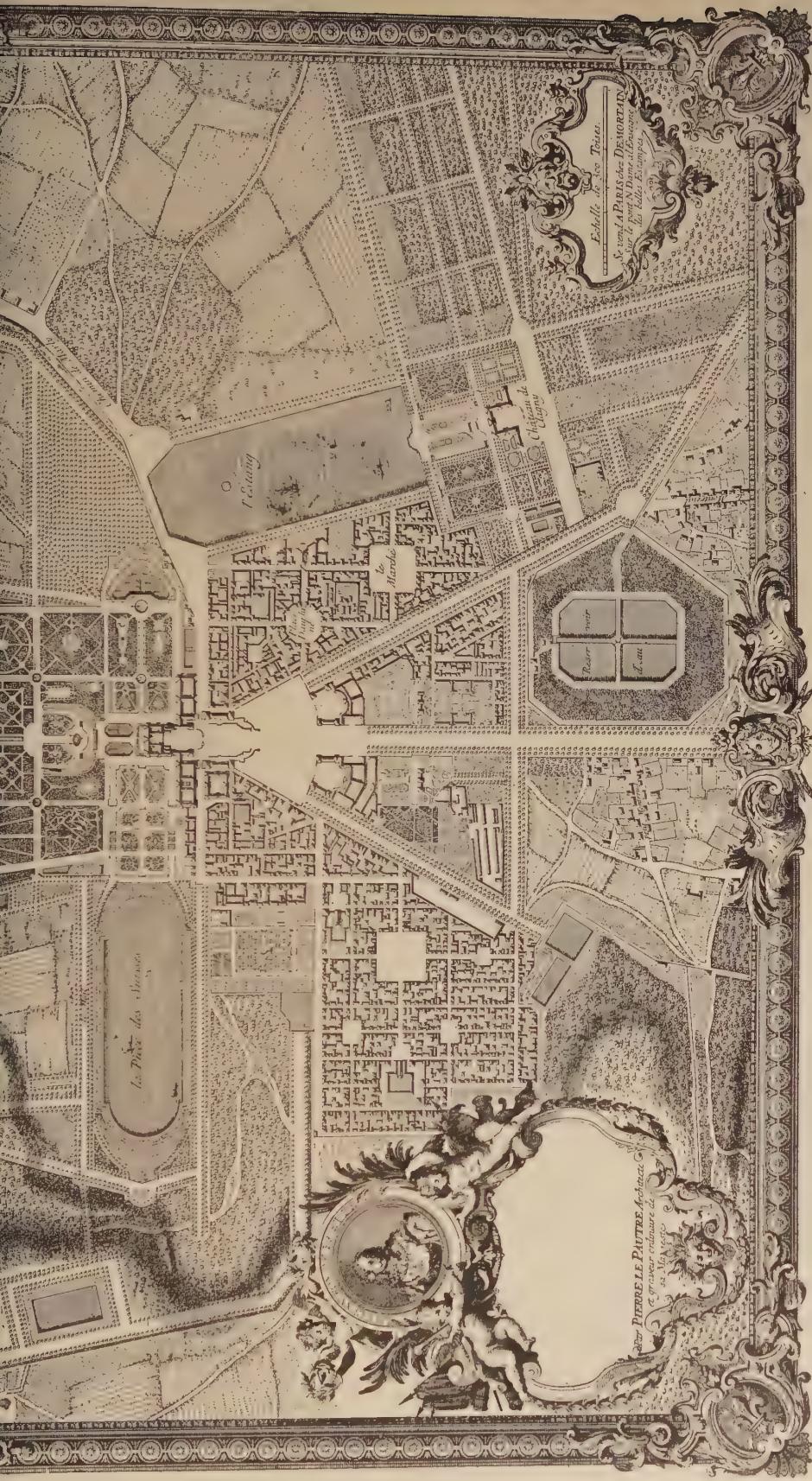
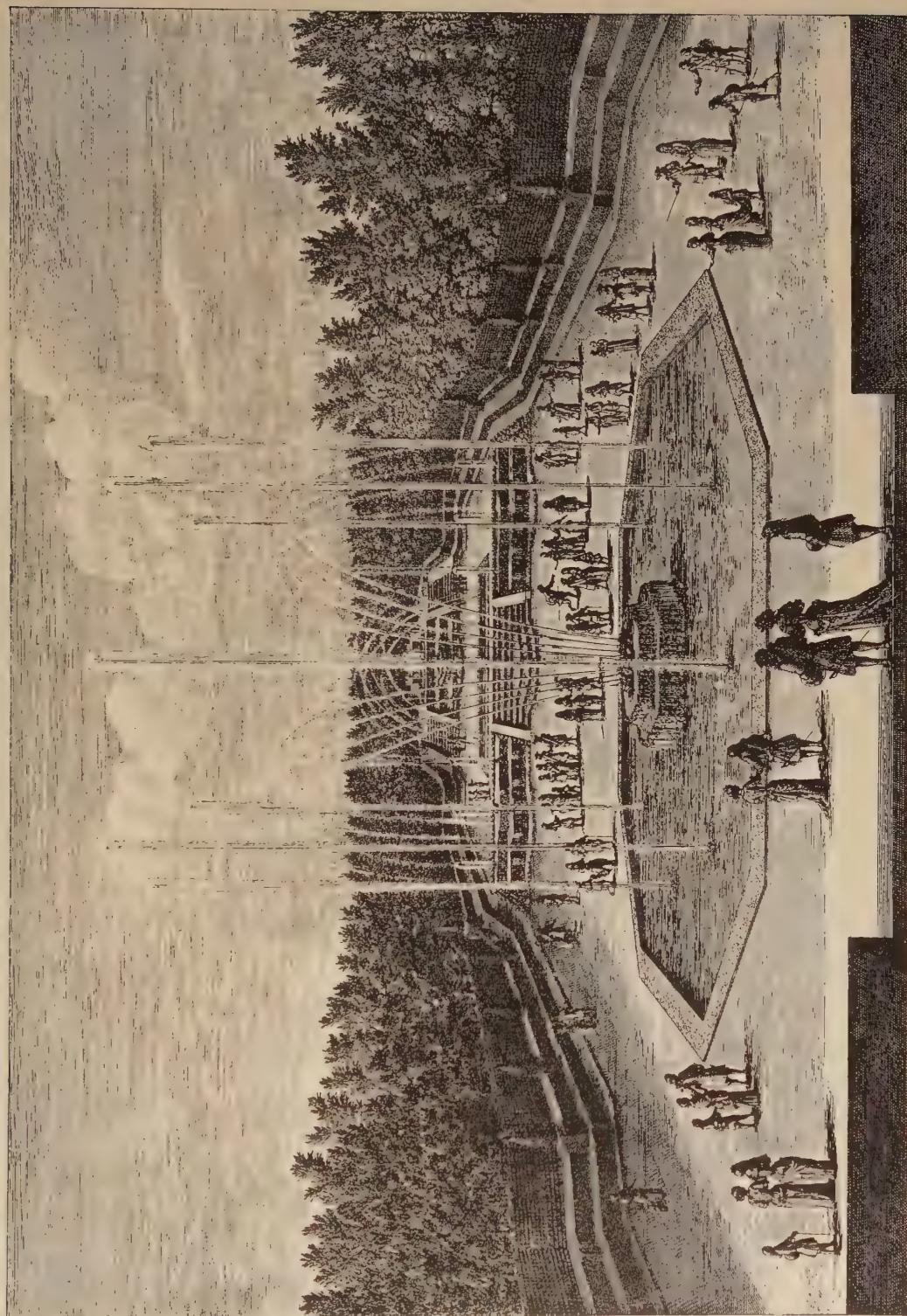


FIG. 401. VERSAILLES—GENERAL PLAN, INCLUDING CLAGNY, THE TRIANON AND THE MENAGERIE, AND SHOWING THE GREAT CANAL

FIG. 402. VERSAILLES—THE BOISSET OF THE THREE FOUNTAINS



palaces, and that is worthy of him . . . gardens so lovely and buildings so glorious are an honour to our country." This kind of flattery was what Louis liked best to hear. The end and aim of the friends' visit was, however, the grotto, and this is described in detail with its ornament and water-plays. But when the man on guard wants them to take part in the fun of these tricks, they cry off, and he can "keep them for townspeople and Germans." They ask for a dry place, and then Lafontaine reads his friends the first book of his poem. Between the reading of the first and second books they look at the other garden, and especially enjoy the charm of the basin of Latona, revealed to them as a whole from the stairs above it. This Lafontaine describes in his melodious verse. A little later Mademoiselle de Scudéry visits the garden, and her description is accurate to the minutest details, in her own eloquent and picturesque style. In the grotto she brings before our minds the concert of artificial birds and water-organs.

After this fête of 1668 the want of room in the small castle made itself overwhelmingly felt, and Louis could not again venture to house his guests so badly. Therefore he decided to build, but only on the strict understanding that the old castle must be preserved, whereupon Le Vau put the first shell round it. But it is characteristic that the king kept, to the end, his own private bedroom and sitting-room in this old central kernel of the castle. Le Vau's building was set up over the filled-in moat and the terrace in front of it, so that the parterre at the side had not to be removed; and the disappearance of the moat is significant architecturally, for it was a final farewell to the Renaissance feeling in France. A new age needed more space than a ring of water would allow. It is probable that from this date no castle of importance in France had a canal entirely round it, although, as we shall see, the founders did not like to be quite without water-trenches.

The fête had a greater effect on the garden of the future than on the actual castle, for both Le Nôtre and other artists had observed, when they put up the perishable green rooms in their splendid variety, that it would be much better to make such private fête-apartments with out-of-door decoration that would last, and so would be at hand always, and could be quickly got ready; for now, when they had to realise, as Colbert did at last, that the court would be living in the open, they must be continually inventing new surprises and new fêtes. For this purpose they could best make use of the shrubberies in the *Petit Parc* (Fig. 394), as the garden reaching to the great canal was now called. Some of these were already started. Now, however, in rivalry with Le Vau, who was very ambitious, a most prolific period set in for Le Nôtre. In the years 1669–74 all the boskets on the northern side of the great avenue came into being. First, after the making of the étoile, the two at the side of the Children's Walk that led to Neptune's basin were laid out. In the green *massif* of trees on the left—for the most part confined by a trellis—there appeared a water-arbour (*berceau d'eau*) where people could walk under the arches and keep dry; on the other side there was a water-pavilion, that consisted of a great series of jets of water and dolphins. Later on there was made in this place the beautiful Bosket of the Three Fountains (Fig. 402).

Le Nôtre and the other artists who were working together during these feverishly busy and productive years knew well that they could only hope to please a court that was *blasé*, and easily bored, by the production of more and ever more startling novelties. The artists in water had the most trouble, for they had to produce Le Nôtre's new surprises. An immense supply of water was wanted to feed the endless fountains that were made



FIG. 403. VERSAILLES—THE BOSQUET OF THE WATER-THEATRE

in these years, and new ones were always in request. Wonderful fountains arose at every crossing-point of walks, after the temporary buildings for theatre and fête were put up in 1668. On the top of the basins were Flora, Ceres, Bacchus, and Saturn. These are some of the few statues still in existence. But any number more were needed in the groves.

The water-theatre (Fig. 403) in the northern group is one of the most artistic and

most admired of these; at any rate it is designed as a permanent garden theatre artistically decorated, and it was so used. There is a semicircular stage with three paths rising gently from it in the form of a star, and in each of these there is a water-stairway with several sets of jets spouting high; then on both sides of the water-stairway there are narrow paths, crossed by jets that form arches and rise from between pyramidal yews. Where the paths meet there are smaller places with fountains; and the tall trees, which throw the whole into deep shadow, are held back with low trellis-work.

A narrow space with fountains divides the stage from the spectators, who are in a large apartment with seats of grassy lawn raised up as an amphitheatre. The picture is completed with vases of flowers and fine statue decoration.

One of the most charming ideas of Le Nôtre was the labyrinth scheme, which was carried out in 1674. Lafontaine had brought the name of Æsop into everybody's mouth with his *Fables*, and had also made French people familiar with Æsop's appearance in the beautiful prose preface to the work. So Le Nôtre set up the Greek fable-monger opposite a figure of Eros at the entrance to the labyrinth. Anyone strolling in, enticed by Eros, will find that Æsop will be his guide, with his fables. For at every complication of the paths, which are very intricate, there stands a fountain adorned with animals taken from

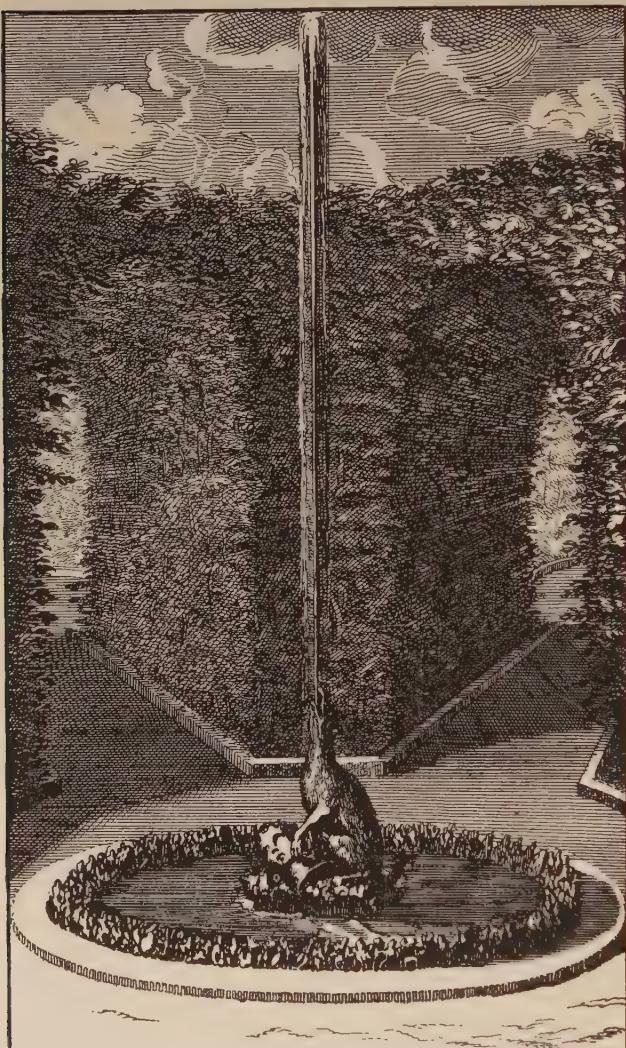


FIG. 404. VERSAILLES—FOUNTAIN IN THE LABYRINTH

one of the fables (Fig. 404). There are thirty-nine fountains as different surprises, all very pretty and humorous. At that time it was of the first importance to find some new device instead of the well-known designs for the labyrinth. And here there was a veritable garden of enchantment; the stranger had the loveliest pictures before his eyes, whichever way he turned. The animals were made of lead, and painted in natural colours, but the fountains were of coloured stones and shells, and their background mostly of lattice or smoothly-cut beech hedges. Nothing more charming could be imagined than these animal groups designed by the best artists.

The king and his court took great part in such developments, and there is a whole series of drawings and engravings showing Louis and his retinue inspecting one of the new groves. To make plans for fresh bosquets became a sort of game at court. Le Nôtre certainly did not smile on amateur efforts, but when the powerful mistress, Madame de Montespan, wanted one of her own ideas carried out, all hands had to set to work. Madame little knew what an old scheme she was introducing into French gardens with her bronze tree that spurted water from the tips of its leaves. Perhaps her idea came straight from Spain. The tree was in the centre of a square basin crowned with bronze bulrushes, from which rose jets that crossed with those starting out of the tree, while swans at the corners sent their own jets into the pond. Other fountains completed this pretty artificial picture, as for example a pond with a

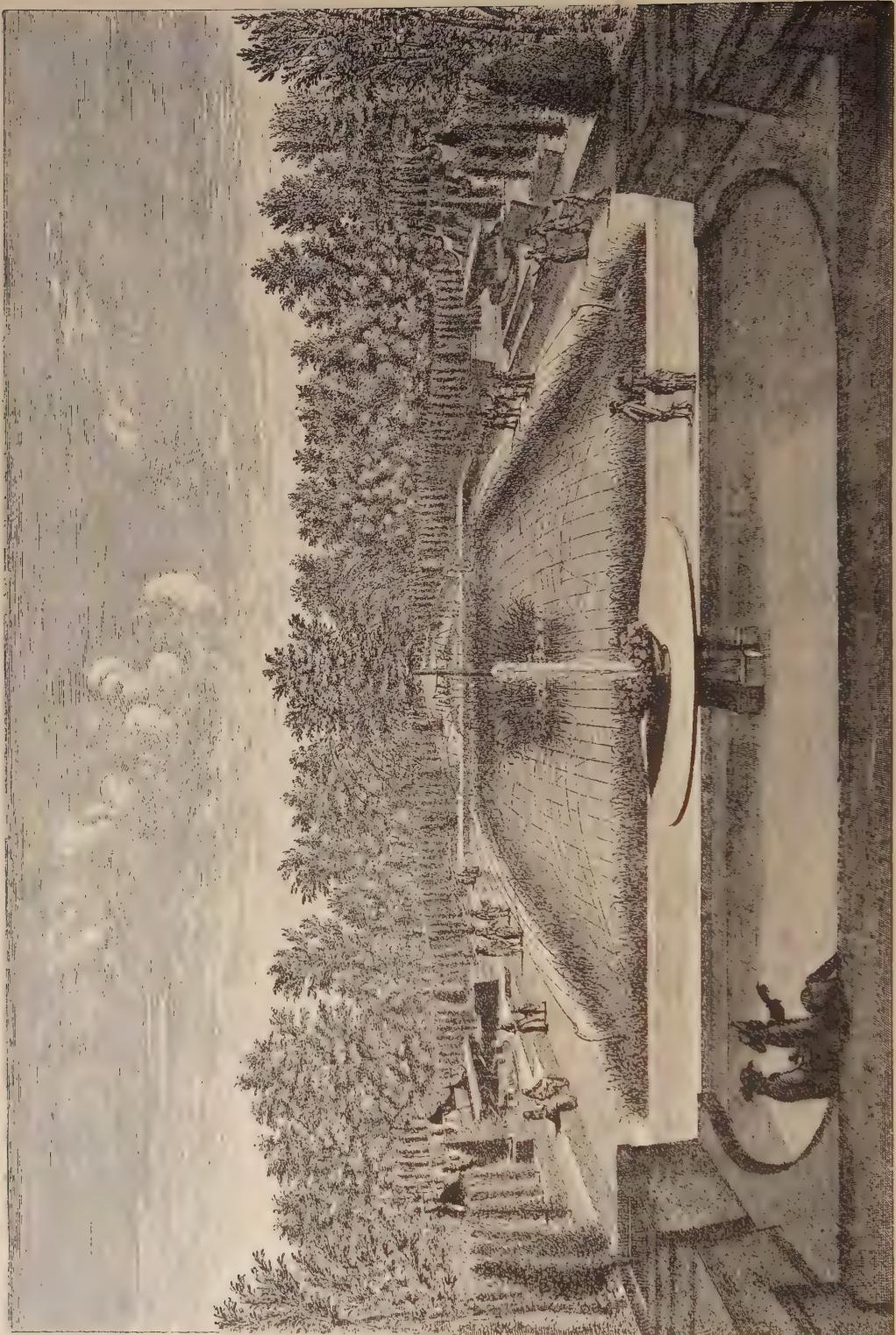


FIG. 405. VERSAILLES—BOSQUET DE L'ARC DE TRIOMPHE (see page 79)

bowl of fruits and water spurting out of them, and a so-called water-buffet, a very popular structure. At the time when Madame de Montespan was in power, this bosquet, called Le Marais (Fig. 406), was one of the most admired, but the king's taste in ladies changed and with it his taste for art; and so the designer was fated to see it changed in her lifetime, in the year 1705. All the groves, indeed the whole garden, contained a host of statues at that time, some of them copies of antiques; but far more were original, and one may easily suppose that from the year 1669 onwards every important sculptor in the kingdom was busy on Versailles. The garden to-day gives only a feeble idea of the original decoration. The statues have mostly fallen down, and in the revolution some were destroyed, though a few have been kept in museums, such as Puget's Milo of Crotona and the Perseus and Andromeda, both in the Louvre. But one must mentally put these colossal groups back into their park surroundings, by the green walls of the King's Avenue, to get any notion of their effect.

The whole terrace was greatly changed at the same time as Le Vau's building. Le Nôtre thought there were far too many parterres for flowers: at the side of the castle, only slightly sunken, were the two large flower-gardens, and on the lower side of the old *parterre de broderie* on the chief terrace was the one behind the basin of Latona. The

FIG. 406. VERSAILLES—LE MARAIS BOQUET



old one did not seem to Le Nôtre conspicuous enough, so he conceived the idea of having a handsome water-mirror in this part. At first he seems to have been a little irresolute about it, and he made one large basin and four smaller ones; but afterwards combined them all—water, flowers, and grass—very cleverly into a fine water-parterre. According to the plans of Le Brun, the water-parterre was filled with an incredible number of marble statues and groups of allegorical nature, and between these stood great vases: towards the stairs of the Latona there were two sphinxes with children on their backs, which were afterwards moved into the northern parterre. New statues were continually being brought into the Latona Horseshoe, and in the King's Avenue (now

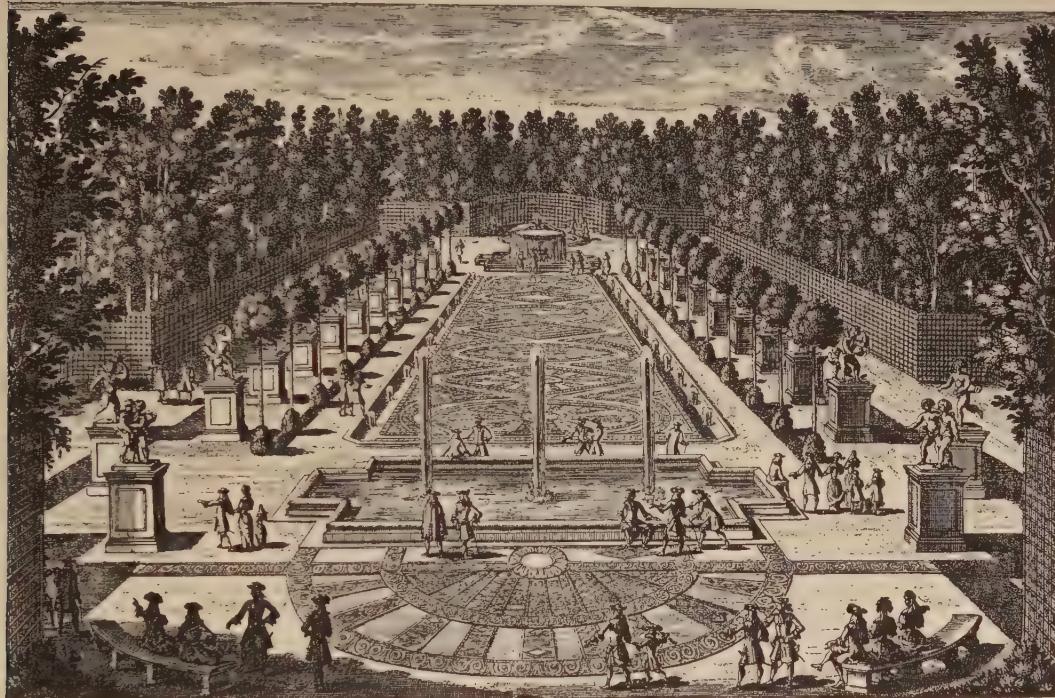


FIG. 407. VERSAILLES—THE BOSQUET OF LA GALERIE D'EAU

the *Tapis Vert*, Fig. 400) rows of vases and statues stood on both sides of the way. At the end of this avenue, where the chariot of the sun and the god appeared, rising out of the waves, there was also the canal, now extended to its immense length. It was generally covered with boats, manned by Dutch sailors; later on there were even Venetian gondoliers, who settled in the park, in a small colony still called "Little Venice."

All of this was ready, though part of the statuary was as yet only in model form, awaiting for completion the royal command and a full state purse, when the king, who, for months past, had chosen to stay at Versailles, resolved to give a splendid fête in honour of the second conquest of Franche-Comté in 1674. "One thing specially remarkable about the king's fêtes," says Félibien, to whom we owe the description of it all, "is the great speed with which all this glory appeared. His commands were so carefully and diligently carried out that it seemed like enchantment; almost in one moment, before you observe it, you are amazed to find theatres erected, groves with fountains and figures,

refreshments carried about, and thousands of things going on that it would seem impossible to get done without a great many workmen and in a long time." It was in order to achieve with promptitude what the king required that Le Nôtre made so many groves (Fig. 407). They stood ready to supply the best of fanciful backgrounds at the six-days' fête. The courtiers began by paying Madame de Montespan the compliment of taking their morning meal in her newly finished bosket, the Marais, the beauty of which was now enhanced with garlands of flowers and many porcelain vases. Operas, plays, and fireworks now rang the changes once more. In front of the grotto Molière's *Malade Imaginaire* was performed, and on the canal there were naval shows, while over all a fairy-like illumination shone into the black night, where suddenly all the fountains leapt into view, lighted by flames of many colours.

The year 1674 was the crowning stage of Louis' life in every way. He was thirty-six years old, and felt in full possession of his powers. He was not unjustifiably proud in his conviction that he had become the central point and focus of art and culture in his own country, then uncontestedly at the head of all Europe. Every objection, even from the Church, was silenced in these days; for Louis was undoubtedly monarch and Mæcenas in one. His love for Madame de Montespan gave the inward stimulus to his being; she was the woman who supplied what in these years he wanted. She was beautiful, proud, self-willed, and full of spirit and fun, a nature which wanted to rule and gave in to him alone. She was the kind of queen he needed for his fêtes, and one who inspired him with a desire for peaceful days after the campaigns of war. When the fête of 1674 was over, it was an understood thing that the king would make Versailles his proper residence, since he cared for Paris less and less. Then when his passion for the marquise knew no bounds, he determined to make a fine place for her near Versailles, inferior to nothing but Versailles itself. She would be near enough at Clagny, a royal property lying north-east of Versailles, and yet not so admittedly by his side. On 22 May of the same year Colbert's son submitted to him a plan designed by a young architect called Mansart, as yet little known. The king's answer was: "I can say nothing yet; I will first hear what Madame de Montespan thinks." On 12 June the answer was: "We both agree; they are to carry out the plans at once and begin work without a moment's delay. Madame de Montespan is very anxious to see the garden so far advanced that it can be planted this autumn." Colbert knew that the king was one who expected things done that to other people would seem impossible, not only in the case of buildings of this kind, but also at his fêtes.

When Madame de Sévigné visits Clagny in the next August, 1675, she writes to her daughter: "We have been at Clagny, and what shall I tell you about it? It is a palace of Armida; the building rises à vue d'œil, the gardens are already made. You know what Le Nôtre is. He has left standing a little dark wood which is very nice; and next comes a little wood of oranges in great tubs: you can stroll in this wood, which has shady avenues, and there are hedges on both sides cut breast-high, so as to conceal the tubs, and these are full of tuberoses, roses, jessamine, and pinks. This novelty is certainly the prettiest, most surprising and ravishing that one could imagine, and the little wood is greatly liked." Naturally at that time the castle and gardens were not yet finished: before everything was complete in the way of marble sculptures, paintings, gildings inside the house, orangery, and gardens—costing the sum of about 17,000,000 francs—the year 1680 had arrived, and the star of Madame de Montespan was rapidly waning. She no doubt did

live for a time in the beautiful castle, and in 1683, after his marriage to Madame de Maintenon, Louis did present it to his former mistress. But the pain caused to the lady by her humiliations was too much for her pride in the long run, and in June 1692 she left everything to her son, the Duc de Maine, and entered a nunnery.

At the end of the eighteenth century the ruined castle was pulled down, and to-day there is no trace of it. Mansart made his first experiment at Clagny (Fig. 408). As at

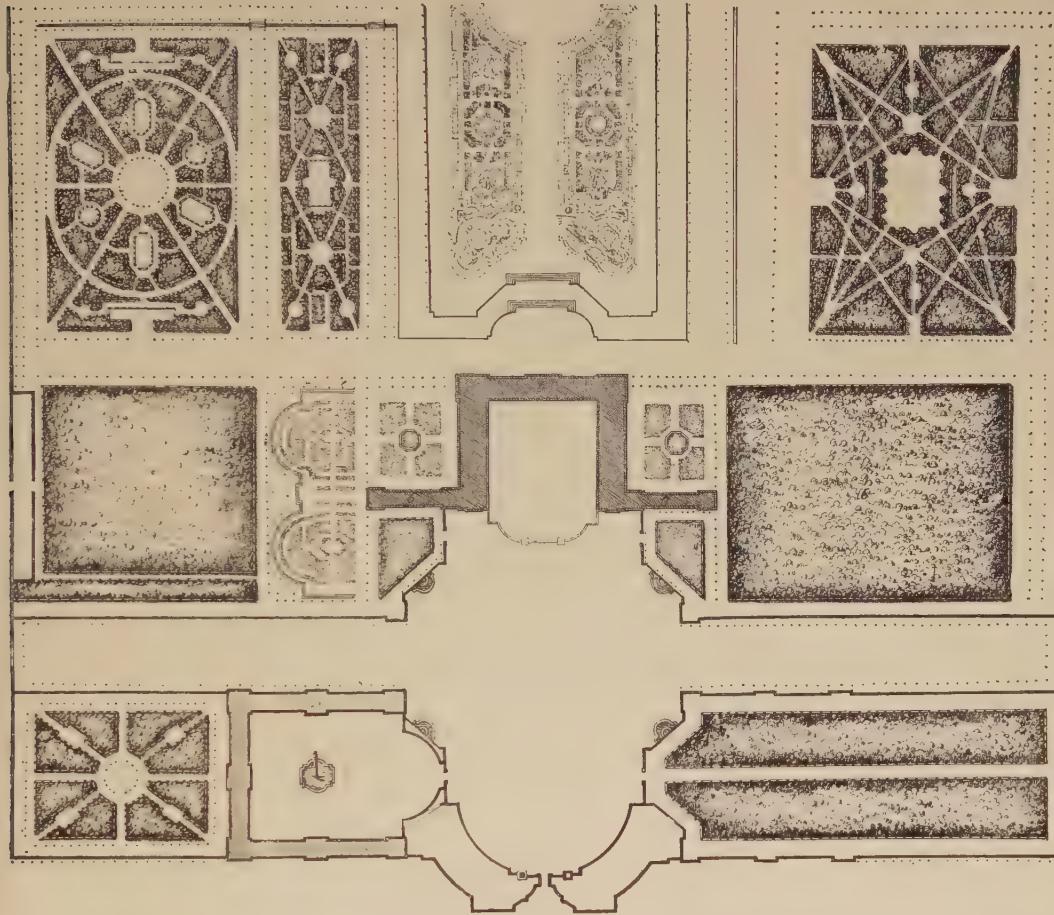
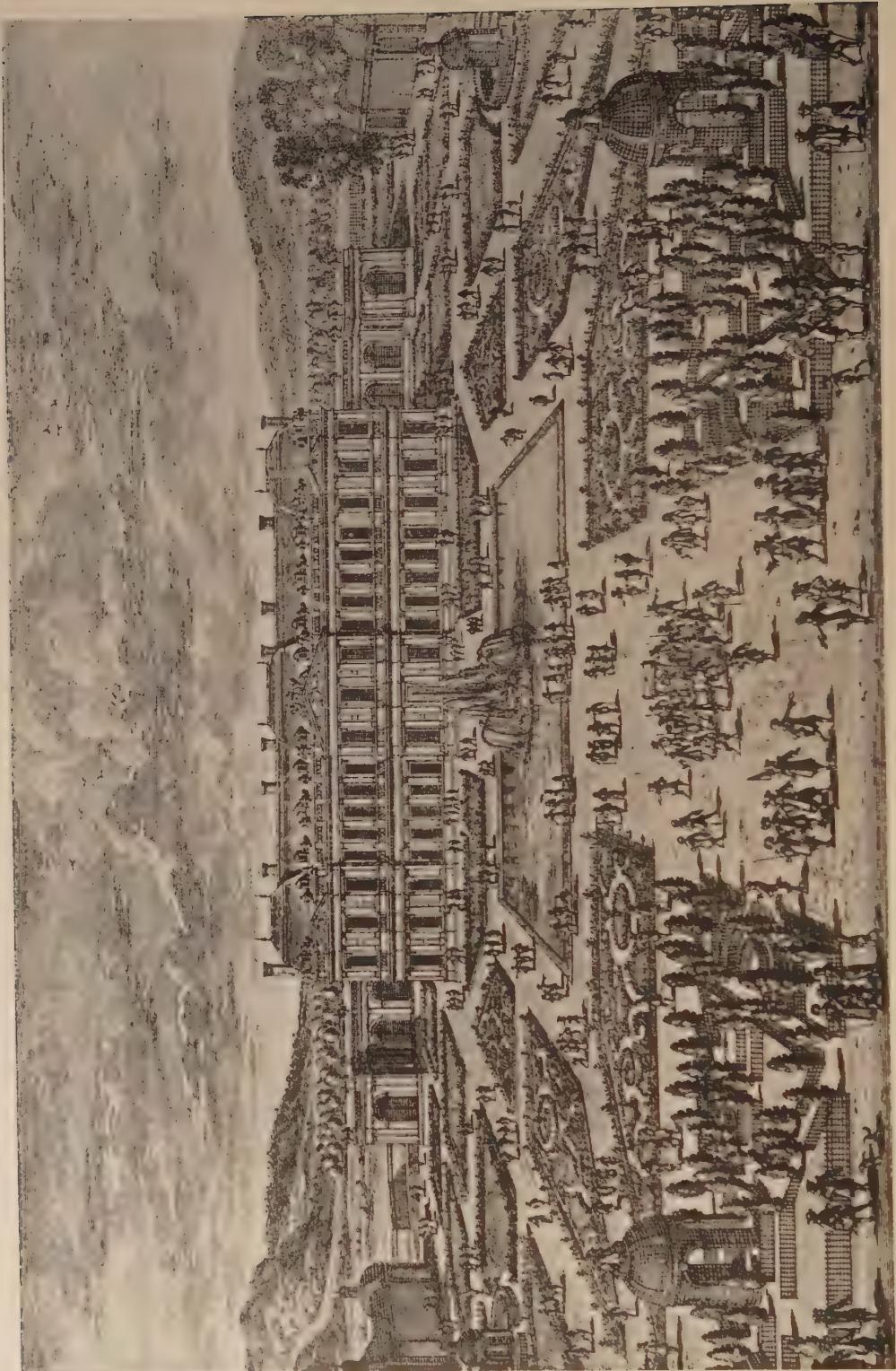


FIG. 408. CLAGNY—GROUND-PLAN

Versailles, the buildings were round an inner court with a large one in front, at the sides of which kitchen-gardens and stables were cleverly concealed; and this front court was enclosed by a moat, showing how hard it was to part from the traditional idea that a castle must have trenches as a protection. The main part of the building was set forward into the garden by side wings, a plan carried out on a small scale by Mansart, serving as an example for the future enlargement of the castle at Versailles. The garden, which Le Nôtre laid out "in his own style" as Madame de Sévigné says, and which has been so greatly praised, could be no more than the private garden of a small house. But the style of Le Nôtre is here fully exemplified, and the middle show-garden gently sloping in terraces from the castle (Fig. 409) ends in a large water-mirror, the great pond which

FIG. 409. CHÂTEAU DE CLAGNY—THE PRINCIPAL PARTERRE



the master found to his hand and made into the shape of the long canal; there were groves bordering the middle garden, planted with hornbeam and silver fir. In front of one wing of the castle, whose ground floor served as an orangery, there was that little orange wood so charmingly described by Madame de Sévigné, with a dark grove at the side that made a pleasing contrast to it.

The works of Mansart at Clagny recommended him to the favour of the king. When Louis was living at Versailles more and more uninterruptedly, it became inevitable that the castle must be enlarged; for though he might receive his court for summer entertainment, he could not possibly receive the Government. Le Vau had died by 1670, and his pupils had finished the building; but now the king, who could never brook delay, needed a young, energetic person, and so Mansart began the gigantic structure of the two side



FIG. 410. VERSAILLES—BOSQUET OF L'ÎLE ROYALE

wings, which was started and carried through with a really superhuman speed. As many as 22,000 or even 36,000 workmen were employed. The king would hear of no interruptions—even an epidemic must not stop the workmen. Madame de Sévigné writes that in October 1678 there were "cartloads of dead bodies brought out of a sick-house every night." Le Nôtre worked on unweariedly at the garden, for the king and his court had to have something new—and again something new. In the official *Court News* would constantly appear the statement that the king had been to visit a successful alteration. And so new groves were made as often as possible, and in due course the best one of all, called the King's Island. This was a very large basin, comprising two bosquets, with an island in the middle, made lively with an endless supply of water-jets (Fig. 410).

Greater work was needed in the alterations that from the year 1677 gradually affected almost all the groves; indeed in Louis' long reign some of them were altered five times. First the architect renewed the two groves at the side of the Avenue of Children, and there appeared the Triumphal Arch bosquet (Fig. 405) that Rigaud has engraved. Le Nôtre got longer leave in 1678, so that he could go to Italy and find inspiration. He was no longer young, but he was greatly esteemed by the king, who liked his open, careless, even childlike, enthusiasm, and was pleased to have him about. New legends

grew about his name, now well known all over Europe because of his doings at Versailles, especially on the occasion of this visit to Italy, and every beautiful garden must needs enjoy the reputation of having been designed by him. This was asserted over and over again about Villa Ludovisi, which as a fact had been in existence more than thirty years. Though Le Nôtre had, it is true, studied in Italy when he was a young man, such a work as that would hardly have been entrusted to an unknown artist. We have an example of the kind of impression his childlike, frank character produced in an anecdote told about him. They say that during an audience of Innocent XI., Le Nôtre was so

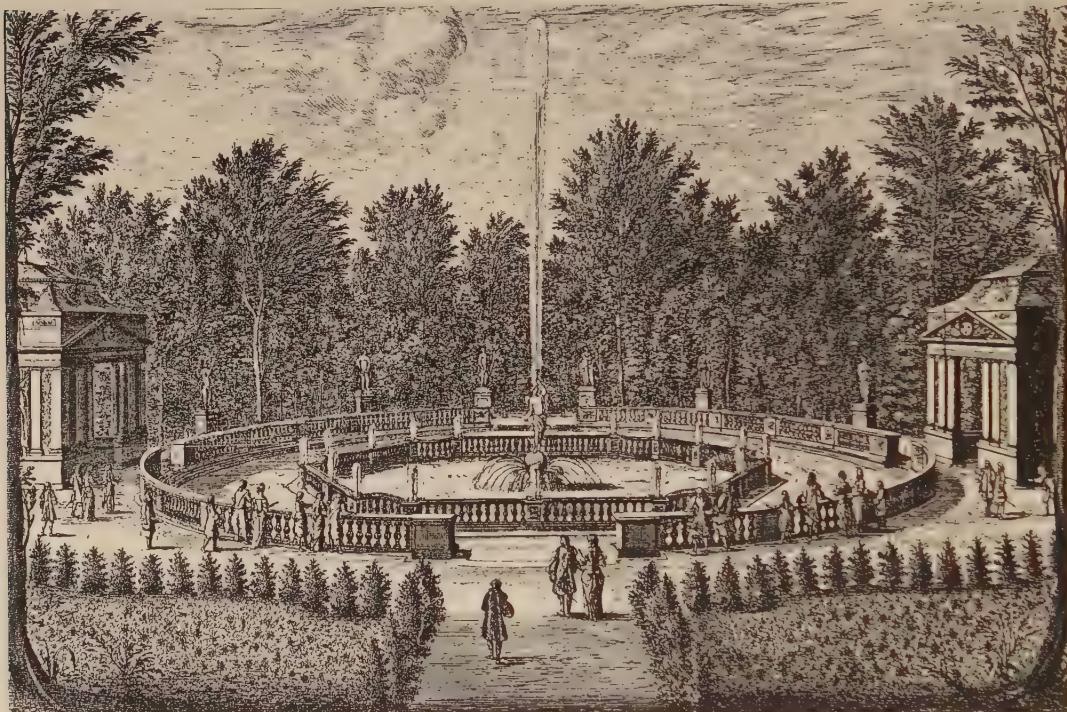


FIG. 411. VERSAILLES—BOSQUET OF THE FONTAINE DE LA RENOMMÉE

charmed with the Pope that he kissed him, and when this was reported at the French court the people about the king refused to believe it; but Louis said, "I can very well credit that, for he has often kissed me when he was excited." Le Nôtre kept his eyes open, and made friends with Italian artists, so that he came back with a great many new ideas, which he at once carried out at home.

The garden at Versailles had now to bear a loss, for the beautiful grotto, which had been its chief ornament and a favourite resting-place of the king for twenty years or so, fell a victim to the building of the north wing. There was no thought of transferring it to another place, because the taste for this kind of ornament and many-coloured shell-work began to fade in the eighties. The king had become more serious, and his taste changed to a love for stricter, simpler, and larger lines. But at any rate some pretty groups were kept; they were first moved into another grove, whose fountain bore the statue of Fame (Fig. 411). They remained there till 1704, and were then transferred to



FIG. 412. VERSAILLES—COLONNADE, WITH BOSKET BEHIND

a new bosket that was made in the place of Madame de Montespan's weeping tree. For their present unsuitable position in three niches of a great semi-artificial rock above an irregularly made basin, the era of English taste, with its sham romanticism, which fortunately has not done much harm elsewhere at Versailles, is responsible.

The king lost with his grotto a kind of concert-room in the open, for he had greatly enjoyed having musical performances in front of this grotto or inside it. Not till two years later was the charming pillared bosket set up (Fig. 412), which was mostly built by Mansart. Thirty-two marble pillars coupled with pilasters were set in an elliptical curve, connected with balustrades and arches, with fountains between, and in the centre there was a beautiful group representing the Rape of the Sabines. The king often had the concerts held in this grove, which was an early example of the new simpler taste. The new orangery

was made by Mansart at the same time that the grotto was broken up, also the enlargement of the south parterre to make it the same size as the one on the north, and again the final extension of the great water called the Swiss Lake, which now made a suitable ending to a large crossway that issued from the basin of Neptune, at that time called the Dragon fountain, because of its decoration. The central feature of this up-and-down cross-road, the great terrace in front of the castle, was also completed in 1684. The eye

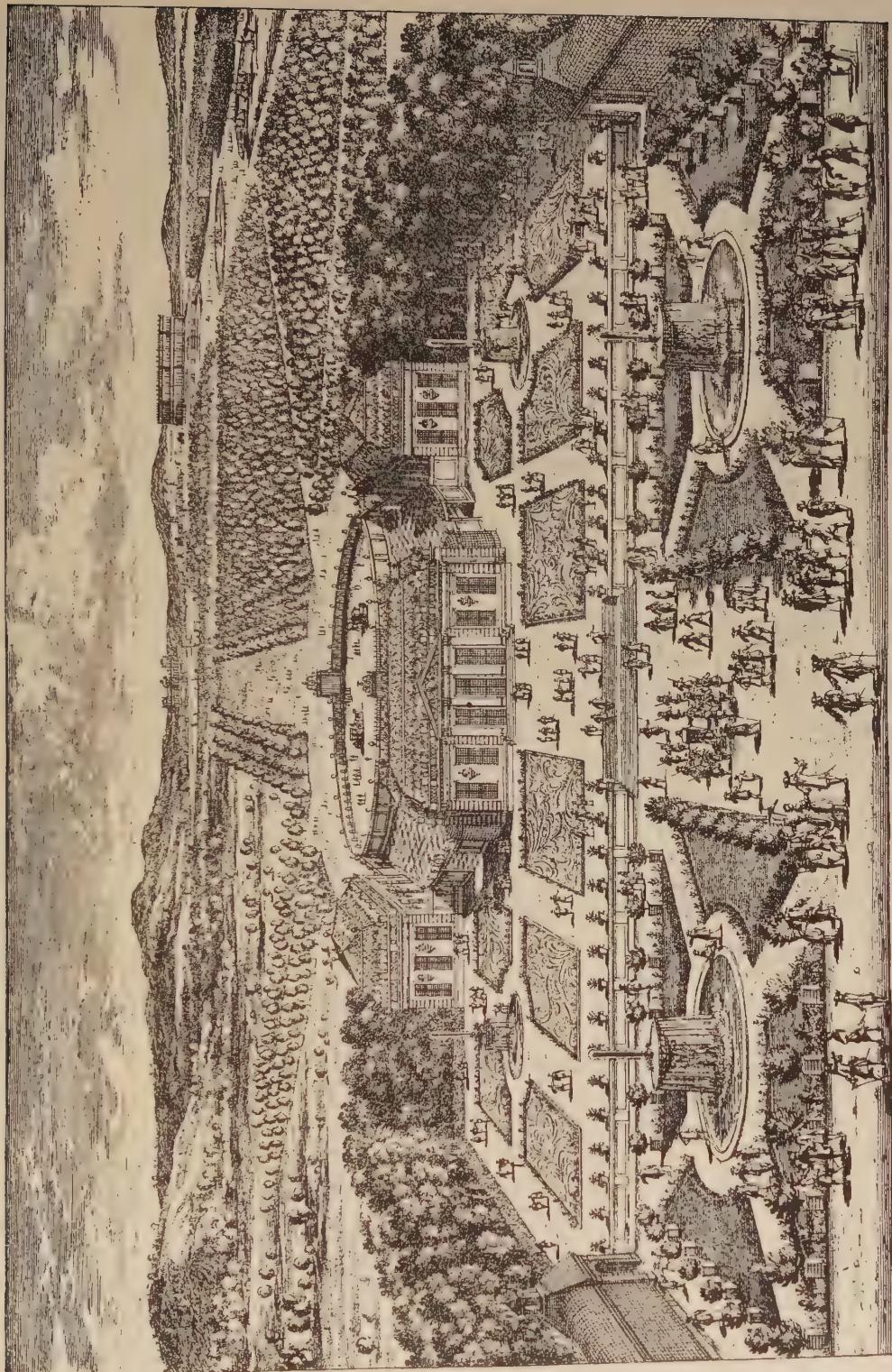


FIG. 413. VERSAILLES—BRONZE STATUE BY WATER-MIRROR

grew somewhat weary with all the prettiness, and the water-parterre blocked the straight way to the castle, so that people had to go round; therefore a large wide avenue was made in the middle where all the fine processions could be displayed, having on both sides great water-mirrors—which can still be seen—with their incomparable decoration of bronze statues made by Tuby, Keller, Coysevox, Le Hongre (Fig. 413), and others.

Two wonderful groups were designed for the middle of this water: the Birth of Venus, and the Thetis group; but it was only for a short time and only as models that they adorned the place, which now looks rather bare. These severe waters with their paucity of ornament (as compared with the host of marble statues) made exactly the right prelude for the garden, suiting the character of the Versailles court, as it developed in these years with ever statelier ceremonial. We must imagine all the accessories of pomp and splendour, when the king was carried for a promenade in the park in his chair, accompanied by dignitaries in order of precedence. These journeys he always took in small specially made carriages, or with some guest, to show him the beauty of his park, as he loved to do. He himself wrote the first "Guide" to the park and gardens, and his servants had to follow this in conducting people round. It was arranged precisely how they were to pause on the

FIG. 414. TRIANON DE PORCELAINE—VIEW OF THE GARDENS



steps of the Latona parterre, so as to get the orientation of the whole of the terraces, and then pass down to the Latona basin. At the foot, a point of view is particularly recommended, which allows all the most noteworthy of the water arrangements to be seen at a glance; and this is even now known as the *point de vue*. Then they are to go on through the main avenue as far as the great canal, and then look back, so as to get the entire castle as a complete view seen over the garden. Then come the groves on the left of the canal, next the orangery, and finally the various places on the right side. This is a method of conducting which is used by every modern guide.

The king's passion for building and altering was not long satisfied with Versailles;



FIG. 415. TRIANON DE PORCELAINE, SHOWING THE SIDE PAVILIONS

and beside the mighty works there grew up a whole series of castles. Even before Clagny was begun, there sprang up in a few months one small costly erection: the Trianon de Porcelaine. This happened in 1670, and it was on the northern end of the crossway of the canal. "It was regarded by everyone as a marvel," says Félibien, "for it was only started at the end of the winter, and by the spring there it stood, as though it had grown out of the earth with all the flowers about it" (Fig. 414). Louis wanted to please Madame de Montespan with the little house: it was only a tea-house where you might take refreshments at midday in the heat of the summer. It was about this time that reports had arrived from the French missionaries in China, which were destined in a short time to play such an important part in the story of the changes of taste in gardens; and these reports had astonished the world. People began eagerly to collect porcelain, stuffs, and paintings from China, and the porcelain tower of Nanking was the eighth wonder of the world. Louis desired to have something of the same kind, and so he must have the small Trianon tea-house adorned à la chinoise. Owing to lack of porcelain they used faience in

the Dutch manner, but this was produced at a factory of faience newly founded at Trianon itself. On the façade faience plaques were put everywhere, and great blue vases on the cornices and on the steps which led to the canal, with white marble busts on plinths of faience. The inside was to correspond; and you passed through one large room in the middle with a separate apartment on each side of it. The room was all white, with blue figures as ornament, and the floor was paved with faience tiles in the same colouring.

Since each of the side rooms was only one chamber and a cupboard from which issued a bird-house, they added on either side of the house, which flanked an oval court, side pavilions, each set up with the same decoration as a *petit palais* (Fig. 415). Here we meet for the first time with the detached buildings of the dwelling-pavilions, which group themselves as attendants to the chief house, an arrangement that was carried out at the completion of Marly, and from now onwards is repeated many thousands of times, particularly in Germany. To this taste in interiors the garden laid out by Le Bouteux corresponded. On the terraces there had to be flowers, brilliant in colour and beauty, to suit the blue and white pottery; both the seats and the flower-boxes were painted blue and white. Because the flowers in the other gardens were kept back by strict lines of water and trellis, here too this new *variété* must be introduced. "On the parterre opposite the rooms," says Félibien, "you find four waterspouts, which leap up high into the air from four basins raised on pedestals." [The engraving, Fig. 414, shows only two, and this is probably correct.] "From this parterre you mount into another garden which might justly be called the everlasting abode of Spring, for every time you go to it, you find it full of all sorts of flowers, and the air is sweet with the pleasant scents of jessamine and orange as you stroll among them."

A large house made of wood was set up over a winter garden, in which oranges, citrons and other trees were kept rooted in the earth, with surrounds of myrtle and jessamine. The scent of the flowers, tuberoses, hyacinths, and pinks, was often so strong that it was intolerable on the terraces after a while to some people; all the same the odours were, so to speak, tuned to the right pitch, and inside the place there was a *cabinet de parfum* as its finest ornament, and the sweet-smelling flowers of many kinds combined to make a real harmony. It is a very noticeable thing, that the ambassadors from Siam, who were received magnificently at Versailles in 1686, admired this *cabinet de parfum* beyond everything, "for they loved strong scents, and were delighted with this way of making perfume from flowers."

Versailles and all the other places of the king were regarded with veneration in France, and also in Europe, where all eyes were fixed upon France: of this people were very well aware. In 1686, the *Mercure Galant* writes: "The Trianon at Versailles aroused in all private persons the wish to have something of the same kind, and almost all great lords who possessed country houses had one built in the park, with smaller ones at the end of the garden. The burghers, who could not go to the expense of these buildings, dressed up some old booth, or perhaps a sentry-box, as a Trianon or at least as a kind of cabinet in their houses." And all through the eighteenth century this custom grew. The Encyclopædist followed the lead of the *Mercure Galant*, which had only been in jest with the catchword "Trianon." Trianon and Hermitage became synonymous. In the great *Universal Lexicon* of Zeller, which appeared in 1734, we find "Hermitage, a retreat, a low-built pleasure-house, in a shrubbery or a garden, furnished with rough stones, or

poor woodwork, and left practically wild, so that one may cultivate solitude and live in the fresh air. It is also called a Trianon." A building like this has gone far afield from the pretty porcelain Trianon—and into a new world. True, Louis himself had aimed at a certain kind of solitude at the Trianon. In his fine barge on the canal he often made his way in the afternoons to this place, whence, looking back, he enjoyed the *ensemble* of his garden and house. But he soon felt that he was still too near the pomp and show from



FIG. 416. MARLY-LE-ROI—VIEW WITH THE HORSE-POND IN FRONT

which he wanted to escape. He needed something that was far distant from the castle, and from the ceremonial that he had made himself, and by which he was confined. Hence came Marly.

Saint-Simon thus writes of the beginnings of Marly in his *Memoirs*:

Louis the Fourteenth, *lassé du beau* and tired at last of the swarm of courtiers, persuaded himself that from time to time he needed a small place and solitude. He searched near Versailles for somewhere to satisfy this new taste, inspecting several sites and exploring the lovely banks of the Seine. At last he found a narrow valley behind Louveciennes, unapproachable because of its marshes, shut in by hills on every side, and very narrow, with a miserable village on one slope, which was called Marly.

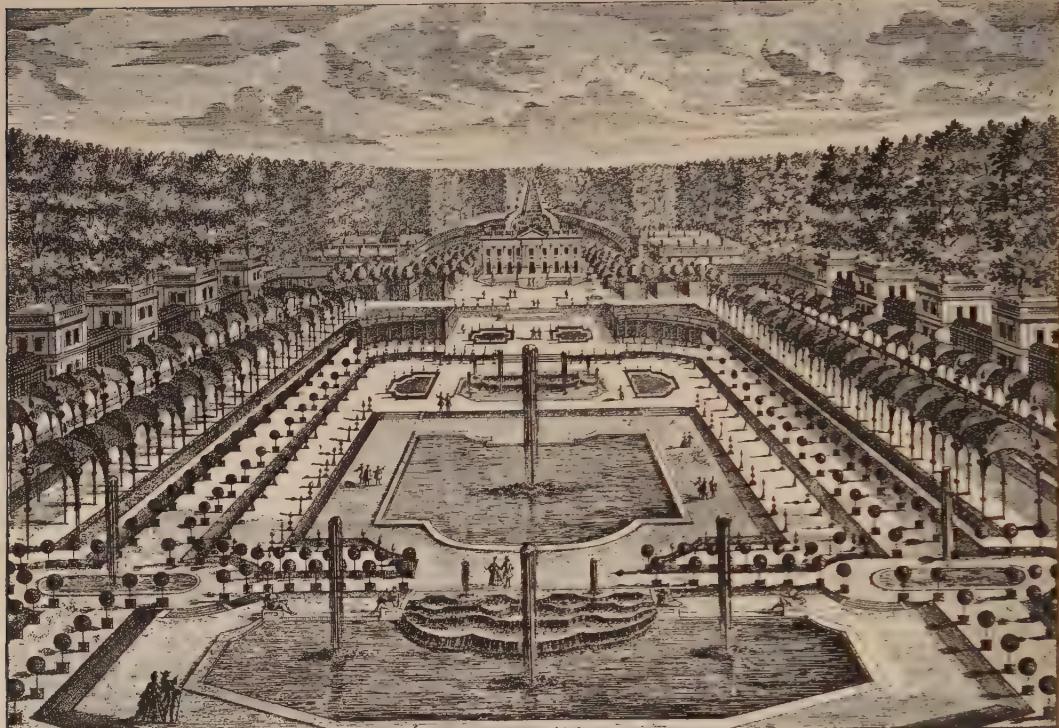


FIG. 418. MARLY-LE-ROI—THE PRINCIPAL GARDEN

So the hermitage was built. The plan was to spend there three nights only, from a Wednesday to a Saturday, two or three times a year, with a dozen or so courtiers for necessary attendance. But what actually happened [Saint-Simon continues], was that the hermitage was enlarged, building after building sprang up, hills were removed, and water-works and gardens were put in (Fig. 416). It is no exaggeration to say that Versailles, as we saw it, did not cost as much as Marly. . . . It was the king's bad taste in all things, and his proud delight, to force nature, and this could not be checked by the pressure of war, or by religion.

Saint-Simon did not like the king; he had outgrown his former tastes, and poured bitter scorn on all the achievements of the *grand siècle*. But the works produced in the years between 1677 and 1684 in this marshy woodland valley, which later on fell a victim to the Revolution, leaving scarcely a trace behind, belong all the same to the most perfect achievements of the century. As Saint-Simon's statement that Marly cost more than Versailles may cause surprise, the following quotation may be made:

Marly est devenue ce qu'on le voit encore . . . cette prodigieuse machine, dont on vient de parler, avec ses immenses aqueducs, ses conduites et ses réservoirs monstrueux uniquement consacrée à Marly sans plus porter d'eau à Versailles; c'est peu de dire que Versailles tel qu'on l'a vu n'a pas coûté Marly. Si on ajoute les dépenses de ces continuels voyages . . . on ne dira point trop sur Marly seul en comptant par milliards.

The king had meant to build a hermitage, and he had in mind something like the one in the quiet solitude of the white house in the park at Gaillon; and even when Marly had grown to what it was in the end, he made a pretence of laying aside his royal majesty at the gates, or at any rate of replacing the etiquette left behind at Versailles with a new kind, specially made for this *Buen Retiro*. As a fact, the Duchess Lieselotte was horrified

at the want of formality that prevailed at Marly. Hers was a nature that had never cared to take part in that mixture of grandeur and frivolity, severe etiquette and passionate desire for novelty, which was the accepted programme of court life, though it was one that could be changed easily on another stage and in another setting. "You no longer know where you are," she said. "If the king is going for a walk, everyone puts on his hat. If the Queen of Burgundy would walk, she takes the arm of one lady, and the others walk by the side, and nobody can see which she is. Here in the drawing-room we all sit in the presence of the Dauphin and the Duchess, and some actually lie at full length on the sofa. . . . I find great difficulty in getting used to this confusion. You have no idea how things go on; it does not seem in the least like a court."

It was a great honour to be taken out to Marly on these three-day expeditions, and the list of those invited was eagerly awaited. Marly was the exact opposite of Trianon, with its blue porcelain and scented flowers. Elaborate parterres of flowers were not wanted at Marly, for they would not have suited the idea of a hermitage; and even the modest parterre which lay to the south of the castle was made with a sunk lawn and only a narrow ribbon of flowers. The lay-out of the garden was not, in the main, unlike Versailles (Fig. 417); here too there was a large show-garden, but it was all around a great water axis, and it filled out that narrow woodland valley of which Saint-Simon speaks. As a fact, the king, with the purpose of getting a view, had had a hill that barred the end of the sloping garden completely removed, and had demanded a whole regiment to do it. The small castle is half-way up (Fig. 418), and behind it a great cascade passes grandly through the park, which is on rising ground to the south: this cascade ends in a pond of half-moon shape, whence there is a descent by the southern castle terrace (Fig. 419). From here you pass from terrace to terrace on wide convenient steps in front of the house. The middle of each terrace is marked by a pond and many beautiful fountains, *le font des quatre gerbes*, *le grand jet*, *la nappe*, and *l'abreuvoir*; and also a final one at the place where the hill was taken away.

On the great terrace stood the charming building of Mansart, rich in frescoes painted by Le Brun, Rousseau, and their pupils. It had a balustrade on the roof, and was only



FIG. 419. MARLY-LE-ROI—THE REAR GARDEN AND HEAD OF THE GREAT CASCADE

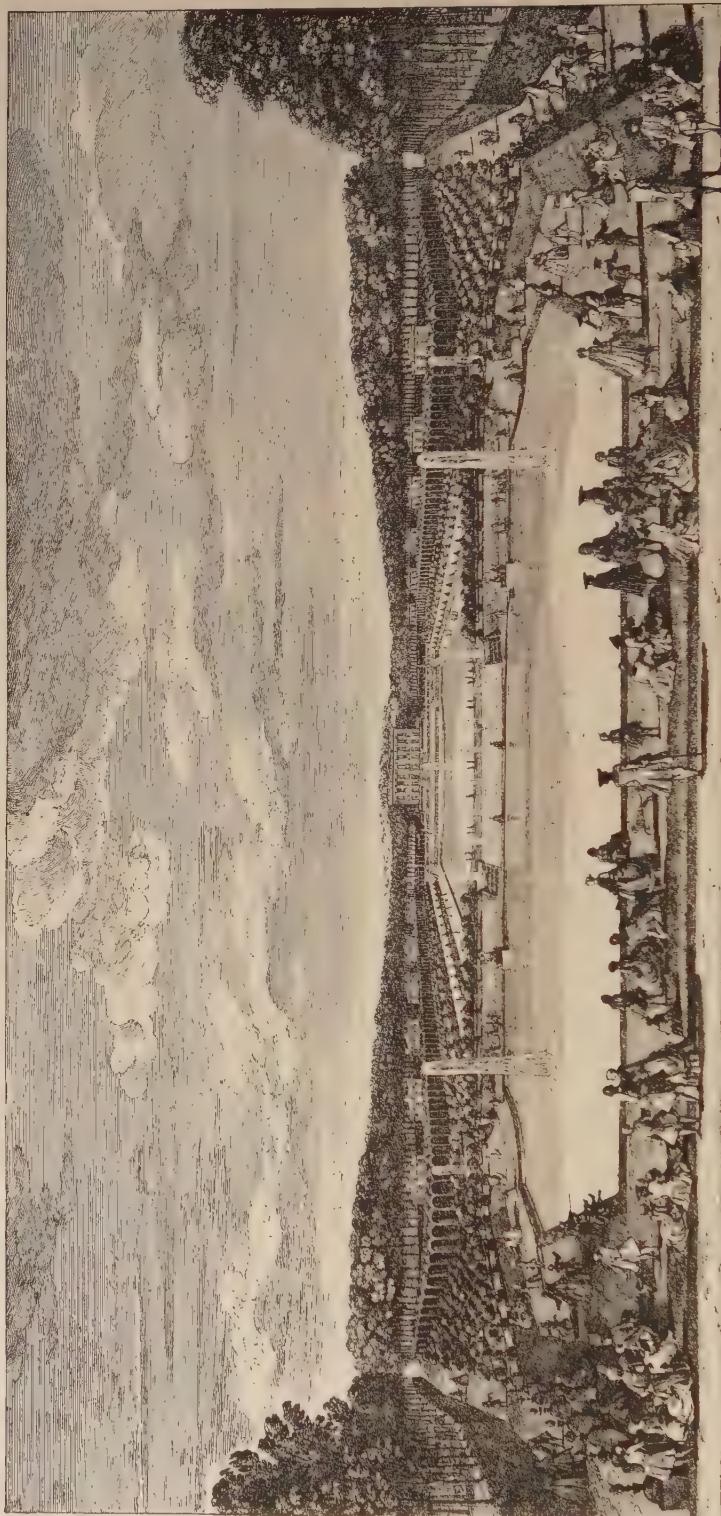


FIG. 420. MARLY-LE-ROI—VIEW OF THE GARDEN AND SIDE AVENUES

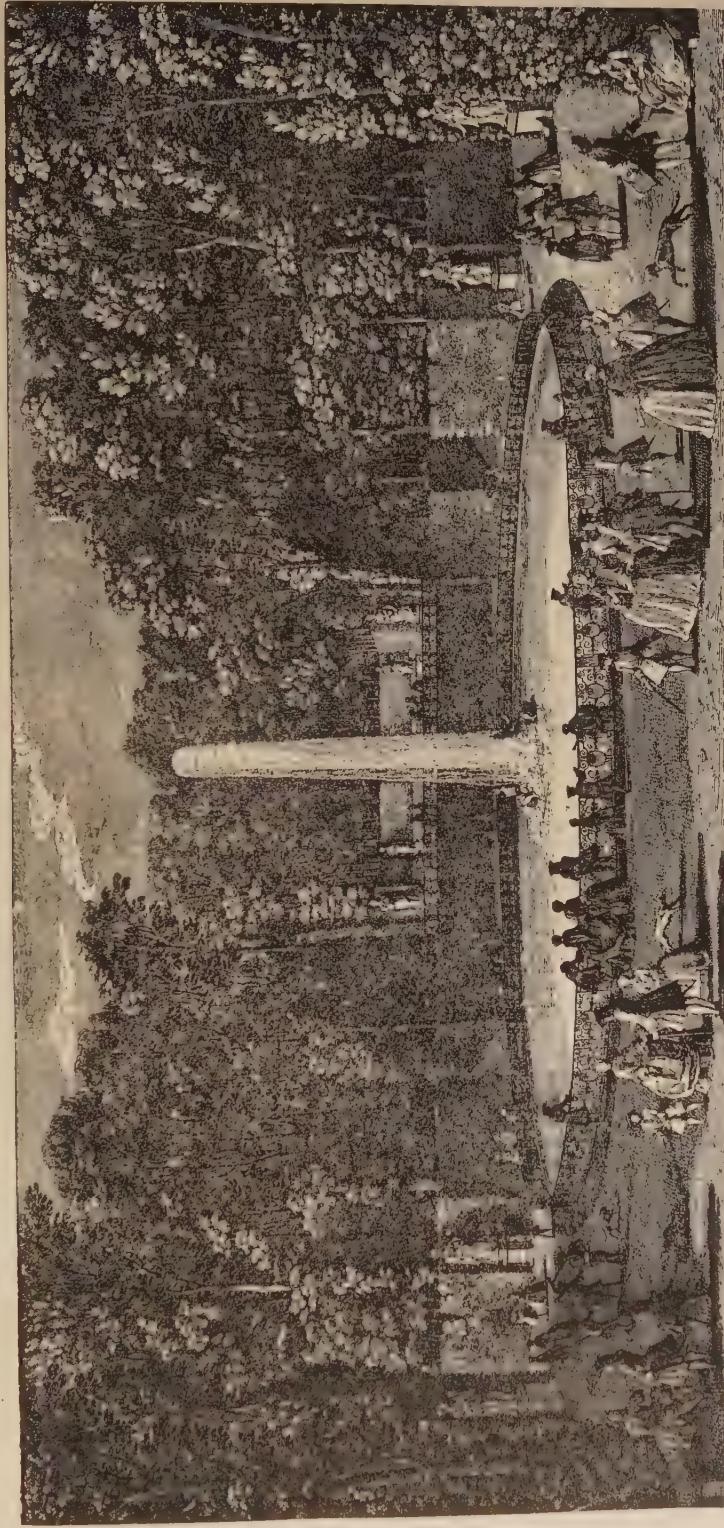


FIG. 421. MARLY-LE-ROI—LE BASSIN DES MUSES, WITH BOSKET

made big enough to accommodate the king's own family. All the middle part and the top were used for the octagonal dining-hall, and round this were four small rooms. The idea, first conceived at the Trianon de Porcelaine, was thoroughly carried out here, where we also get the first complete example of a central building for pleasure-houses which yet has the character of a hermitage; and this was a pattern repeated endlessly in Europe in the eighteenth century.

On both sides of the house there were originally four basins adorned with faience, which later were supplanted by the so-called green cabinets (Fig. 417)—rooms hedged in greenery where the ladies plied their embroidery, and took their midnight meal (*médianoche*) on festal days. The king's honoured guests were put up in twelve little pavilions attached to the castle, decorated with frescoes and balustrades. They were always arranged as for a small household, and were interconnected by *berceaux*, which formed a semi-circle round the castle as far as the foot of the cascade. There were three other avenues separating these outrunning pavilions from the open terraces of the water-basins; first there came clipped yew, then leafy trees cut into globular shapes, and lastly an artificially made portico (Figs. 417 and 418) of greenery. The eye passes over from the wide show-garden, designed for lively social gatherings, to small separate pavilions, out of which people could slip into quiet secluded groves (Fig. 420). One of these, the *Bosquet de Louveciennes* on the east side, had within it a *cascade champêtre*, an amphitheatre, Baths of Agrippina, and a Hall of the Muses (Figs. 417 and 421), all very attractive little places. On the west side the *Bosquet de Marly* included a large tennis-court, other places for games, such as a toboggan run, a belvedere, etc. All these were in the park on the hill. We must now imagine this charming picture enlivened with a great many statues; even as late as 1753, when the Abbé Delagrive sketched out his plan, there were over two hundred works of sculpture, some of them masterpieces, as for example "The Two Horse-Tamers" by Coustou, which to-day adorns the entrance to the Champs Elysées, but formerly stood by the horse-pond (Fig. 422), and other works of Coysevox, now to be found in the Tuileries Gardens.

At Marly, as elsewhere, Louis was perpetually altering something, first in one place, then in another, as long as he lived. He had scarcely achieved his first complete scheme, in 1684, when it was made the theatre of long-continued festivities of a splendid kind. In 1685 the marriage of the Duke of Bourbon-Condé with Madame de Nantes was the occasion of a great fair, where four stalls were set up to represent the four seasons. Two of these were reserved for the bride and bridegroom, the third for Madame de Montespan and the fourth for Madame de Maintenon. But Madame de Montespan probably saw for certain at this fête that her clever scheming rival had won the victory over her. She herself had persuaded Scarron's widow to come to her as governess and nurse to her son; and slowly, step by step, Madame de Maintenon had contrived to make herself indispensable to the king. His triumphant faith in his own good fortune had been shattered by the miscarriage of his foreign policy; he had grown weary, and in this mood he came under the influence of a woman who had in all walks of life shown great ability as a teacher and a ruler. She was always unnoticed, yet she was master wherever she came. But in one matter she had never been successful with the king—she had never made him economical, hard as she tried at Marly to check his everlasting alterations and embellishments.



FIG. 422. MARLY-LE-ROI—THE HORSE-POND

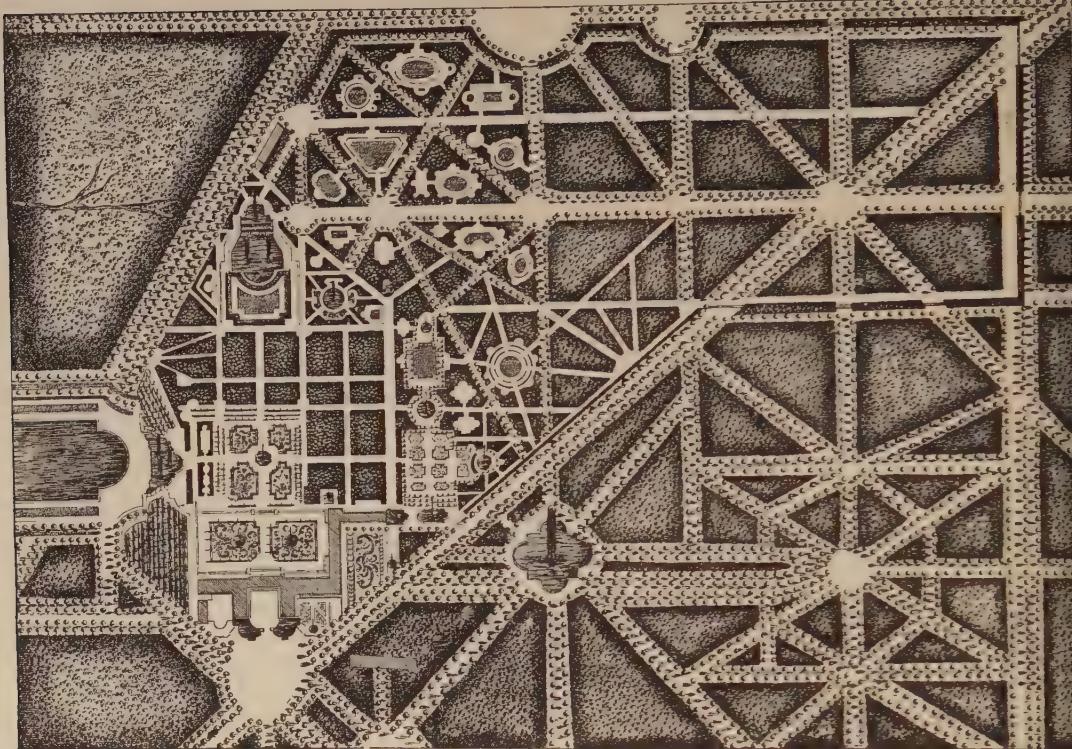


FIG. 423. THE GREAT TRIANON—GROUND-PLAN

Marly held its ground as long as the king was alive, but it fell into decay quickly during the Regency. The fact that it was not utterly destroyed—though the order was actually given—is due to the energetic protest of Saint-Simon, who represented to the Regent the incredible folly of such an intention. So Louis XV. more or less restored it to honour, and there were many fêtes held at the pretty country house; indeed when, on a day in October in the next reign, Louis XVI. was dragged from Versailles to Paris by a howling mob, preparations were actually being made at Marly for receiving the court at a fête. The storm of the Revolution raged over it and destroyed it so utterly that now in the quiet woodland valley nothing can be seen except here and there a straight avenue, clump of trees, and in its last neglected state the horse-pond, the beautiful *abreuvoir*, to mark the spot where once stood a graceful work of art.

When one reads, in Dangeau's writings, that the king found a palace "more beautiful than ever," one must be prepared for great alterations. "Anything already there that cannot be improved must be destroyed, and something new must be made." In this mood Louis XIV. found himself before the wonderful little erection of the Trianon de Porcelaine. Marly was ready in essentials, and Versailles was practically finished. But this little blue and white tea-house, with its waves of sweet flower scents, what more was it than one of the groves which the master had already cast aside? So he summoned Mansart, who was architect enough never to say no if anything was to be pulled down and rebuilt, and who knew how to entangle the king in projects that were constantly changed. Also it was an argument that Madame de Maintenon, now the actual wife, mu-

not be made inferior to the discarded mistress, and he wanted to give her a little castle as a wedding present. In short, Mansart was commissioned to pull down the porcelain house and to set another of marble in its place. Fifty-six sculptors at once set to work to prepare the necessary carvings. Trianon was to be a convenient garden-house: it had only one story, and its gallery on the roof was decorated with vases and statues. The garden was approached immediately from the house.

The novel feature was a certain irregularity about the ground-plan, which apparently was liked (Fig. 423). People seem to have begun to feel that a very strict axial line was rather oppressive. As at Clagny, you crossed two semicircular moats and passed into an inner court, but this one was formed by two wings, and divided the long main façade into three parts. The whole of the middle division adjoining the court was an open pillared hall, used by Louis in summer as a dining-room. It looks straight into the garden, which lies in the axial line with terrace parterres, boscets, and a fountain to mark the end. It is clear that in this place Mansart had no idea of repeating the plan of separate pavilions; but still the king was so used to living alone in his summer residences, that a guest wing had to be built apart, though connected with the main dwelling by a gallery. This part for guests joins the castle at right angles, and is on one side only, so that an open

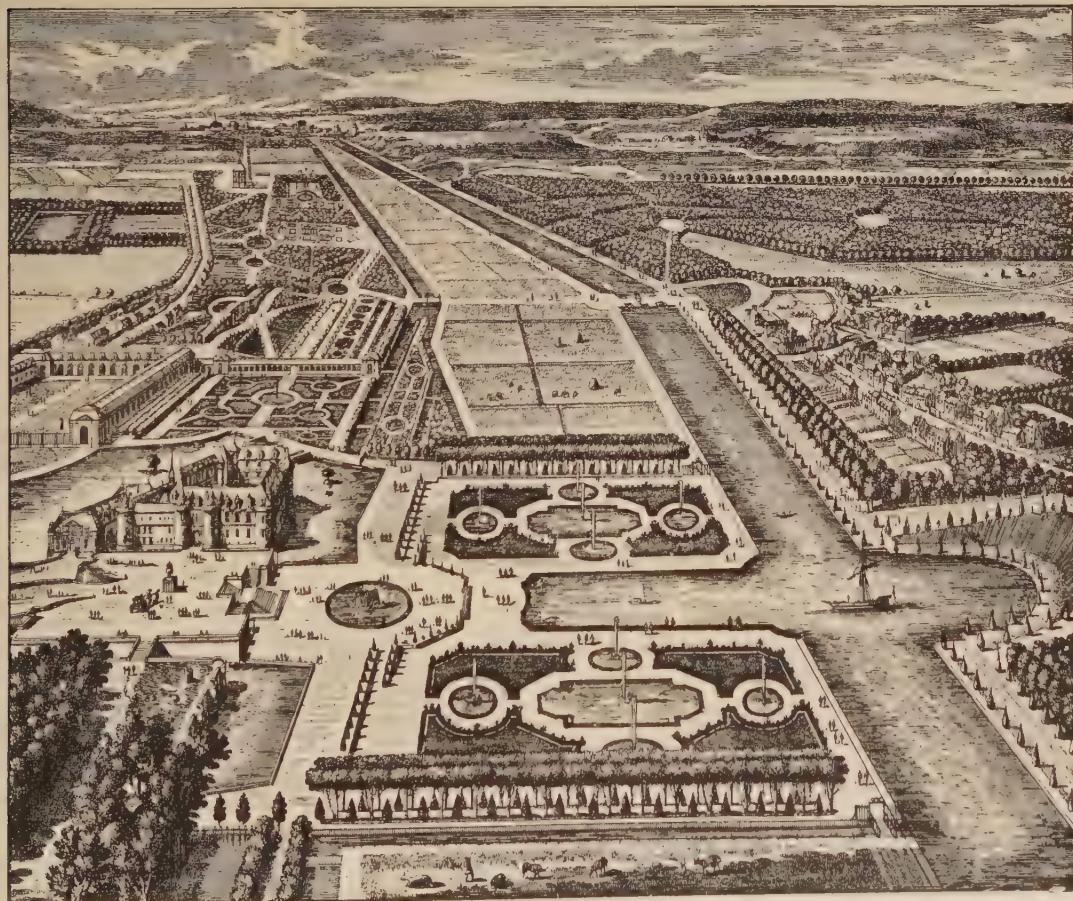


FIG. 424. CHANTILLY—GENERAL VIEW



FIG. 425. CHANTILLY—VIEW OF GARDEN AND CASTLE FROM THE CANAL

view can be left on the canal side; for here you had the second and most agreeable way out into the garden, whereas on the other side you climbed up on steps, round a semi-circular basin, to the second garden terrace. From the hill-slopes sweet scents were wafted from the flowers that covered them; and this was perhaps the same in the days of the old Trianon. The garden of the new Trianon was certainly rich in flowers, and there were very unusual and magnificent ones grown in the *Jardin du Roi*, which was really a *giardino secreto*, situated at the back of the right wing of the *corps de logis*, under the king's windows.

The guest wing, known as Trianon-sous-bois, got its name from being in the middle of the side boskets, one of which was greatly admired by reason of a certain novelty in it. The Duchess Lieselotte, who at one time inhabited this wing, thus writes: "One bosket is called *Les Sources*, and it is so dense that the sun cannot penetrate it even at midday. There are fifty springs, and more, with little streams scarcely a foot wide which you can easily step over. They make small grassy islands, just big enough to put tables and chairs on, so that you can work in the shade. There are steps down on both sides, for the whole place is slightly inclined. Water flows down these steps, and makes a waterfall on either side." On the front of this wing an avenue leads beside the bosket to the cascade, which shuts off the path in the form of a so-called *buffet*. There are a great number of other beautiful fountains in the park, which stretches a long way farther on this side, and is also quite unsymmetrical. There can be no doubt that this garden was intentionally less enclosed, and treated more simply, so as not to bring it into competition with Versailles, which was near at hand; they took pains to keep a more distinctly country style with less conventionality.

If Le Nôtre busied himself generally with the plans for Trianon, this will have been one of the last things he did. He had now grown old, and his prince had shown him honour; he had ennobled him, and given him the Order of Saint-Michel. The old man appears to have kept his childlike pleasures to the end. When the king invited him to Marly shortly before his death, and let him ride beside him in one of the little wheeled

chairs, Le Nôtre suddenly exclaimed, "Oh, my poor father, if only you were alive, and could see how your own son, a mere gardener, is driving in a carriage by the side of the greatest king in the world, there would be nothing wanting to my happiness." One month after this he died. Saint-Simon writes about him: "Le Nôtre died in 1700, after a life of eighty-seven years passed in perfect health, intelligent and upright, with keen enjoyment of his own ability, and honoured because he designed the plans for those lovely gardens that are the glory of France, and that have extinguished the fame of Italian gardens, which are indeed nothing to compare with them; now all the most famous masters of this art come here from Italy, to learn and to admire. Le Nôtre was so candid, so trustworthy, and so upright that everyone respected and honoured him."

Le Nôtre had not, however, during his active career given his mind wholly to the works that he actually wrested from Nature, and which were the visible mirror of the *grand siècle*, for it is clear that the king did not want the gardens already in existence at his old castles to be left quite uncared-for. And the more the reputation of Le Nôtre increased, the more was his advice sought, and also his plans, by the great families of France. One of the earliest cases is the garden of Chantilly, which Le Nôtre always thought one of his finest works. The great Condé made use of the undesired leisure forced upon him by Louis' disfavour between 1660 and 1668, to remake the Renaissance garden at his castle, which, although broken up into many divisions, was really quite a small place. Le Nôtre, whose plans Condé was using, found here what was always wanting at Versailles—water in abundance, though divided into many small canals. He collected all these into the broad band of canal which he made to cut off the main garden crosswise as at Vaux-le-Vicomte (Fig. 424). Since the mediaeval plan of the castle prevented him from



FIG. 426. CHANTILLY—THE FLOWER-PARTERRE

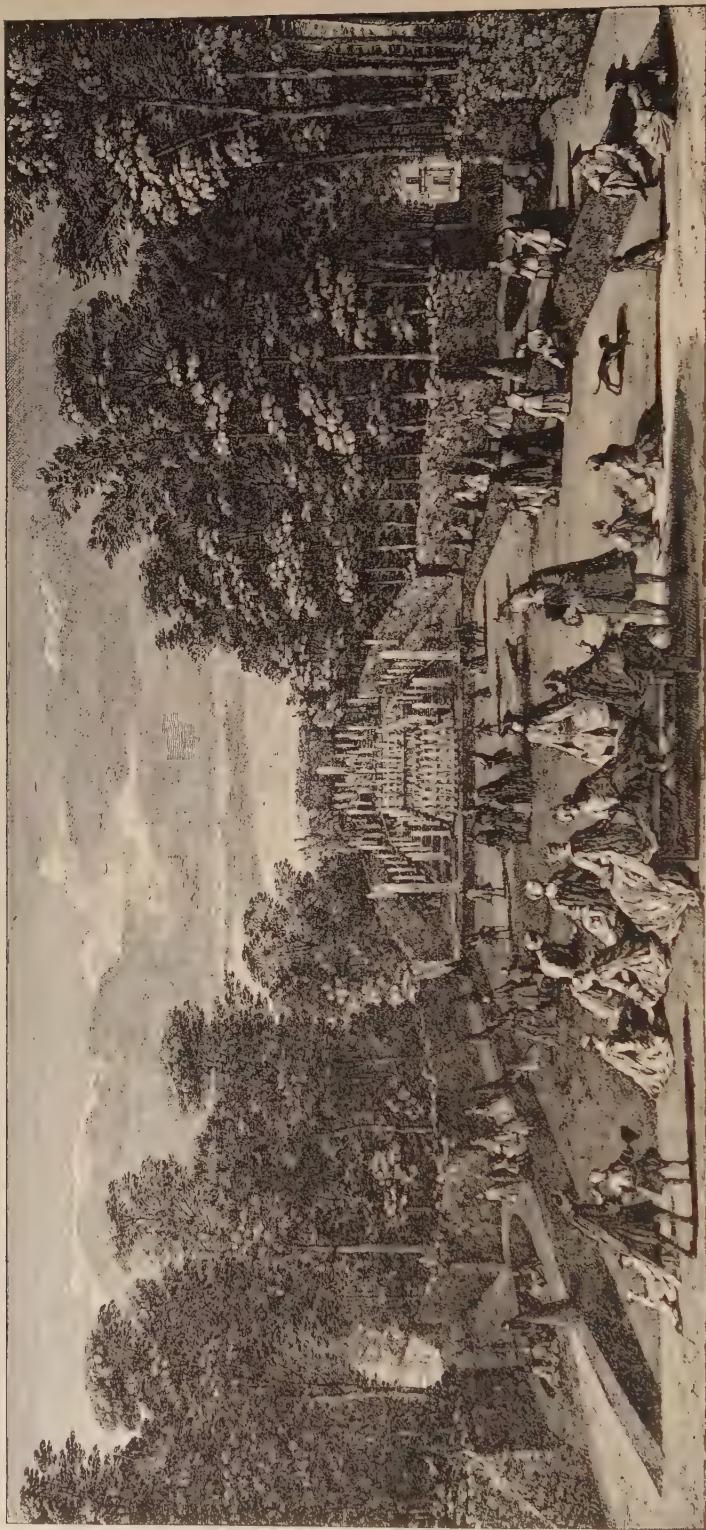


FIG. 427. CHANTILLY—THE GREAT CASCADE

throwing all the gardens and buildings together to make one whole, as at Vaux and Versailles, he made a great stairway plan as architectural conclusion for the parterre, at the castle terrace leading southward. In the centre the canal cross-cuts into the parterre, and on the other side spreads into a semicircular bay, with avenues and meadows adjoining (Fig. 425).

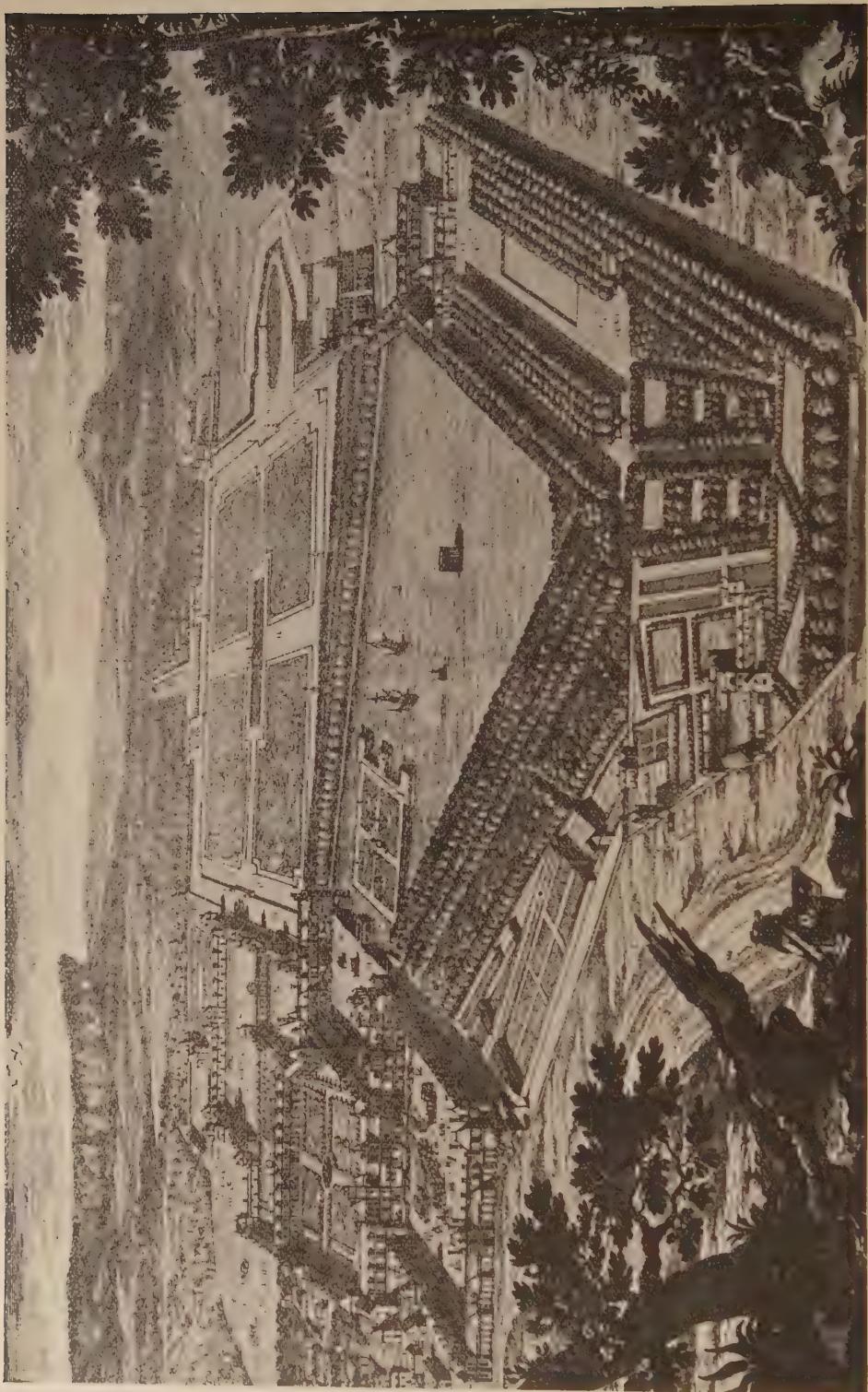
In the parterre of this chief garden water reigns supreme; the open flat spaces are all laid out with groups of five round ponds surrounded by grass, box, and strips of flower-bed—an effect that Le Nôtre tried to get afterwards at the castle terrace at Versailles on a different scale. This water-garden, corresponding to the water-castle in its style, was bordered on one side by a great colonnade, which in its main lines is still standing. On the other side, to the east of the castle lake, there was a second parterre with wonderful flower arrangements (Fig. 426). Behind it many groves were made, of which the finest was the Great Cascade (Fig. 427). The engravings by Perelle, Rigaud, and others have preserved for us pictures of these fine garden scenes, of which nothing now remains, thanks to the Revolution and the change to the picturesque style. If one searches among all the little details to find some remains of the old time, as for example the ruins of the fountains below the tennis-court, one is almost startled at the traces left of the great age of art. On the far side of the castle terrace a piece of the formal park remains with its beautiful high hedges, though the winding paths tell of a somewhat later period. A charming little garden-house, the *Maison de la Silvie*, dating from 1684, with its quiet parterre still preserved, has given its name to this part.

Among the royal castles, Fontainebleau keeps its last state intact (Fig. 428). Le Nôtre finally got rid of all the smaller parts that Henry the Fourth's garden had kept to some extent. The great parterre shows still its simple lines; the canal, though begun by Henry IV., now first shows its full importance for the park. The view from the back of parterre and castle is kept, as at Vaux, with cascades and grottoes in the supporting wall of the great parterre (Fig. 429). No other garden lies so clearly before our eyes in its long stretch; and even to-day there is only a comparatively small bit of it, the old *Jardin des Pins*, that is changed into the picturesque style.

At Saint-Germain, where the fine building of Henry IV. had hardly been inhabited at all, Le Nôtre's chief work, apart from certain enlargement of parterres, was the main terrace, which extends in front of the upper garden as a walk across the river.

The gardens at Meudon were more important. In Louis the Fourteenth's time the castle had passed into the possession of his proud and ambitious minister Louvois, who eagerly completed the enlargements which his predecessor had undertaken, with a view to making an imposing castle, and then employed Le Nôtre to lay out the gardens. Le Nôtre began by extending the castle terrace (Fig. 430) into a large flower-garden commanding a lovely view over the Seine valley, and Paris by its side. The main axial scheme is carried out from the castle by two terraces, descending to the orangery, to rise again, marked out by fountains and basins, to a woody hill above. By the side of the castle there was still the old grotto site with its parterre. Only after the death of Louvois in 1691 did the castle pass into the possession of the Crown; and Louis had a new castle built by Mansart in the same place, to be appointed as the residence of the Dauphin. This little castle stood until 1870, and by that time the front parterres had long been remodelled in the English style. After the demolition of the place one part was rebuilt and utilised as an observatory. The main castle, greatly injured during the

FIG. 428. FONTAINEBLEAU IN THE TIME OF LOUIS XIV



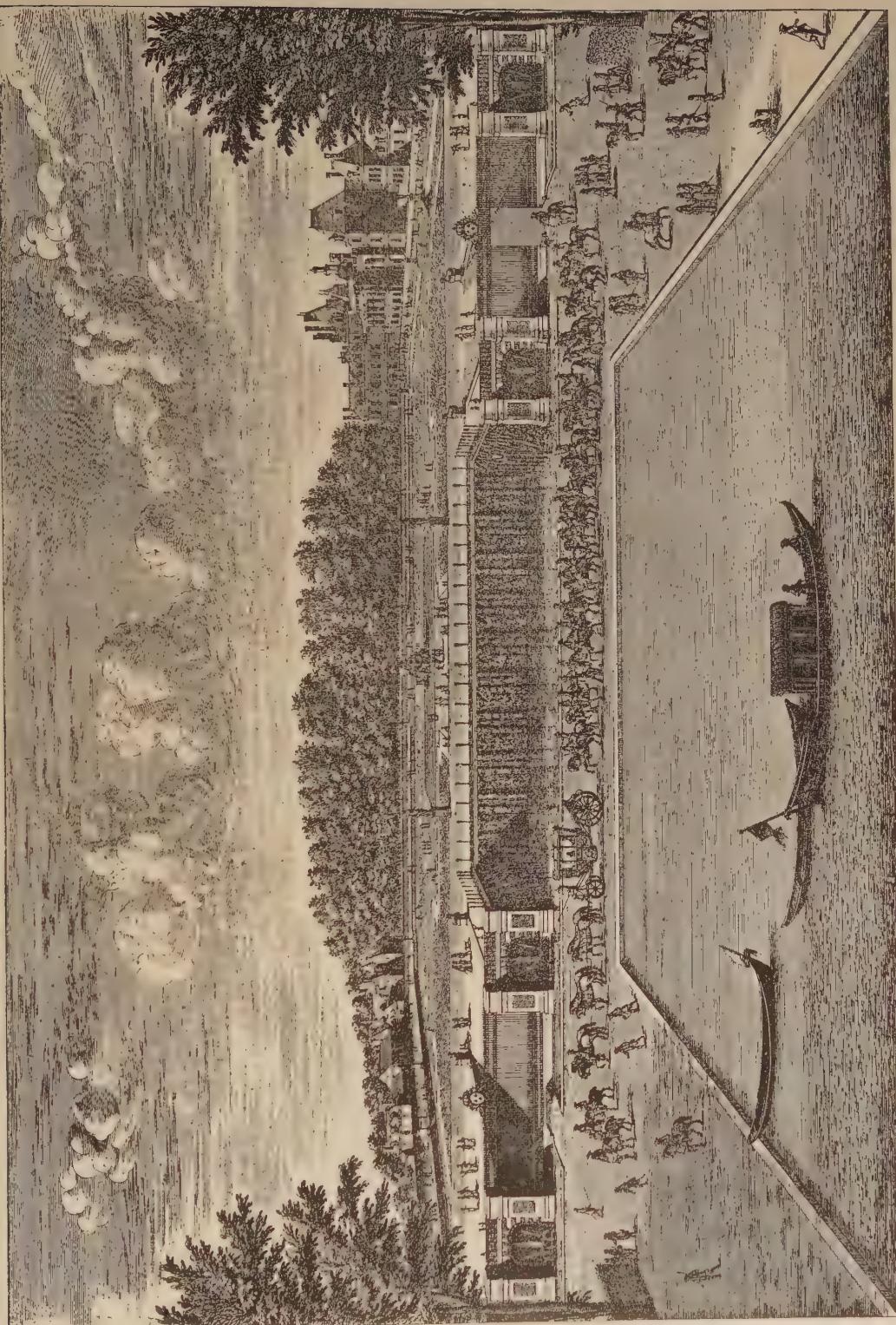


FIG. 429. FONTAINEBLEAU—THE GREAT CANAL

Revolution, was razed to the ground in 1803 and 1804. Of the beautiful prospect that was the work of Le Nôtre there remains only the great terrace, now turned into a public walk which leads by steps into the badly-kept orangery, and to the lime-trees.

Another task, similar in many respects, was awaiting Le Nôtre at Saint-Cloud (Fig. 431). The house of the Gondi family had passed from hand to hand. About 1625 it was owned by an ambitious banker named Herward, who was aiming at court favour. He was a protégé of Mazarin, but the wily cardinal sacrificed him to the king, when his master gave out that he wanted to get the property for his brother, the Duke of Orleans.

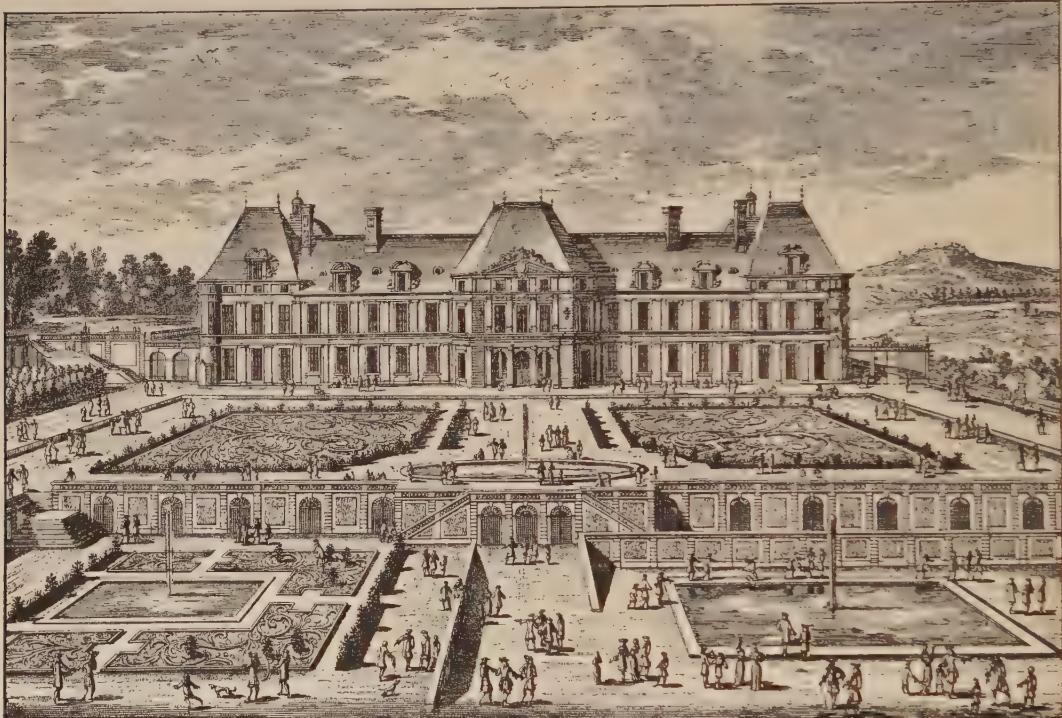


FIG. 430. MEUDON—THE PRINCIPAL PARTERRE

Mazarin managed to buy it for a very small sum, and in due course the duke took his young bride there. Henrietta was greatly adored. It was in her honour that Fouquet gave the first feast in his castle. Here at Saint-Cloud Molière, with his actors, passed the time before he went into the king's service. The sudden unexpected death of Henrietta in 1670 threw the country into the utmost consternation, and all hearts were sad when Bossuret began his funeral oration with the words, "*Madame se meurt, Madame est morte.*" A very different woman came to the palace as her successor, the Palatinate princess Lieselotte, who was blunt and had the straightforward character of her family. She could never feel sufficiently at home in the atmosphere of this court to conquer her homesickness and her longing for her paternal castle on the Neckar. But she loved Saint-Cloud, and in her letters often expresses her delight in the beautiful gardens. She chose it as her home when she was a widow, and always took refuge there when Versailles and Madame de Maintenon annoyed her too much.

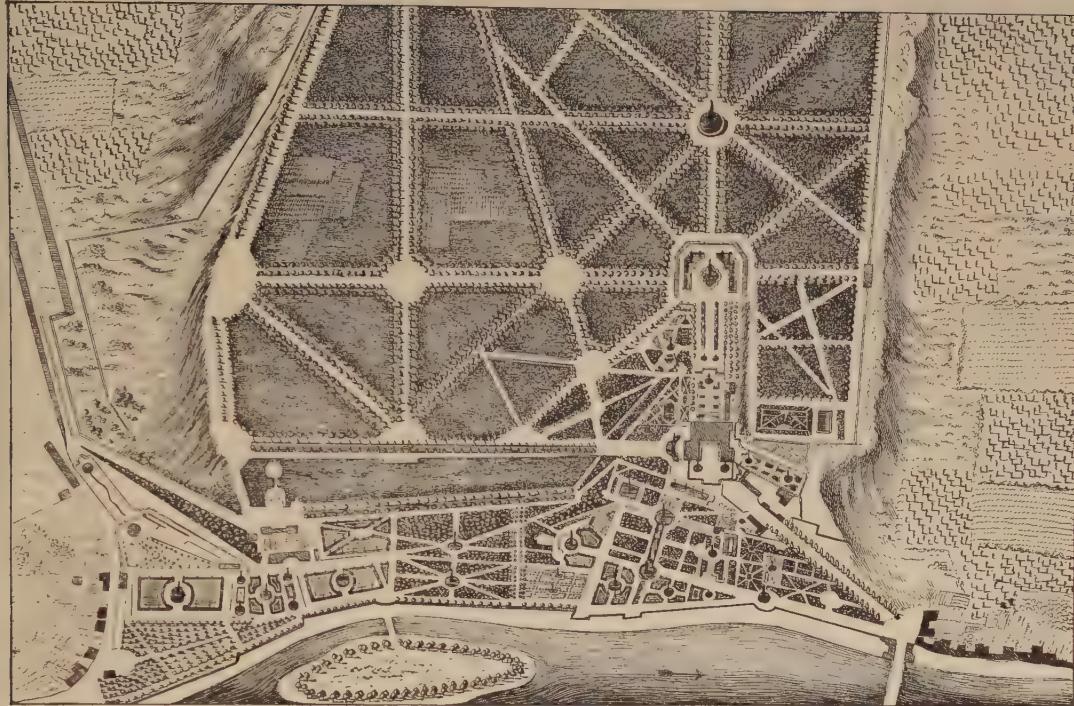


FIG. 431. SAINT-CLOUD—GENERAL PLAN

Le Nôtre found beautiful gardens ready to his hand, and best of all the waterfall that was already famous in the time of the Gondi. Here he could do no more, nor did he wish to, than make enlargements and bring together all the little parts. The cascade, which was away from the Seine in a dip in the valley of this very irregular ground, was left where it was, yet he transformed it into an imposing triple waterfall, which flows over steps and into a huge semicircular basin (Fig. 432). But even in this work Italian



FIG. 432. SAINT-CLOUD—VIEW OF THE CASCADE WITH POOL IN FOREGROUND



FIG. 433. SAINT-CLOUD—THE GREAT CASCADE

influence was plain: the French had not forgotten the old Italian art in their treatment of waters falling from a height (Fig. 433). The king and his brother were always rivals in building, for Monsieur wished to do as much as the king did, and the cascade at Saint-Cloud was his pride for a long time, as being unsurpassed in France. It was only when



FIG. 434. SAINT-CLOUD—THE SMALL CASCADE

the beautiful water came rushing down at Marly that Louis considered that he himself had the best cascade. Now, when the king had made his first Little Trianon, which, as we saw, was so soon to attract imitators — Monsieur must needs have a hermitage hidden away in the park. There was a charming little *Pavillon de Breteuil* at the end of the lower avenue, and certain *berceaux* leading to the parterre produced a peculiarly homelike effect, while at the same time there was a magnificent view from the top which made the place a favourite with the owners of Saint-Cloud. This pavilion and the cascades



FIG. 435. THE LITTLE TRIANON—THE GARDEN SIDE

are now the only things that give us indications of the great beauties that were to be found on the banks of the Seine even until 1870. The show-garden proper was to the west of the castle, and here also the parterre was adorned with little cascades (Fig. 434) and its climbing axis defined with fountains.

The king lost in André Le Nôtre his oldest fellow-worker. All the same, the great gardener's spirit lived on, and there were always only too many willing hands to do the behests of a king who was unwearied in his desire for change, and whose interest in his garden never slackened to the day of his death. But when his eyes were closed, and a child of five was on the throne, all Louis' works were threatened with the gravest danger. True, the Regent had no such barbarous intention with Versailles as with Marly, but it was soon felt that the garments of a giant were too big for the new race. In the opposition of Saint-Simon to Versailles, to be sure, we chiefly feel his general dislike to the king.

But in the course of time there arose continually new voices that were depreciatory. "You can only get to cool shade when you have crossed a burning hot part, at the end of which you have no choice but either to climb up or to climb down, if you can walk farther at all." The violence done to nature everywhere put people off, and annoyed them. "The artificial waters which are too abundant on every side are getting green, thick, and muddy; they emit an unhealthy, enervating dampness, and a still worse stench. Their effect is incomparable, but it can only be enjoyed with caution; there is nothing left but to admire—and run away."



FIG. 436. VERSAILLES—THE APOLLO GROUPS AS THEY ARE TO-DAY

Louis XIV. made a somewhat dangerous, but philanthropic, innovation when he ordered in 1704 that all the gardens and all the fountains were to belong to the public, and he himself opened the bosquets to the people. But after his death very little took place in the gardens, and this meant that they were soon half ruined. But in 1722 the young King Louis XV. moved his court to Versailles, and the place became once more the scene of fêtes. In 1740 the Fountain of Neptune was ornamented with the greater part of its sculpture, which as a fact Mansart had already designed. But the king so soon felt uncomfortable at Versailles, which was too big for him, and therefore seemed empty, that he went more and more often to Trianon, especially after the temporary relation with Madame de Pompadour had become a permanent one. And now the king's circle must always be inventing something new; this was the "martyrium" that his mistress had

taken upon herself, for it was her task to subdue the ennui, the yawns, that overcame king and court. Already the longing for nature pure and simple had penetrated their life, and already Louis XV. had made himself a wing in the roof of the Trianon, and had had his *petite ménagerie* built, with a home farm, a cow-shed, a sheep-pen, and a dairy. In 1759 he had the Little Trianon (Fig. 435) built, in the vain hope of finding greater peace in a smaller place. At that time the Little Trianon still had a formal garden, but later on this house is associated with the figure of Marie Antoinette, and is noteworthy as the first example of the English garden on French soil.

But what became of Versailles? We possess two pictures of the year 1775, which show us the frightful devastation in the garden. All the tall trees have been cleared away, and between them branches are lying about, fountains drying up, and the white bodies of fallen statues sticking up, while here and there one fountain still flows. But the spirit of Le Nôtre was still powerful. When a certain desire for regeneration, prompted by new tastes, asserted itself, no one ventured to upset his ground-plan, and it was only here and there in particular groves that the new spirit gave free rein to its fancies. Thus the man who made these pictures, Hubert Robert, designed a "natural rock," to provide shelter for the poor white groups that were taken out of the grotto (Fig. 436). In 1817 the Grove of the King's Island, which had long before degenerated into an evil swamp, was converted into a small picturesque flower-garden. The new way of planting was not calculated to induce Louis XVI. to make a long stay, especially as his own taste did not abjure formal regularity. But then came the Revolution, and the shrieking mob hustled the king and his family out of Versailles. The Assembly gave orders that castle and garden were to be destroyed. But there must have been something compelling in its size that protected the royal castle, in spite of the fact that hatred would naturally be chiefly directed upon it. To save the garden, the wise director suggested that the bosquets should be used for the cultivation of vegetables, and as potato fields, and this proposal calmed men's minds, and there was no more talk of destruction. As a fact, however, the gardens gradually fell more and more into decay, and at best they only appeared in the nineteenth century as glorious remains. Then people gradually began to search in the groves for anything that might be preserved from the past. Late movements in taste, favouring the old style, helped towards a sort of resurrection of the ancient giant. There was some restoration of what it was possible to restore. The parterres once more glowed with a

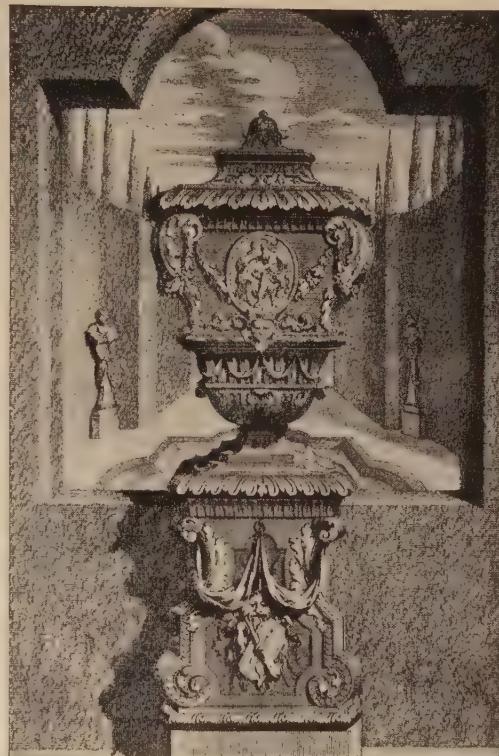


FIG. 437. A VASE DECORATION IN A FRENCH GARDEN

wonderful array of flowers, and thousands of people came each month, attracted by the spectacle of the playing waters.

Although to-day the picture is wanting in its old wealth of sculptures, in the many coloured accessories of royal processions, in the high green walls of the hedges, and in the great beauty of most of the groves, there is a lively consciousness in all French people of what a noble legacy from their *grand siècle* is left to them at Versailles.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FRENCH GARDEN IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

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IN the time of Louis XIV., the formal garden had reached a height that could never be surpassed. There were then associated an ingenious artist, an enthusiastic ruler with unlimited powers, a technical skill that nothing could baffle, and a host of practical fellow-artists to make the individual sections contribute to a successful whole. It followed that the art grew to its utmost height, and became an organic thing, essentially independent.

The northern garden style originated in France, and became the one shining example for Middle and Northern Europe. All eyes were fixed on the magic place Versailles; and to emulate this work of art was the aim of all ambitions. No imitator, however, could attain his object completely, because nowhere else did circumstances combine so favourably. The great importance of the style lay in its adaptability to the natural conditions of the North, and in the fact that it was easily taught and understood. Thus we have a remarkable spectacle: in spite of the fact that immediately after Louis' death the picturesque style appeared—that enemy destined to strike a mortal blow at a fashion which was at least a thousand years old—for some decades later there came into being many specimens of the finest formal gardens, and the art flourished, especially in countries like Germany, Russia, and Sweden.

France did not become mistress of Europe in garden art merely because of such of her examples as could be copied; of almost equal importance was the wide popularity of a book which first appeared anonymously in France in 1709 under the name of *Théorie et Pratique du Jardinage*. In the third edition this work was fathered by the architect Le Blond, who had distinguished himself in the construction of gardens. Some had thought D'Argenville Dezalliers to be the author. Never before did a book lay down the principles of any style so surely and so intelligibly in instructive precepts. It claimed to be the first work entirely devoted to the pleasure-garden, the kitchen-garden being dismissed with complete indifference. "In large gardens there are good vegetable plots worth looking at, but they are kept away from the house and do not contribute to its grandeur or beauty." The author will accept only Boyceau and Mollet as his predecessors, and then only in certain departments.

The great diversity in garden art, which gives a place to every other art, compels the garden student to receive a many-sided education. "He must be something of a geometerian, must understand architecture, must be able to draw well, must know the character and effect of every plant he makes use of for fine gardens, and must also know the art of ornament. He must be inventive, and above all intelligent; he must have a natural good taste cultivated by the sight of beautiful objects and the criticism of ugly ones, and must also have an all-round interest and insight in these matters."

Le Nôtre had brought up a generation of pupils who were educated in these qualities and could easily apply what they knew, and Le Blond, who was busied with the drawings, at any rate, for this work, was one of them. He explains the garden in a methodical way. After preliminary tests have been made, a site is to be preferred where the land is either flat or gently inclined, and not a steep hill. He objects to very high terraces, commanding stone steps, too much trellis, and too many figures. Here we clearly get the opposite of the Italian Renaissance style. In vain had the attempt been made on the French side of

the Alps to imitate Italian gardens; it was labour in vain to do here what came so easily to an Italian. This is expressed in that classical sentence: *Le cose che si murano sono superiori a quei che si piantano* (The things that are walled in are better than the things that are only planted). The French garden produces a plant-architecture to which statues, fountains, and water must accommodate themselves. The house must, of course, be somewhat raised on a terrace overlooking the garden, and the site must be fixed in obedience to four main principles, (1) art must be subject to nature, (2) the garden must not be too shady, (3) it must not be too much exposed, (4) it must always look bigger than it really is. The first principle, soon to be put forward by the picturesque style as a destructive criticism, only emphasises the opposition between French plant-architecture and Italian wall-architecture. The other principles refer to the effort made by the French garden to combine the greatest possible variety with the strictly formal style. House and garden are so united by a single



FIG. 438. ORNAMENTAL VASE IN A FRENCH GARDEN

idea that their size is relatively and immovably fixed, and the open garden, the parterres, and their contrasting bosquets must exactly correspond to them.

It is perhaps in the laying-out of the parterre that Le Blond has least gone beyond Boyceau. He was acquainted with all the kinds, including the *parterre de broderie*, with arabesque patterns marked out in box and combined in one large design—this was now the favourite kind—and the other sort that had geometrical shapes of flower-beds edged with box, now somewhat out of fashion, and generally used, in combination with the *broderie* style, to give greater variety. From England had come the fashion of laying out the parterre in great stretches of lawn, with a pattern in coloured clay, and a strip of flowers or dwarf trees round. The bosquets were now made into novel and hitherto unheard-of forms, and these "contain all that is most beautiful in a garden." We have become familiar with such arrangements in Le Nôtre's great works. Every garden must needs have bosquets of the kind as a necessary background for the open parterre, to conceal the secluded

parts and the *variété* from spectators on the house terrace, whose view over the open parterre was to be checked here; in these places there was the desirable unbroken shade, the theatre for fêtes, protection from every rough wind, and solitude. The splendour and importance of a garden depended on its many-sidedness; but even the most simple and unadorned could show beauty and symmetry, with a background of thicket, and with pretty paths cut in the *massif* of the hornbeam with which these small woods were generally planted.

In spite of the love for variety, the book utters that cry for simplicity which inspired the last period of the creation of Le Nôtre. It warns people against dividing and subdividing,

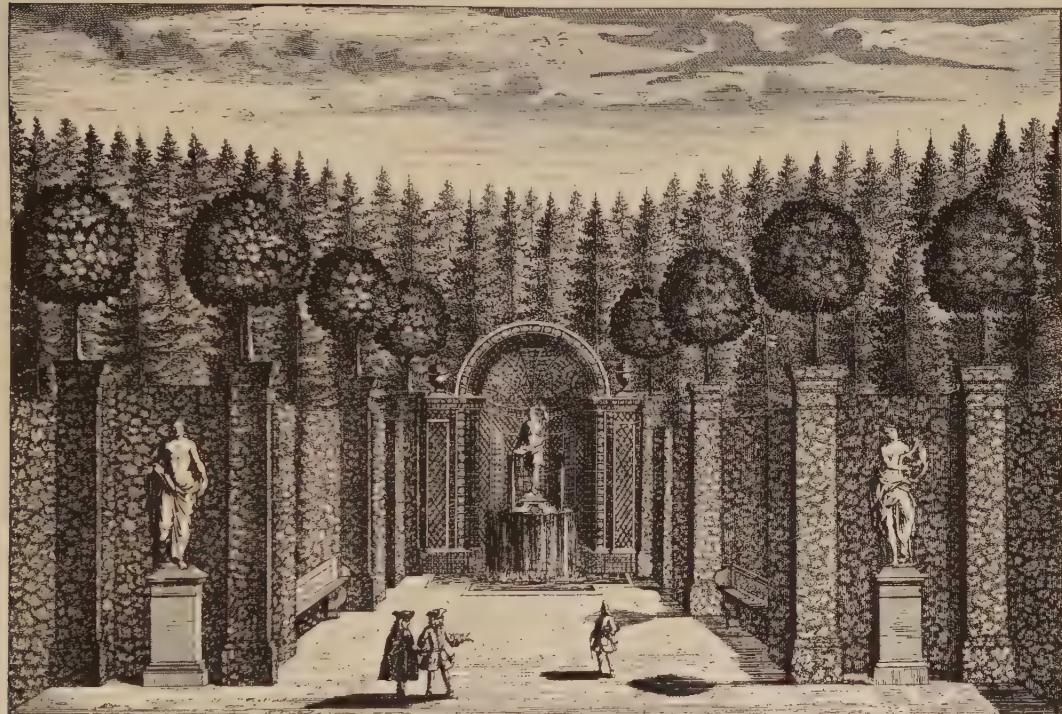


FIG. 439. CLIPPED HEDGES IN A PRINCELY GARDEN

a habit in which the author thought—rightly as the future showed—that he saw the greatest enemy of the French garden. The porticoes of many kinds that were cut in greenery, the winding trellis which was overdone, the extravagant clipping of trees into the shapes of animals, men on horseback, men on foot, and many other things—all this was disliked by the writer. What the French garden needed, he said, for its main lines, was most of all simple tall hedges. Everything mean and shabby, even in garden sculpture, should be avoided: better no statues at all than bad ones.

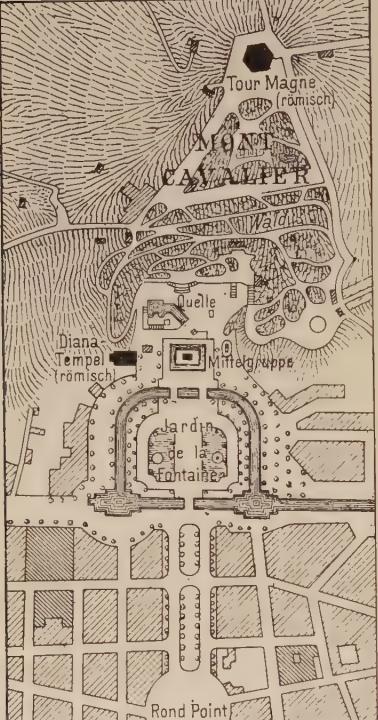
Le Blond's treatment of water corresponds to this idea in the main. When avenues and squares are planned there should be a really useful surround of water, but he is contemptuous of petty detail in the way of shell-work and small basins—and calls them *colifichets* (*gewgaws*). All the important fountains ought to be visible from one central point. It is clear that the art of Le Nôtre could not have found a better or more lucid exponent. There must needs be powerful, if unseen, reasons at work, if so noble

an art was to be brought to ruin. The success of the book was remarkable: edition after edition appeared, then pirated issues and translations. And it had significant results. To its influence was due the improvement in skill and the lightness of touch which came about in gardens at that time.

France was behind other countries in the matter of new works in the eighteenth century, especially in those districts in the north that were influenced by the Parisian court. They always harked back to Versailles, without which French taste could not have produced so manifold a progeny in the rest of Europe. But the court, as we have seen, changed its taste; the new century was not one of fêtes and displays, because for one thing money, exhausted by the Thirty Years' War, was scarce in the state treasury and was not forthcoming for new creations, which could only have compared unfavourably with those of the seventeenth century. After Louis the Fourteenth's death the spirit of the time expressed itself in places like the Little Trianon at the time of its first garden. In the ever-increasing artistry of the parterre there developed very markedly that transition state, of which we shall speak hereafter.

Before we turn our attention to the influence of France on other European nations, one more garden, standing outside the limiting circle of the court, must be considered—the so-called Jardin de la Fontaine at Nîmes (Fig. 440). This is perhaps the most important work that exhibits directly the newly awakened interest in antique art. When the foundations of mighty Roman remains were discovered in the thirties of the eighteenth century, the enthusiasm of the people was so great that they demanded restoration. The work was entrusted to Maréchal, a fortress-builder, in 1740; and he proceeded to design a most imposing scheme of terraces, steps, basins, statues and gardens, mostly on the old foundations.

FIG. 440. JARDIN DE LA FONTAINE, NÎMES—
GROUND-PLAN



The ground plan illustrates a large, rectangular garden layout. At the top center is a small octagonal tower labeled 'Tour Magne (römisch)'. Below it is a hill labeled 'MONT CALIFER'. To the right of the hill is a rectangular building labeled 'Wachtturm'. Further down the hill is a circular feature labeled 'Quelle'. To the left of the hill is a temple labeled 'Diana Tempel (römisch)'. In the center of the garden is a group of buildings labeled 'Mittelgruppe'. A long, narrow rectangular area labeled 'Jardin de la Fontaine' runs horizontally across the middle. At the bottom center is a circular area labeled 'Rond Point'. The entire garden is enclosed by a fence and contains a grid of paths and flower beds.

FIG. 440. JARDIN DE LA FONTAINE, NÎMES—
GROUND-PLAN

It was the best kind of baroque work, and translated the spirit of Roman life into the style of the great age.

At one time there had stood in this place temples, baths, corridors richly adorned with statues, and a theatre. The chief garden is in a straight line with the main street of the town, the Boulevard de la République, and old foundations of baths were utilised as canals, flowing round the different terraces. At a spot where there is now reposing, on a high pedestal, a nymph with children, at the top of the basin of the baths, there was in former days the statue of Augustus on a stylobate, with decorated columns at its four corners. The spring itself lies somewhat removed from the main axis, exactly at the foot of the hill; and on the top of the hill stands a Roman watch-tower, La Tour Magne, while farther towards the side is a Temple of Diana, where the nymph of the stream was worshipped. This enforced bending from the axial line, in which we discern a sure indication of the Roman spirit, is here only a special case of rhythm, for there is evident



FIG. 441. NÎMES—JARDIN DE LA FONTAINE

everywhere a strong feeling for unity, shown in the all-pervading balustrades, statues, vases at the corners, steps, and bridges (Fig. 441). The true feeling of the antique world, which restrained the architect, served as a protection to this late work (as also to the Villa Albani in Italy, whose date is much the same) from all the pettiness and prettiness of the court style in Northern France.

And now we must consider the period when all the countries of Europe directly or indirectly felt the influence of Versailles, that central sun of France, so long as it maintained its full and original splendour.

ENGLAND

England was probably affected least of all, at any rate permanently, by the direct influence of French art. When Charles II. came to the throne after years of severe Puritanical rule, he could not carry out his own plans so swiftly as Louis XIV. had done. A great part of the gardens of his forefathers had been destroyed, or at any rate neglected. Nor did his means put at his command those far-off artists whom his royal friend was able to employ on the other side of the Channel. Moreover the utilitarianism and sobriety of the Puritans, always controlled by reason, continued to influence in no small degree the gardens of England, even after the Restoration. In his Diary, that mouthpiece of contemporary fashions, Pepys tells of a conversation which he held with Hugh May, an architect in the king's service, about the ruling styles soon after the Restoration:

Then walked to Whitehall, where saw nobody almost, but walked up and down with Hugh May, who is a very ingenious man. Among other things, discoursing of the present fashion of gardens to make

them plain, that we have the best walks of gravell in the world, France having none, nor Italy; and our green of our bowling allies is better than any they have. So our business here being ayre, this is the best way, only with a little mixture of statues, or pots, which may be handsome, and so filled with another pot of such or such a flower or greene as the season of the year will bear. And then for flowers, they are best seen in a little plat by themselves; besides, their borders spoil the walks of another garden: and then for fruit, the best way is to have walls built circularly one within another, to the South, on purpose for fruit, and leave the walking garden only for that use.

This increasing hostility to flowers was sometimes felt in France, but was not so evident because of the plentiful water, statues and other sculpture. The English garden, with its love for wide convenient paths, and very small provision of sculptures, must at that time have looked empty and dull. As a fact, good taste was turning the other way; and in the year 1665 a violent protest was raised. Rea writes in his garden book *Ceres, Flora, and Pomona*: "A choice collection of living Beauties, rare Plants, Flowers and Fruits, are indeed the wealth, glory, and delight of a Garden," and he goes on to say that the new plan of gravel walks and close-cut lawns is only suitable for town houses, though leading features at many a stately country seat whence garden flowers, "those wonders of Nature, the fairest ornaments ever discovered for making a place beautiful," are banished. He adds a hope that this "new-fangled ugly fashion" will disappear together with many other alterations.

This protest against the hostility to flowers was repeated twelve years later by the much-read author, John Worlidge. But those two men of understanding, Pepys and May, had happened on the very centre-point of the requirements of an English garden, when they spoke of wide paths, seats to rest on, and objects to make for on a walk, because here we have the essentially English delight in active exercise in the open country. And so Rea's objection to wide paths was not endorsed by Worlidge himself, who thought that it was by no means the least part of the pleasure given by a garden to go for a walk in it with friends or acquaintances; or to go alone and so get refreshed, free from the cares of the world and society which are often burdensome; then if one were tired, or if there were more great heat or rain, one could take a rest under a fine tree or in a covered arbour before again enjoying the open air.

Of this sort of garden to stroll in, no Southerner or even Frenchman had ever dreamed. For them the open parterre was to be looked at from above, or enjoyed at leisure when it was cool; in the sunny squares people preferred to be carried, or to drive in little carriages along the broad paths into the shady boskets, and even there they did not walk. Quite peculiar to England, both then and now, are the smooth garden walks of grass. The unrivalled beauty of the lawns, which England owes to a damp climate, produced a reaction in France in favour of the grass parterre à l'anglaise. In England such a parterre was of course often an unbroken lawn, with flowers only on the borders; or it might be, as was the fashion at the end of the century, adorned with vases, statues and small green trees. It was in England too that were first made with thick short grass the wide and sometimes very long alleys for playing bowls. It is evident how little the other countries were likely to have lawns of this kind when one sees the odd meaning of the word "bowling-green" as used in French garden language. It is possible that they did not know that "boulingrin" was an English word at all; it was understood at the date of the *Théorie et Pratique* to mean a sunk piece of grass, which formed the centre of a bosket and often had a fountain on it. So far the lawn had only been regarded as attractive

to look at, and it was not connected in the least with the French *jeu de paume ou mail*—a game which, if not played under cover, had a course of earth stamped flat. Later on, the word “boulingrin” was derived from *boule* (= bowl) and *green*, so meaning a green hollow place.

It is not surprising that one innovation from France found a welcome in England, namely, the avenue. Not that these long straight lines, closely uniting house and garden, were an invention of the French gardeners, because we found them in Italian and Spanish gardens at the end of the sixteenth century; but their regularity is the first expression of the large all-embracing scheme of the French style. For there would be three to five walks, all starting from a single point, which was as a rule in the central axis of the garden, and leading through the park in different directions, often with some distant church or fountain as *point de vue*, but sometimes going up to the main entrance as a grand carriage-drive. Led by this fashion, Charles II. had wide avenues cut through both parks at Hampton Court, reaching from the east nearly to the front of the palace. The great canal also, of which Charles at once took possession after his return, seems at first to have led up close to the house-front on the east side. Thence started the star-shaped avenues of the park, out of which the great semicircular garden was afterwards made. Evelyn visited the place 9 June, 1662, saw these innovations, and mentioned them as adding to the beauty of the park. He found many pretty bits in the gardens to praise, but thought that they were very much too small as a whole; so he can have seen only the old Renaissance gardens on the south front. Even if the semicircular site already existed in Charles's plan, he certainly had not made much progress with it. In any case he felt a lively desire to learn all that was possible from France, and for this purpose sent his gardener Rose to Paris to be educated. Indeed, Charles went farther, and asked at the French court if Le Nôtre himself could come on a short visit to England; and Louis appears to have given Le Nôtre a somewhat hesitating permission, though nothing is heard of his coming to stay in England at that time.

The chief credit for bringing the gardens at Hampton Court to their present form is due to William and Mary. Both of them had a great liking for the palace, and made it their permanent residence. Christopher Wren, at that time beyond dispute the greatest living architect, was summoned to build a new, important palace on the east side, round the pretty old Tudor building, which still was encircled with a moat. The style of this palace shows that men's eyes were directed towards Versailles. London and Wise, both pupils of Rose, were commissioned to lay out the new gardens (Fig. 442). In front of the lately erected east wing they cut off a large semicircular piece of the park, and laid it out as a flower-garden; for this the walks which led up to the old castle had to be put back, and then other walks, and also a canal, were made round the semicircle on the outside. On the inside it was laid out with *parterres de broderie*, the paths being kept in the form of a star which led to the castle. There were thirteen fountains, some large, some small, and a great many statues. By the side of the house ran a gravel path, 2300 feet long, following the whole length of the house and its side wings, and this path had to serve instead of terraces.

Although William had large plans, he could not see his way to making those enormous earthworks which sunk gardens would have involved, and this was the only way of getting a terrace. His contemporaries, and writers of a later date, all bewail the want of a terrace

HAMPTON COURT

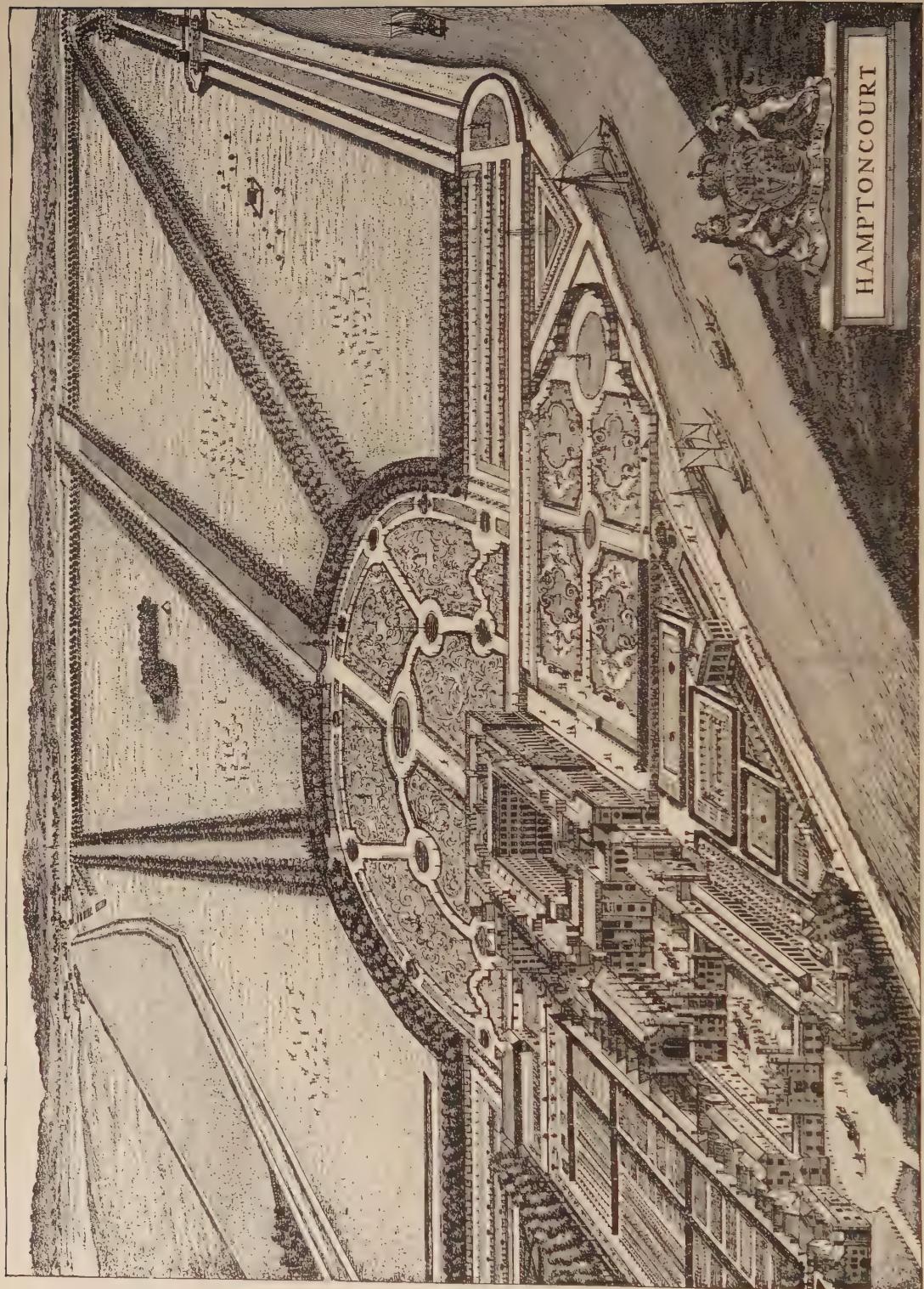


FIG. 442. HAMPTON COURT UNDER WILLIAM AND MARY—GENERAL PLAN

to give a general view. The gravel walk was furnished in summer with a row of fine orange-trees. These were thought very appropriate by the royal pair, who saw in them a half-political allusion to the House of Orange. The south gardens were also remade; the lesser ones were now turned into special gardens for flowers, and among these the so-called pond garden (Fig. 344, Vol. I.) is even now a charming piece of Renaissance work. The hill for a view rose behind, and looked towards the Thames, in the so-called private grounds: there is a summer-house on the top, which is seen in the view from Christopher Wren's new wing. It was levelled, and flower-beds were set out.

The back of the semicircle, where the "mount" had been, was shut off by an iron trellis containing twelve gates, among the most beautiful works of art of this kind. The designer was the Frenchman Jean Tijou, who produced many other works in iron for English people (Fig. 443). These particular gates were removed in 1865, at the time when garden art was most degraded, and placed in the newly founded South Kensington Museum; for the institution was in want of works of art, and there was a wish to accustom the public to their exhibition. Fortunately, it was recognised a few years later that things of this kind had the best effect in the places they were intended for, and the iron-work was restored to its old home. One of the most private and secluded parts of the garden, the wonderful covered walk called Queen Mary's Bower, belongs to an earlier date, for it was seen and admired by Evelyn.

The last change made by William was the conversion of the old orchard on the north side into the so-called Wilderness. This is a significant indication of the conservative feeling in the English gardens of the period. The great idea in the French garden was the shaping out of the bosket or thicket as "relief," with a view both to variety and the provision of grand displays, but this notion seldom took hold in England. People were content in the royal garden with a wilderness plan, which was adopted at the beginning of the century, with winding paths cut in the thick growths, the greenery mostly held back by trellis at the side. The small importance of the grove was a consequence of its being ill-suited to the damp climate, and shade was preferably sought in long airy avenues and walks.

The gardens of Hampton Court belong to the very few which in their main lines have kept their original form. True, the fountains in the great parterre have disappeared to the last one, and out of the beds with box borders have grown large lawns of trapezium shape, while the park avenues have been continued into the garden as avenues of yew;



FIG. 443. HAMPTON COURT—THE WROUGHT-IRON GATE OF TIJOU

but the sameness of this part is enlivened by a marvellous show of flowers, and the surround and main lines of the garden are just as they were. This fact seems surprising, for in England the great revolution in taste raged high. Were we not aided by excellent engravings, it would be hard indeed to get a tolerably comprehensive view of England's gardens about the year 1700. But a flood of copper engravings, mostly Dutch, such as the work of the engravers and draughtsmen Knyff and Kip, who tramped up and down trying to get views for their drawings and plates, and more especially the views of important castles and gardens, had now reached the country. They are preserved in a great

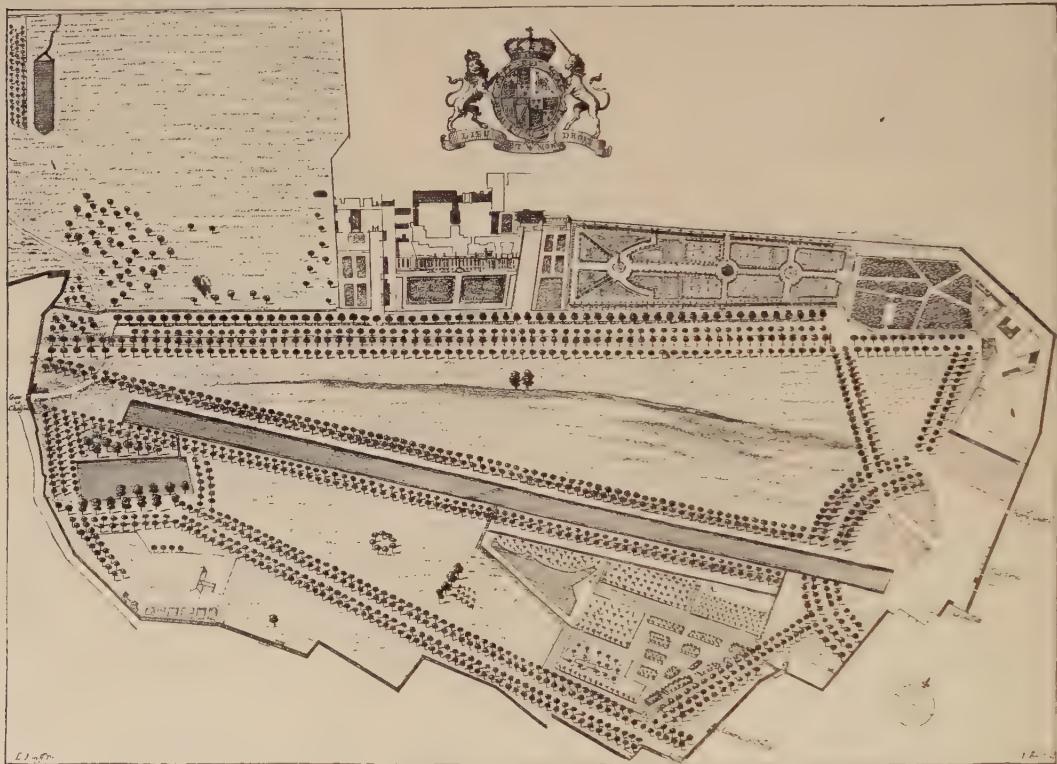
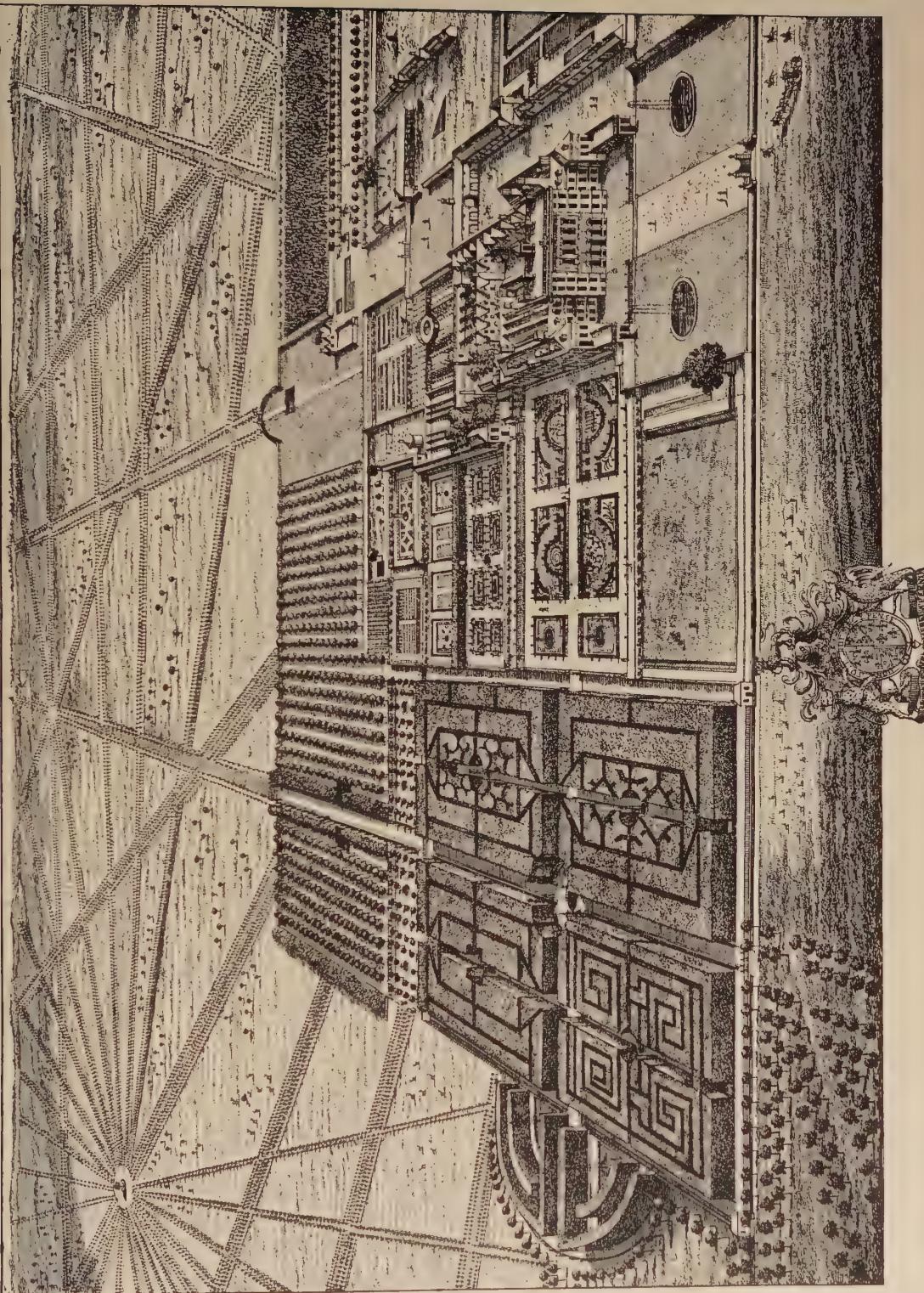


FIG. 444. ST. JAMES'S PARK, LONDON—GROUND-PLAN

series of pictures, which we often find repeated in the different books. The best of these, for the size and beauty of the drawings, is *Le Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne*, which appeared in 1714.

The pictures show first and foremost that the French fashion for large lines had made an impression even in England. The actual size of the gardens was more imposing than it had been hitherto. The *bosquets* were thought less of, as we have said. The many kinds of water arrangements had lost their importance; even the great canal is not universally present, and when it does appear, is not situated so favourably as at Hampton Court, but lies at the side and does not connect with the garden. It is not unlikely that such a peculiar situation is due to Dutch influence, for in Holland, as we shall see later on, it seems to have come about from natural causes. St. James's Park, also made by William III., is a typical example (Fig. 444), and the canal is at the side of the park in

FIG. 445. BADMINTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE—GENERAL VIEW OF THE MANSION AND GARDENS



one long strip, with straight avenues running alongside and enclosing wide-stretching meadows. In front of the palace there are two fine lawns, also bordered with trees. The side of the palace looks on a flower-garden with finely laid-out parterres, but the bosquets are unimportant. In spite of the fact that it is all so very unlike the French style, there is a legend that Le Nôtre drew up the plans for this garden also.

We have already spoken of the English parterres, which almost always put the lawn itself in front. An entirely level situation of the garden is the first requisite for its beauty,



FIG. 446. BRAMHAM PARK, YORKSHIRE

even more here than in France, and on this account the hill to give a view over it has often been kept in a later garden. But here too a raised terrace with balustrades has been much liked, attached to the house. Where a hilly ground favoured terraces, as so often in Scotland, and also in the more important English gardens, they were used, but surprisingly seldom, for cascades.

One peculiarity of English country houses at the time of the Renaissance often conditioned the site of their front gardens: the old Tudor house was always entered through a front court; carriages drove up to it, and visitors had to go on foot through a second court on a paved path; there were lawns on both sides, with fountains or perhaps parterres. It was not before 1700 that people began to alter these inconvenient approaches. Then at Hatfield House and at Montacute the entrance was changed to the other side, close to the house.

One of the finest and also most interesting places of the period is Badminton in Gloucestershire (Fig. 445). Henry, Duke of Beaufort, built the house in 1682. He had a real passion for avenues, and his park grounds were traversed by numbers of walks, twenty of them starting from one point like the centre of a star. It is said that he infected his neighbours with his own enthusiasm, so that they let him extend the avenues into

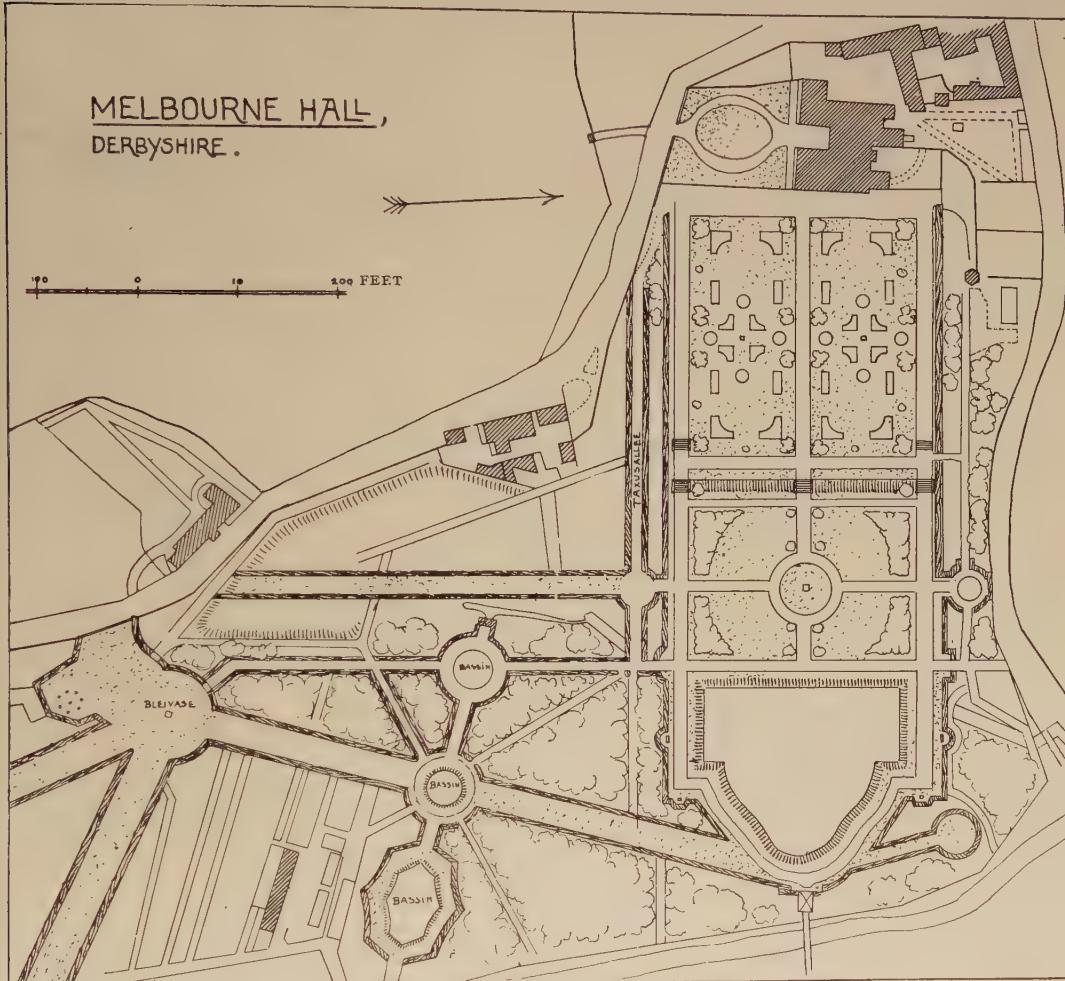


FIG. 447. MELBOURNE HALL, DERBYSHIRE—PLAN OF THE GARDEN

their territory, and in this way he obtained more distant and glorious views. But the gardens too cover a very large tract of land. They lie round a house in the middle of a great park, with the chief avenue two and a half miles long leading to the entrance. On the left of it there are parterres and a bowling-green; behind the parterres, and in a straight line with them, are bosquets with fountains and finely designed paths; at the very end is a semicircular little room cut out of the hedge and containing two fountains.

The work of the duke at Badminton has perished, like nearly everything shown in the engravings. But here and there something has remained of the less famous garden of a less ambitious owner. A garden in the north of Yorkshire has preserved the beauty of

its grand avenues bordered by straight-rimmed ponds, and its *points de vue*. This is Bramham Park, and the drawings show a scene of much beauty and character (Fig. 446). There is a place (Fig. 447) of that date at Melbourne in Derbyshire, laid out in the years 1704 to 1711 by the king's gardener, Henry Wise, for Thomas Coke, who was later on Vice-Chamberlain to George I. Here the parterres end in a wide pond, with a pretty summer-house above it, and farther on a park-like meadow, which is reached by a bridge. This parterre is enclosed on either side by shady avenues of yew, cedar and wellingtonia; the last was of course only planted in the nineteenth century, when it was

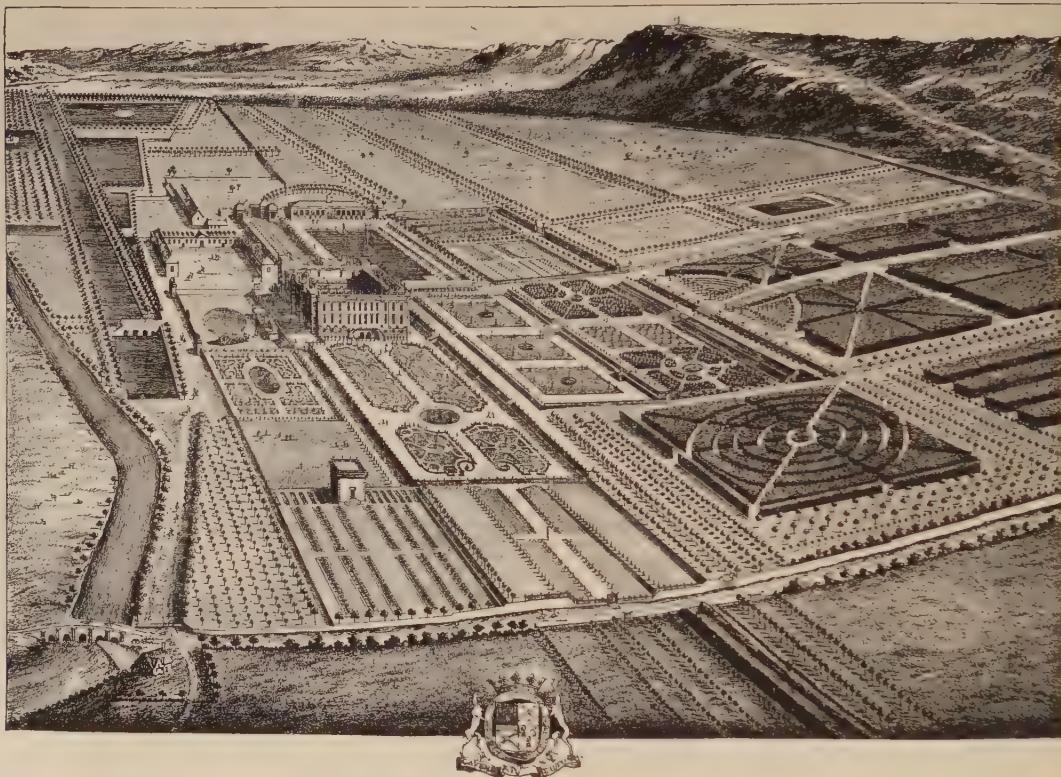


FIG. 448. CHATSWORTH, DERBYSHIRE—AN OLD VIEW OF THE MANSION AND GARDENS

introduced. A park adjoins the place at right angles, and paths, sometimes forming a star shape, are cut through it, and are ornamented with fountains and pretty leaden vases of French make.

The Duke of Devonshire's seat, Chatsworth (Fig. 448), which, like Melbourne, is in Derbyshire, has had a changeful history, for each century has completely altered its character. We know nothing of its Renaissance gardens, but in 1685 the duke had house and garden altered in the style of the period, and this design is shown in the above engraving by Kip. The gardens ascend the hill in several terraces, the upper ones made use of for groves; these, however, are not so important as they might be, for each one has its own particular axial lay-out. The house is on the second terrace, and the view is over a great *parterre de broderie*. One axis at the side climbs the hill, and ends in a cascade that occupies thirty steps. The chief beauty here, which is by no means exhibited in

the picture, is really in the great amount of water. From the River Derwent, which flows past the garden, a canal of great length branched. The water in the garden itself is all alive with great playing fountains, adorned with dolphins, and sea-gods, and many small jets and water-devices. But in comparison with French art one misses at Chatsworth, with all its spaciousness and many-sidedness, the unity given by straight lines and distant views. Even the cascades can only be enjoyed when one goes outside the house, although the ponds on the lower terrace must have been all one picture with the glittering waters that came from the boskets. Le Nôtre must, it would be thought, have laid out these gardens also; but in reality it was another Frenchman named Grelly, who made at least the water-devices. He adorned one of the thickets with a fountain which he directly imitated from the Marais, at that time so much admired at Versailles. It is only made of tin, with willows painted in natural colours, pouring water over large stones, and weeping, as it were, out of the tips of the leaves: in this fashion an ancient idea was transplanted into a northern land. The fountain and many other objects were preserved till after the English style set in, or possibly they may have been reinstated by some intelligent person who was looking after the garden in the nineteenth century.

By this insistence on a garden for strolling about, which demands a less formal and more cheerful arrangement than the French garden could allow, England was perhaps already paving the way for that revolution in taste which was soon to occur.

GERMANY

Germany had to begin almost all over again from the middle of the seventeenth century, at the end of the Thirty Years' War. The cultivation of the garden is a peaceful art; and it was only exceptional men such as Wallenstein and Maurice of Nassau who tried to keep the country to its peaceful occupations while they were in the midst of war, weapons in hand. For the most part the war had left wasted lands bare of inhabitants, but there was more than this—the tradition that was never very strong in Germany was completely destroyed. It was just this state of things, however, that drove a generation hungry for peace to seek for teachers whose instruction it could follow with delight. One important factor in making garden art flourish in Germany was the increased power of the many princelings, great and small. The feeling of sovereignty showed itself in the second half of the seventeenth century, when prosperity was increasing, in the creation of splendid homes. For most of the princes, especially those in the north and west, Versailles served as a fascinating visible example. Only a few, who were interested in Italy, took their inspiration in these days from the old forms of art on the other side of the Alps. Le Nôtre's was the truly great name, and as soon as his reputation had once extended across the Rhine, it was considered good luck to secure a garden artist who had somehow or other got his education by actual study of the works of Le Nôtre.

Duke Ernst Johann Friedrich of Hanover reckoned himself one of the fortunate ones when he secured Charbonnier, who belonged to the school of Le Nôtre, to lay out his garden at Herrenhausen. The architect for the house was Quirini, a Venetian, and he gave it an Italian look with two wings of one story, which jutted forward and showed a flat roof with balustrades. At small German courts, we often find, as late as the middle of

the eighteenth century, a partnership of Italian architect and French garden artist, for the French style in building arrived later in Germany than the garden style, and was never really naturalised. The duke loved magnificence, and he rejoiced in the stir and bustle that a tribe of foreign artists, French and Italian, brought to his place.

Although the keeping up of the pleasure-grounds at Herrenhausen cost nearly six thousand dollars in 1679, the year of Duke Ernst Johann's death; and although his successor, Prince Ernst August, was very angry about the extravagance, it was this very

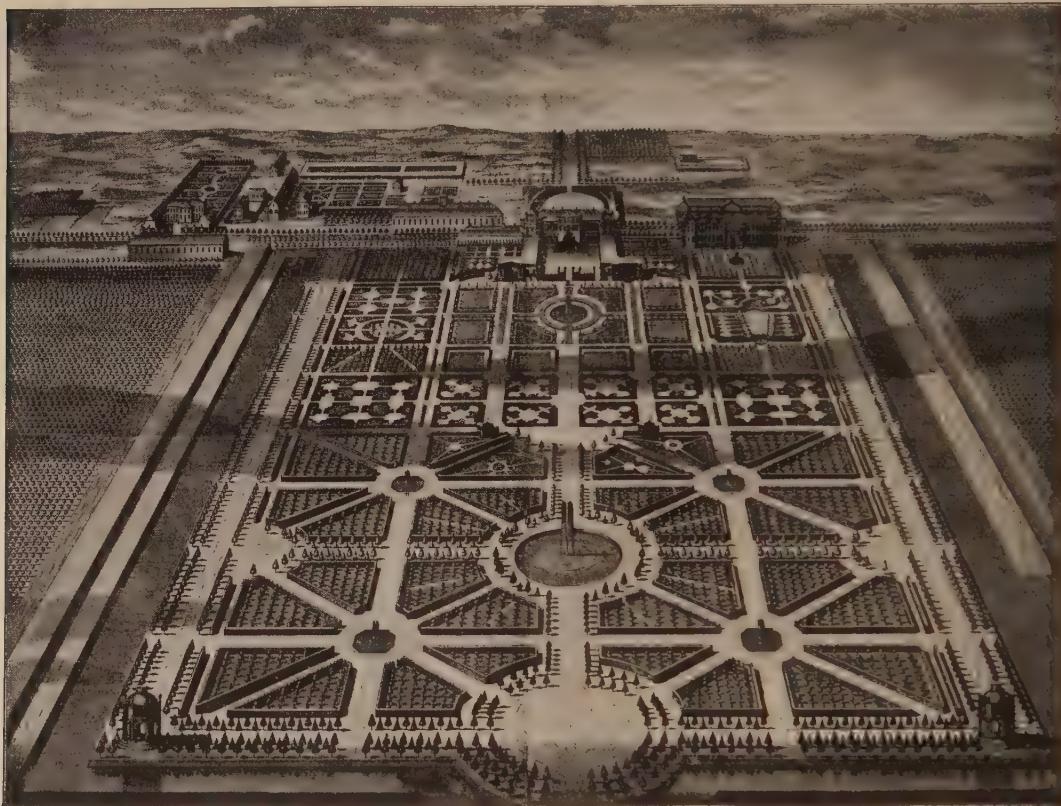


FIG. 449. HERRENHAUSEN, HANOVER—GENERAL PLAN

successor who extended the garden to double its size, and gave it pretty much the appearance that it still has (Fig. 449). It is natural to think of the close relationship between the Hanoverian and French courts, which was kept up in the liveliest way in the correspondence of the gay Princess Sophia of Hanover with her niece Lieselotte, Duchess of Orleans; and it may easily be believed that as the two ladies took such an interest in gardens, they shared some direct advice and even plans by Le Nôtre. The plans were as formal as any we know, giving the impression of an example in a school-book. There seems to be a kind of anxiety not to omit any of the rules or injunctions: first there are the fine parterres with a central fountain, behind them four almost square ponds, then a simpler parterre with two little pavilions, which have now disappeared. They formed the connection with the bosquets, which were traversed by regular star-arranged paths with tall hedges of box, and which all had a basin in the centre. There was a very large round pond at the end

FIG. 450 HERRENHAUSEN, HANOVER—GARDEN THEATRE IN ITS PRESENT STATE



of the middle walk, and the two side paths led to summer-houses built like temples. Avenues of limes encircled the whole garden, with canals running beside them, which formed a semicircular bay behind the round basin in the middle axis. The first half of the garden, which lies nearest to the house, shows clear traces of the earliest phase of Versailles. The grotto occurs at exactly the same point; but as complete regularity demanded a corresponding site on the opposite side, here were the so-called cascades and a wall with grotto and shells, enlivened by waterfalls and springs. Here also was the attractive orangery beside the castle, and corresponding to it on the other side a garden for flowers or vegetables.

The only part that was not formal was the theatre on the east of the great parterre. This stands on a made terrace, varying the monotony of the otherwise level ground. The back of it is occupied by the stage, from which steps lead to the garden beside a beautiful fountain at the supporting wall. The side scenes are trapezium-shaped, meeting together at the back, and cut out like small green dressing-rooms, with statues in front of them (Fig. 450). The stage is separated from the amphitheatre for spectators by a low wide gangway, on a level with the garden, and approached by steps from the stage. This must have been a great help to the performances, as it served as a sort of orchestra. The garden was quite finished by 1700, but the theatre was so placed in the body of it that one may perhaps assume that it was adopted into the ground-plan, and it thus would be one of the earliest of the kind. The garden at Herrenhausen had no particular park of its own; from the treatment of the canal surrounding the whole place, this would have been impossible. The omission may have been due to Dutch influence, for gardeners from Holland were working here later.

This first attempt at Herrenhausen to imitate the French style was carried out too stiffly, too academically. Fortunately the artistic interest of German princes was so many-sided, and their love of building so extreme, that the danger of a rigid style was averted. And in the North France did not reign alone. Close by, at Cassel, about the time when Herrenhausen's buildings were nearly finished, the young Landgrave Charles came back from his travels in Italy with a project which, though never completely carried out, fills the present generation with wonder and admiration for the force of will that speaks therefrom: this is the plan for Wilhelmshöhe on the Weissenstein near Cassel. On his return home Charles summoned as architect a Roman named Guernieri, and he made the great cascades that overtop the park. French influence is absent here; everything that theorists and the example of Versailles strictly enjoined had now gone to the winds. The landgrave was so full of the impressions formed in Italy that he allowed Guernieri to work entirely according to his native traditions, and thus on a northern soil there arose for the first time a work in which walled architecture in conjunction with water played the leading part.

If Guernieri's plan had been completely carried out, there would have arisen a work which for size, grandeur and completeness would have been almost unequalled in the whole of Europe (Fig. 451). The predecessors of Charles had erected a hunting-seat in the place where there now stands on a hill the castle of Wilhelmshöhe, built at the end of the eighteenth century; and above this towered the steep Habichtsberg. According to the plan of Charles and Guernieri, the whole of the great wooded hill was to be converted into an enormous terrace site, and the main lines, dominating all else, were to be formed by a

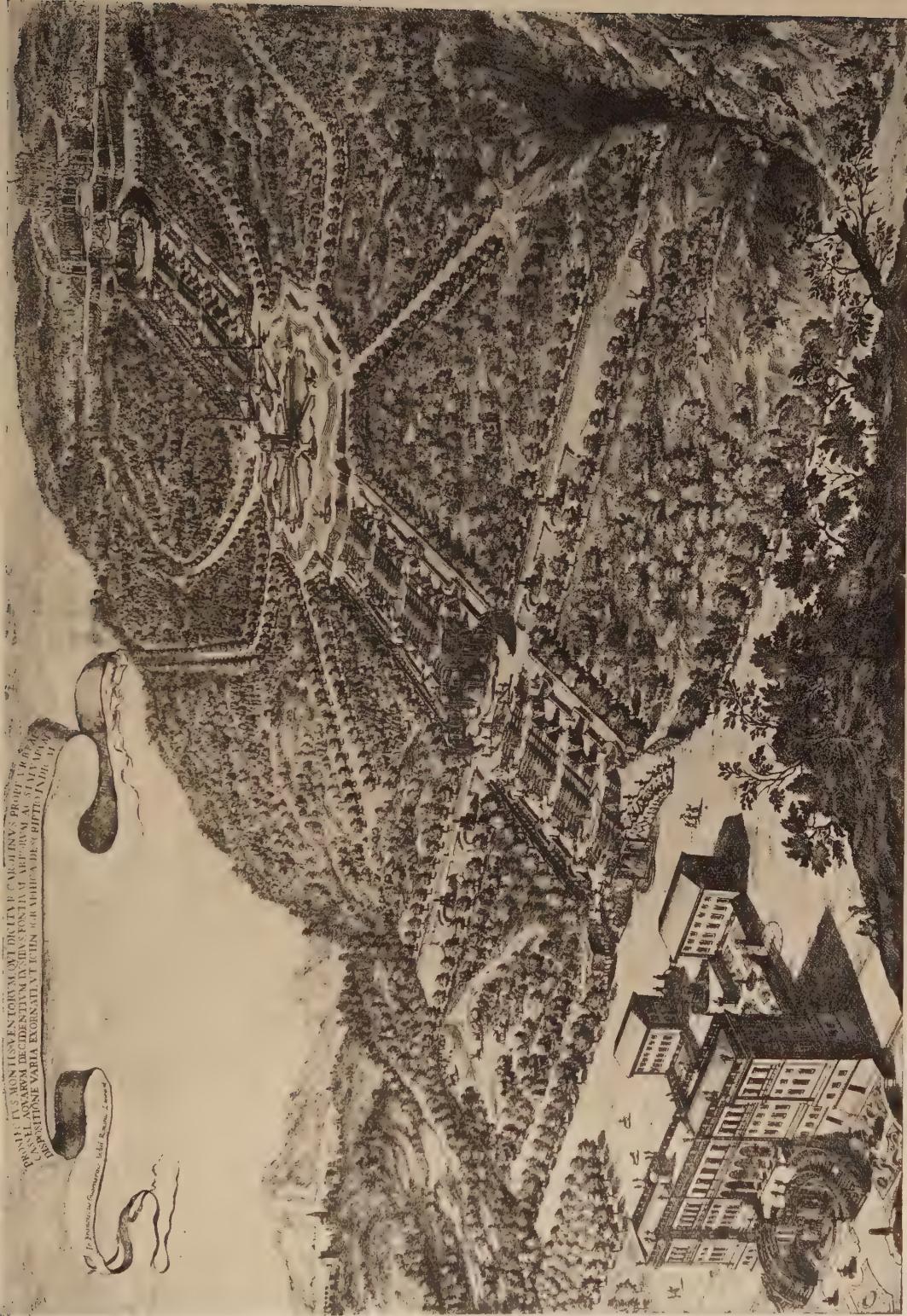


FIG. 451. WILHELMSHÖHE, CASSEL—VIEW OF THE KARLSBERG



FIG. 452. WILHELMSHÖHE, CASSEL—VIEW OF THE GIGANTOMACHIE

great series of cascades. But only the upper part was actually carried out (Fig. 452). This the Italian pictured in a great copper engraving in 1706, just as in earlier days Salomon de Caus had pictured the castle garden of Heidelberg. The top of it, a summer-house, which was to serve as a huge reservoir and also for a fountain, was begun first. It was an octagonal building of three stories, whose two lower floors were to look as though they were growing out of the rock, and were to contain alcoves and statues: one story was

a little behind the other, and the uppermost was an airy hall, protected on the top by a balustrade which ran round the flat roof. On this roof stood a pyramid thirty metres in height, on the top of which was the colossal figure of the Farnese Hercules made of copper. The reclining hero looks down upon the third terrace below, where a giant's head is squirming out a jet of water more than twelve metres high. Between these two there is a terrace with a grotto of the god Pan and all sorts of water-plays and devices. The main stream descends to the terrace of the giant's head, and glides down on either side over grotto-work. From here it makes another plunge in the form of a cascade 250 metres in length and $11\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth, falling over steps, which are interrupted by steep broad landings. Lastly it falls in one tremendous plunge over the grotto of Neptune with the figure of the god, so that anybody inside the grotto looks out under the stream of water, which finishes in a large basin.

This is the only part of Guernieri's plan that came to completion, and it was about a third of the intended length. The cascade was to have gone all the way down to the castle in two more great descents. At the foot of the first of these there was to have been a large round water-parterre with a fountain pavilion in the centre, and the second drop was to end in a great semicircular theatre on a terrace, cutting the whole park transversely in one broad strip and also adorned with various other fountains. The castle at the bottom of the third cascade was designed in a style purely Italian with *giardini secreti* behind it, and in front there were semicircular steps leading out of an open Florentine pillared hall to a fine ornamental parterre.

The park itself, except for the terraces, was only to be interrupted by straight avenues, but during the course of the eighteen years of preparation this plan was greatly altered and enlarged. The fact is that the landgrave could not entirely divorce himself from the influence of France. After 1715 he had eight fine views made by a painter of Haarlem, Johannes von Nichole, of the Weissenstein and the Karlsberg, as they were then called; and these preserve the plans intended to be carried out at that period. According to them, there were to be certain wide terraces furnished with parterres, fountains, and little waterfalls below the cascade round a great castle somewhat like Versailles, so that the Italian cascade would only cut into the park like a side-scene a long way back. But of all these great plans not one was ever completed. The death of Charles in 1730 interrupted the work; and when his successors turned their attention to his proposed plans, the English style had become so influential that the cascade dominated a greatly altered park as a self-contained independent thing (Fig. 453). The idea of a battle of giants was essential to it; and as the conqueror Hercules in a reclining attitude looks down upon his enemy, who rears up with no strength left, so does this great place gaze upon the many small new developments that are scattered about the park, owing their existence to a sentimental time and to various phases of architecture. Wilhelmshöhe, which derived its name from Prince Wilhelm, who built the castle now existing, stands alone, not merely because it is large and self-contained, but because it provides a visible and tangible proof of what Italian genius could create in a German garden, even at so late a date.

As we have said before, Italians were for long the ruling architects, but gardens were left for the most part to the care of French artists. Even at the court at Munich art was not wholly inspired by Italian feeling in the second half of the seventeenth century. In the sixties a whole tribe of Italian artists arrived at Munich in the train of Princess



FIG. 453. WILHELMSHÖHE—THE ENGLISH PARK

Adelaide of Savoy. This lady, with her great *joie de vivre*, contrived to drag her dull husband into a whirl of gaiety; and when in 1662, after eight years of marriage, she presented him with a son, not only did he fulfil his vow of building a Theatine church, but, to please his wife very specially, he arranged to build a pleasure-castle near Munich, to be called Nymphæum (Nymphenburg). For both these buildings an architect from Bologna, Agostino Panelli, was employed, and after him Enrico Zuccali, who was also to carry out the new work at Schleissheim.

The early death of the duke and duchess put an end to their work; so their son Max Emanuel, who was proud and ambitious, must be regarded as the real founder of both Schleissheim and Nymphenburg. In the first splendid years of his rule the warlike prince was so much abroad that the building did not begin with full vigour before the eighteenth century; but very soon, disaster befell Bavaria, and in 1704 the country was seized by Austria. The duke was deprived of the crown and had to flee, and he lived the next eleven years in Paris. Here in exile he had leisure to study French gardens thoroughly, and he had scarcely returned home before he showed in the laying-out of his gardens at Nymphenburg and Schleissheim that he had learned to some purpose. Garden artists of the French school were busy from the start. Before his exile Max had summoned Carbonet, a Belgian by birth; but the chief merit for the complete work is due to François Girard, who was responsible for the outside of these remarkable places, when he came to Munich after

the duke's return. In both gardens the whole effect depends on the position of the canals, which form the centre line of the castle.

At Schleissheim (Fig. 454) the parterre, rising by a few steps from the terrace, is particularly well designed, partly in its size and the variety of *broderie*, and partly in the number of its springs and fountains. Besides the two basins whose waters play in the parterre, there are two narrow canals alongside the middle walk, and twenty-six water-jets, which make a sort of balustrade—an idea first carried out by Le Nôtre at Vaux-le-Vicomte. The middle avenue leads to the cascade which faces towards the parterre at the beginning of the canal, where there are waterfalls, fountains and various figures. This canal is in the middle line, running from the new castle parterre, with hedges and bosquets full of statues along its course, until it arrives at a small casino, which is older than the great house, and was built in the nineties. It was named Lustheim by Maximilian, who wanted it to be his Trianon, as is indicated by the two pavilions flanking it. Later on these were connected by a semicircular gallery with the castle between the two (Fig. 455); this was at the time when Lustheim was at the end of the large garden, and so marked out the middle axis for the buildings of the new castle. At the same time an ornamental parterre was made in front of the casino, while the canal was conducted as a small strip round the galleries, and then joined on to the park that lay behind by six separate paths. But by these arrangements the little house was sacrificing its peculiar feature as a Trianon, that is to say, as an independent place, removed from the stir of outside life; for it was now, on the contrary, an actual *point de vue* for the whole picture as seen from the castle—a very unusual plan in a French garden. It required an unimpeded view over the open country, for which some church tower in the far distance would generally give a good resting-point.

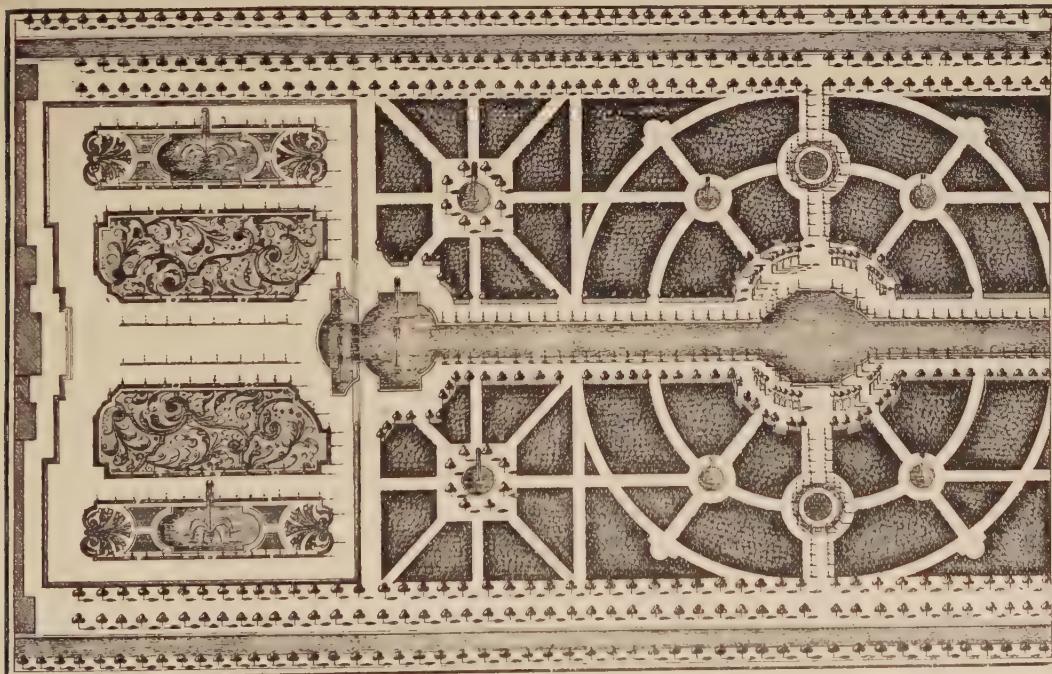
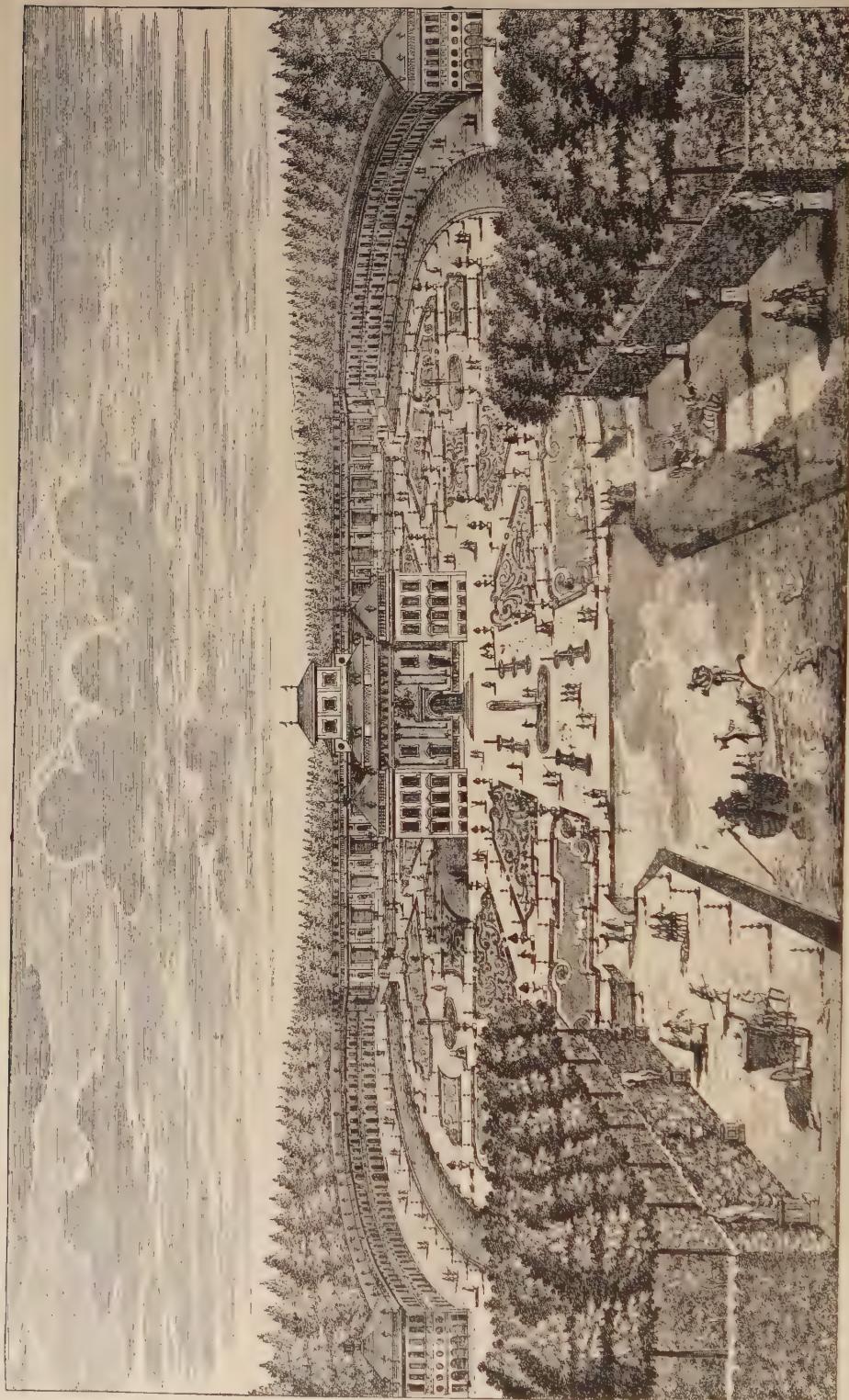


FIG. 454. SCHLEISHEIM—PARTERRE AND PARK FROM THE CASTLE TERRACE

FIG. 455. SCHLEISSHEIM—LUSTHEIM AND PARTERRE.



The second of Max Emanuel's two castles, Nymphenburg, was less restricted. In the grand style of its waters, and the variety in the park, it unquestionably holds the first place among the level gardens of Germany (Fig. 456). Just as at Schleissheim, one small branch of the Würm was converted into a canal, so that the approach to Nymphenburg from the town side is marked by this long piece of water, which ends in two broad ponds with fountains. This fine approach is carried out further in the garden; for there are narrow canals passing round the court of honour, the castle, and the great *parterre de broderie* with its ornamental fountains. These smaller canals come together again in a wide lake

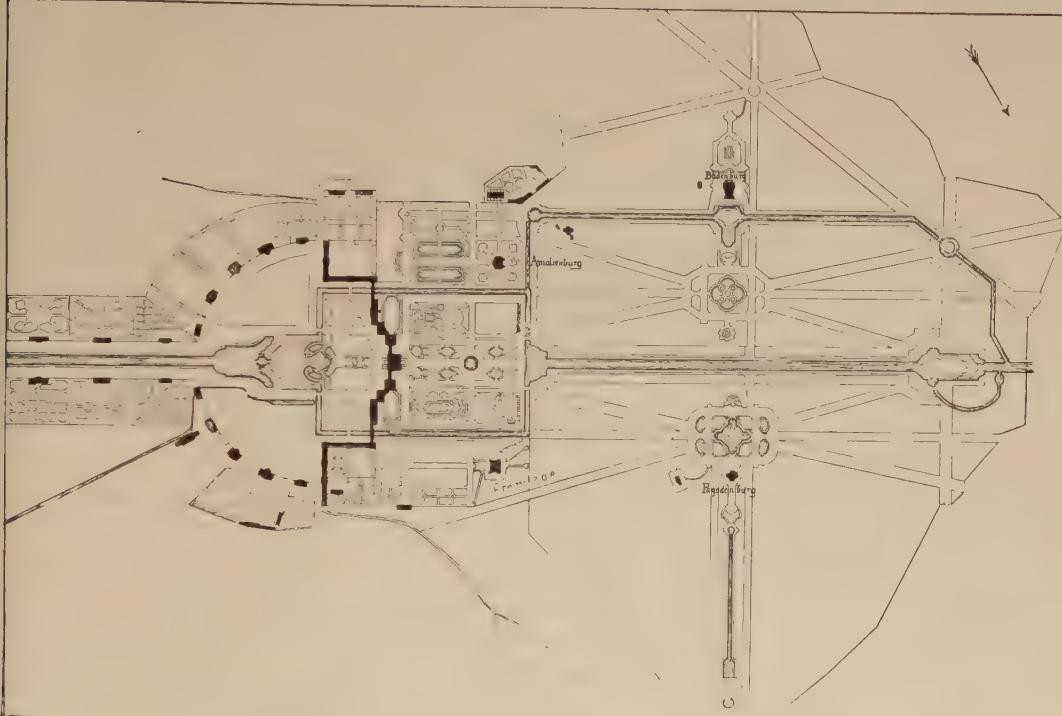


FIG. 456. NYMPHENBURG—GENERAL PLAN

that includes six springs, and forms the head of the large canal, which as a middle axis cuts through the raised boscets that lie on either side of it (Fig. 457). It ends in a wide pond, into which a fine cascade discharges its many waters towards the castle. This falls over marble and is decked with many statues, and loses connection with the canal, which then proceeds farther into the park, whence the eye can range as far as to the church tower of Pasing.

A traveller, a nobleman called von Rothenstein, visited Nymphenburg in 1781, and thus describes the splendour of the place, which up to the end of the eighteenth century remained undisturbed by the assaults of the new fashion (Figs. 458 and 459).

The garden has 19 fountains, which give out 285 jets; and such a number of water-devices, gilt vases and statues, meet the eye that they are better imagined than described. The great flower-parterre is 138 fathoms in length, and has one large fountain, four smaller ones, and a six-headed one. The parterre is laid out with box, and with vases, and beds between with many flowers, which each month present a different picture. . . . Right in the front stand six gilt urns, 3½ ells in height . . . next there are dragon fountains to right and left with ever so many dragons and snakes separately lying on hills of stone. . . . In the parterre there stand 28 gilt statues, groups, vases, and urns, and near the box-espaliars 17 statues made of white marble. After the dragon fountains come two of children, each child

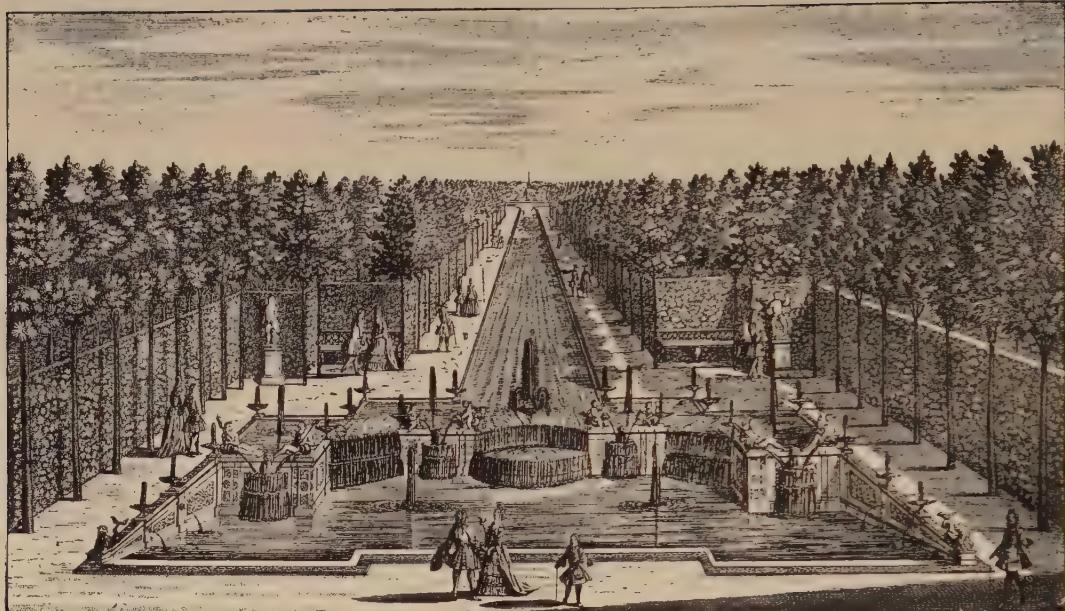


FIG. 457. NYMPHENBURG—THE CANAL AND CASCADE

seated on a gilt whale. . . . Finally in the centre comes the great fountain of Flora, which is octagonal, made of white marble, and over 100 feet in circumference. In the middle is a great basket with flowers, from which there springs a jet 30 feet high, and as thick as a man's body. On the side of the basket you see the goddess Flora seated, 12 feet high. Beside her is a Zephyr, who holds a great wreath of flowers in one hand, while with the other he expresses his astonishment at a monkey who is working the water from the basket. On the hill stand a lion, a shaggy dog, 3 large swans, 2 storks, and a great deal of sea-

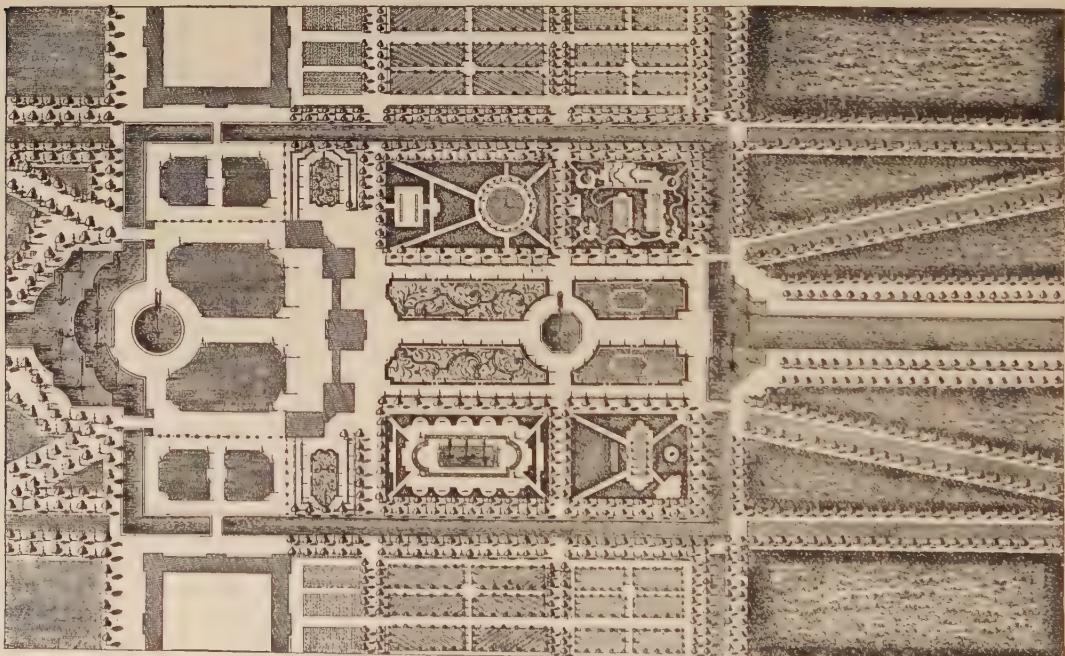


FIG. 458. NYMPHENBURG—PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL PARTERRE

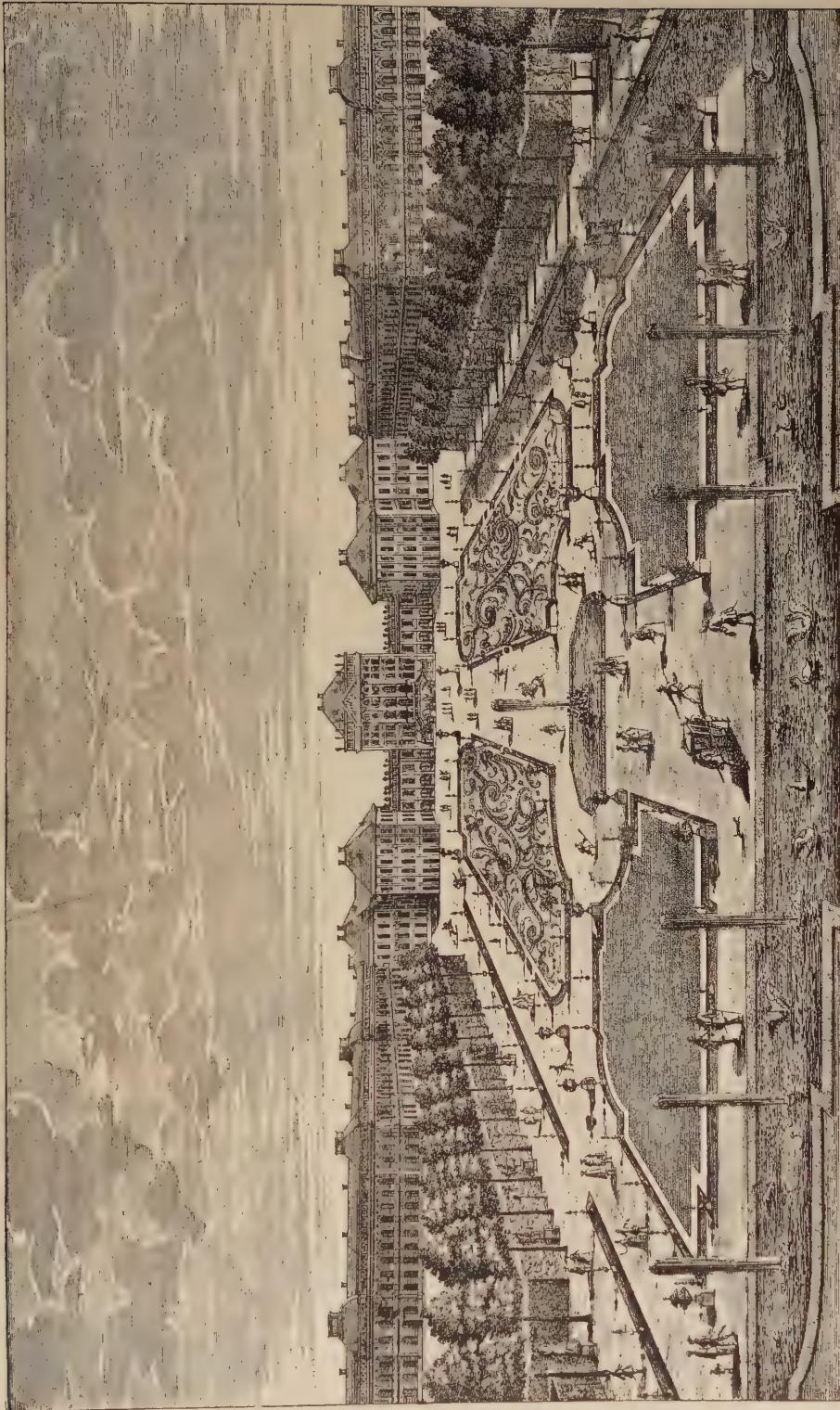


FIG. 459. NYMPHENBURG—THE PRINCIPAL PARTERRE

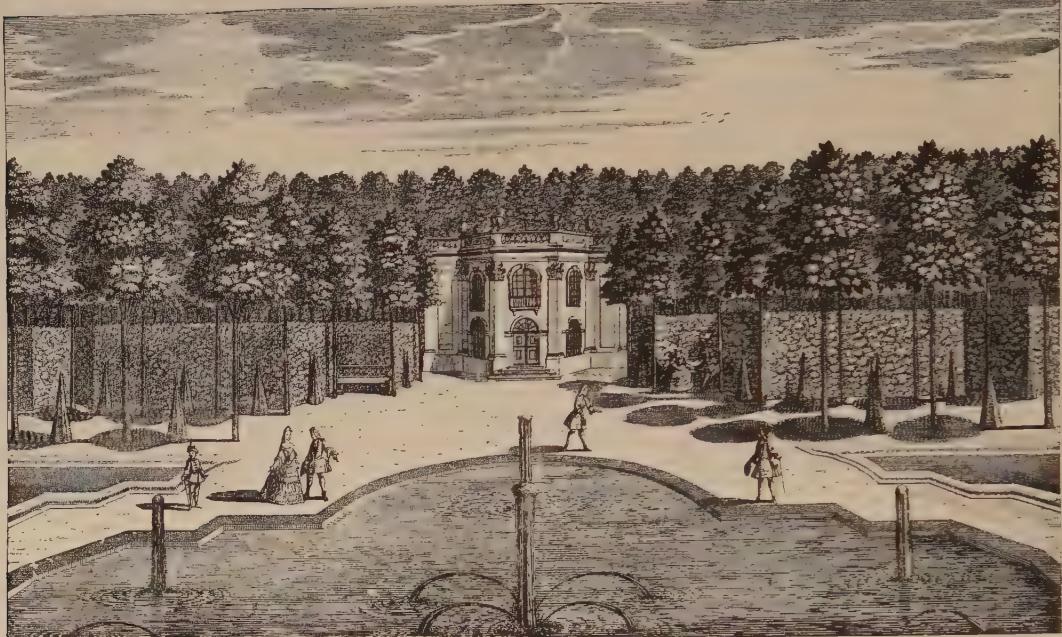


FIG. 460. NYMPHENBURG—THE PAGODA PLACE

weed. Further there are in the pond 8 tiny gilt mountains, with love-gods on four of them, and on the other four tritons, holding in their hands corals, pearls and the like: they are seated on whales. On the edge of the tank, on the border round it, there are 8 gilt frogs, spouting water upward in arches. This grand fountain cost 60,000 gulden, and used 250 cwt. of lead. Then you come to another great tank, which has 6 springs all in a row, and into this basin the canal runs right and left, passing onward to the great cascade.



FIG. 461. NYMPHENBURG—THE BATH PLACE

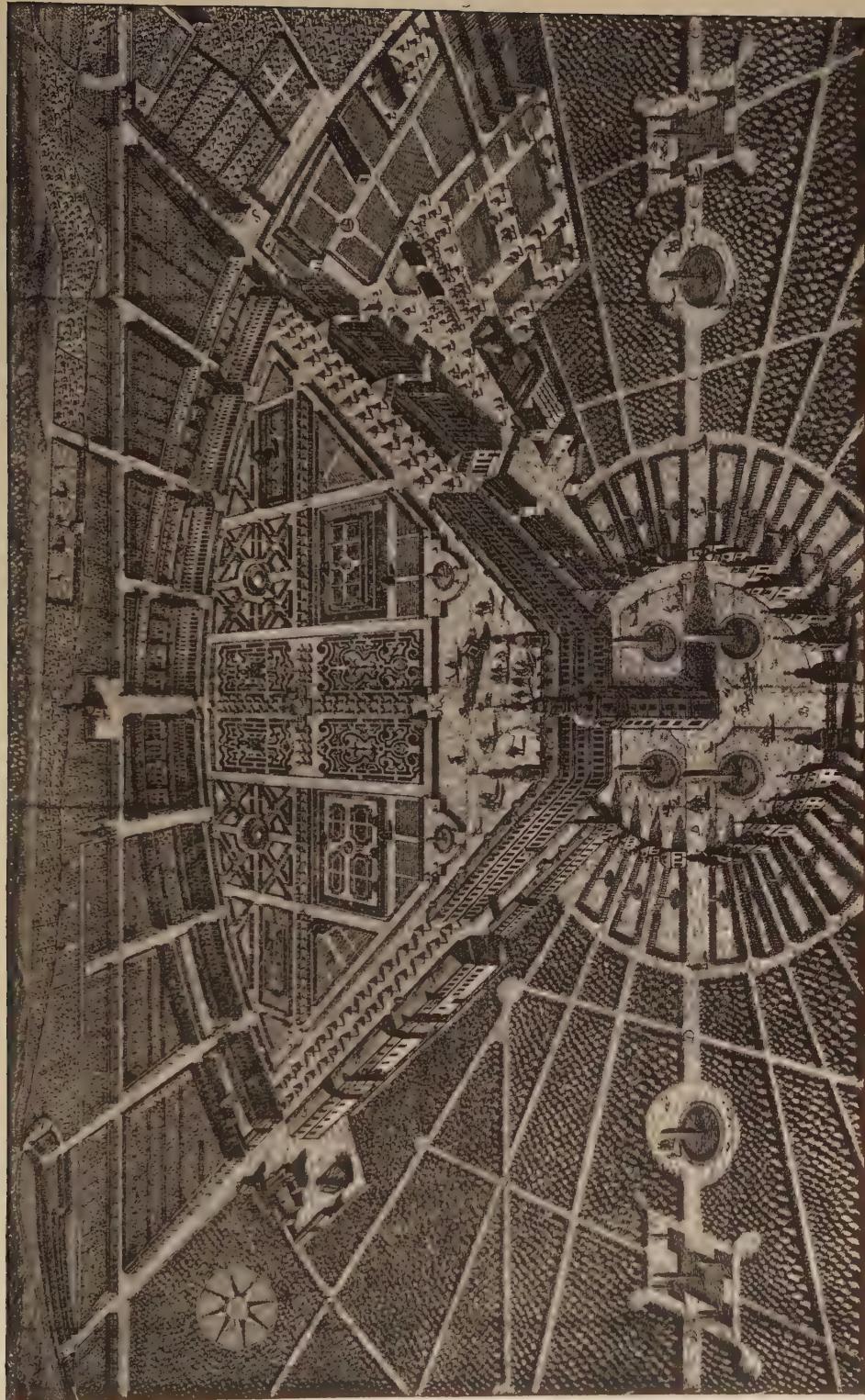


FIG. 462. KARLSRUHE—THE CASTLE GARDEN IN 1739

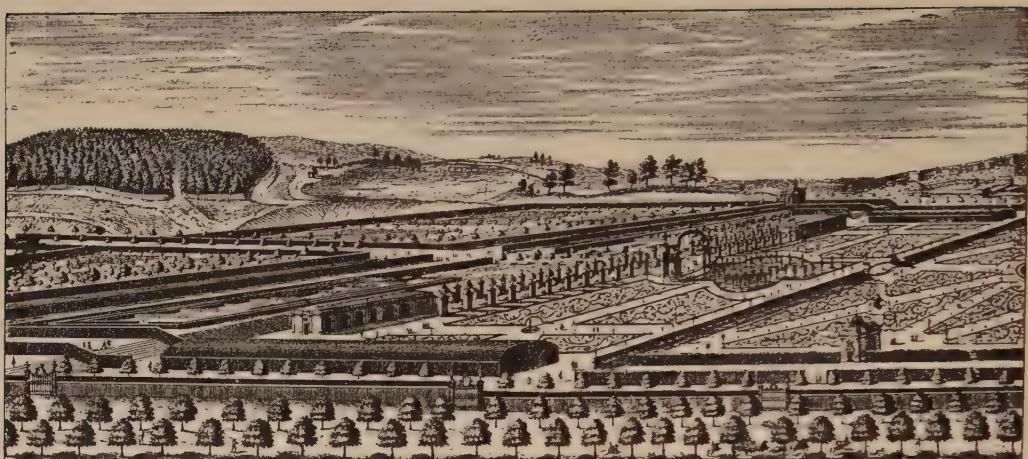


FIG. 463a. LUDWIGSBURG CASTLE, STUTTGART

When we read this, the fantastic ideas for "princely" fountains that Becker suggests in his *Fuerstlichen Baumeister* (Architects for Princes) do not seem so preposterous. The question is always insistently arising, as to where all these ornaments came from, for the number of new things of the smaller sort are peculiar to Nymphenburg, and they are actually in excess of those found in the French places we know. The separate pavilions, to live in, correspond to similar ones at Marly-le-Roi; but here they appear for the first time in a half-circle, surrounding the handsome court of honour, and with the town canal in the middle. This arrangement was very popular in Germany, and at Nymphenburg there are several extra pavilions at the side of the canal (Fig. 456).

The small scattered houses with their separate gardens, which remind us in their variety and number of the hermitages at Buen Retiro at Madrid, form an important feature of the park. Their erection was due to the differing requirements of the princes, but they divide the great park with a pleasing regularity. One cross-road through shrubberies was laid out as a tennis-court, and near this was the garden theatre, with green side-scenes. Max Emanuel set up a pavilion for actors and spectators to rest in and take refreshment, and had it made à l'indien, giving it the name of Pagodenburg (Fig. 460). The prince had certainly never seen the old Trianon de Porcelaine since he lived in Paris; still its name was in everybody's mouth, and the little blue and white central building at Nymphenburg is a direct imitation of it. In front of the Pagodenburg was a large pond adorned with fountains, and on the opposite side was the theatre, approached by several steps. Seats for spectators were not provided, and perhaps people sat round the pond to see the performances. On the other side of the little house there was a narrow canal in the park. Also there was the bath-house (Fig. 461), containing the bath itself and a number of rooms beside a large piece of water, and on the other side a pretty parterre.

In addition to these garden pavilions there was wanted a real hermitage, which was to unite religion and fashionable life in the Spanish-French style. The hermitage with the chapel of St. Magdalene was first put up in 1725-8, and its neo-Gothic architecture bears the stamp of the growing Romanticism of the period. Later on, the opposite erection, the shooting-box called Amalienburg, was built by Charles Albert, Max Emanuel's successor. It served as a resting-place, after the hunt, for the prince's wife, who loved the

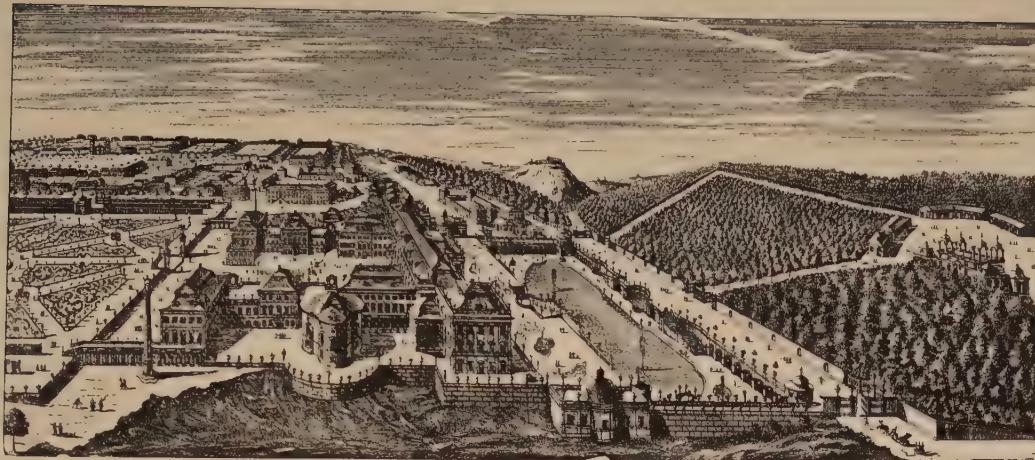


FIG. 463b. LUDWIGSBURG CASTLE, STUTTGART

chase. All these agreeable rococo houses, that so badly need their own surroundings, were absorbed into the English park. We can only recognise the old design in the lines of the canal, the basins, and the parterre, now poor and barren of ornament.

The princely seat of Karlsruhe (Fig. 462) shows how completely the idea of the garden dominated the eighteenth century—that century of princes, as one may call it. In 1709 the Margrave Charles William of Baden-Durlach built himself a little shooting-box in the middle of the Hardtwald to serve him as his Trianon. A hunting-tower which was in an isolated position in front of the house, looking towards the wood, was the middle point for thirty-two walks that were cut in the surrounding wood. Even the ground-plan of the castle had to be arranged to suit the prince's whim, and its side wings were set at an obtuse angle in a line with two avenues. The segment of the circle enclosed by these wings and the buildings that adjoined them farther along was laid out as a pleasure-garden; the front part was enclosed by groups of buildings for the court nobles, or for servants' use—one group between every two avenues—arranged in precisely the same way as at Nymphenburg. The oddness of the plan at the back was really grotesque; in the little circular bit round the tower there were twenty-four small houses, one at the starting-point of each avenue, varying in ground-plan, but all alike in size; each was provided with its own little garden, used for different purposes, as fountain-house, bath-house, pump-house, etc. The place round the tower was adorned with four fountains, and there were others put about in the thick of the wood where the avenues are cut.

All these separate pieces, taken from the idea of the French garden, are in this place stiffly designed and too bizarre. The margrave soon preferred Karlsruhe to the Residence at Durlach, which was growing slowly because of the opposition of the burghers, so he quickly made up his mind to establish himself firmly there; and it was soon taken as a permanent home to settle in. The front walks in the park, which led from the dwellings of the court servants, were made into streets for the new town, which now received the name of Karlsruhe. The town accommodated itself all the more readily to the symmetrical order of this park, because it embodied an ideal aimed at at the time—the uniformity of the burgher houses: these had the Residence for central point, threw it into relief and encircled it, and this was the first thing demanded.

The garden at Karlsruhe in itself was never of great importance, even when it was enlarged behind the house near the new castle building. In some respects the fine garden made by Charles William's neighbour, Duke Eberhard, Ludwig IV. of Würtemberg, at Ludwigsburg near Stuttgart, and at much the same time, was far superior (Figs. 463a and 463b). The arrangement of the park on the side opposite the pleasure-garden has a certain resemblance to Karlsruhe. But water, which is entirely wanting at Karlsruhe, is present here in a series of fine cascades connecting the main castle on the side of the park with the little casino called Favorite standing high on the hill. On the other side also the pleasure-garden, which is remarkably large and fine, is on slightly rising ground, so that the castle is the lowest of all. On one of the higher terraces stands the famous orangery, which had distinguished the Renaissance gardens of the lords of Würtemberg in earlier days. The architect who gave the final form to this garden was Giuseppe Frisoni, an Italian, who began his career as a worker in stucco, but afterwards gained experience by travelling in France.

The princes of the Church soon began to rival those of this world. It was with difficulty that they had been able to preserve their right of rule during the religious struggles which took place in Germany, but after the Peace of Westphalia had lastingly ensured their existence and their safety in the South and West, they felt it to be more and more necessary to express by outward signs, in the same way as their worldly friends, that feeling of sovereignty which was added to their spiritual dignity, since they were princes of the blood and gentlemen of standing. The war had been hard on their estates, which were always in dispute, and they came for the most part into possessions that were utterly spoiled; it was sheer necessity that forced them to build, for otherwise they had nowhere to live. The passion for building, which inspired them all, can only be compared with that of the Roman princes of the Church in the time of the Renaissance. They felt in just the same way that their works were only to endure for the short time of their own rule, and would in no way affect the future. This acted as a spur which made them strive to do their utmost for this limited space of time, and so connect their name with the pride and splendour of their buildings.

The archbishopric of Cologne had to endure the troubles of the Thirty Years' War long after it was over; and it remained a bone of contention even between Louis XVI. and the State. Clement Joseph of Bavaria, who after the Peace of Nymwegen in 1689 was able to enjoy his rule, stood in the nearest relationship to the Bavarian court; indeed for more than a hundred years after this date the archbishopric was a kind of right-of-the-second-son for Bavaria, and this comes out in the resemblance of ideas for building. When Clement Joseph was in power, his residential castles, Bonn and Brühl, were mere rubbish heaps. Still, although he betook himself almost at once to the rebuilding of his castle at Bonn, it was only his nephew Clement Augustus who was able to finish the place there, and to build a series of other castles, among which the pleasure-castle of Brühl takes the chief place, with its fine gardens. "The first wish of the owner, the first care of the architect, is to get a garden planted before he begins on the buildings": thus does Blondel define the position of the garden in relation to architecture in his *Cours d'Architecture*. In any case, house and garden must not be treated independently of one another.

Clement secured the very best of helpers in Girard, who during at least ten years proved in a splendid way his skill and experience, both at Schleissheim and at Nymphen-

burg. He made the plans for the park at Brühl, and was often there in person to see them carried out (Fig. 464). The water was very finely diverted, especially into canal and pond, but the way it was divided up was unusual at that time. Not only was the whole somewhat irregular garden plot encircled by canals, which also went round the individual thickets—

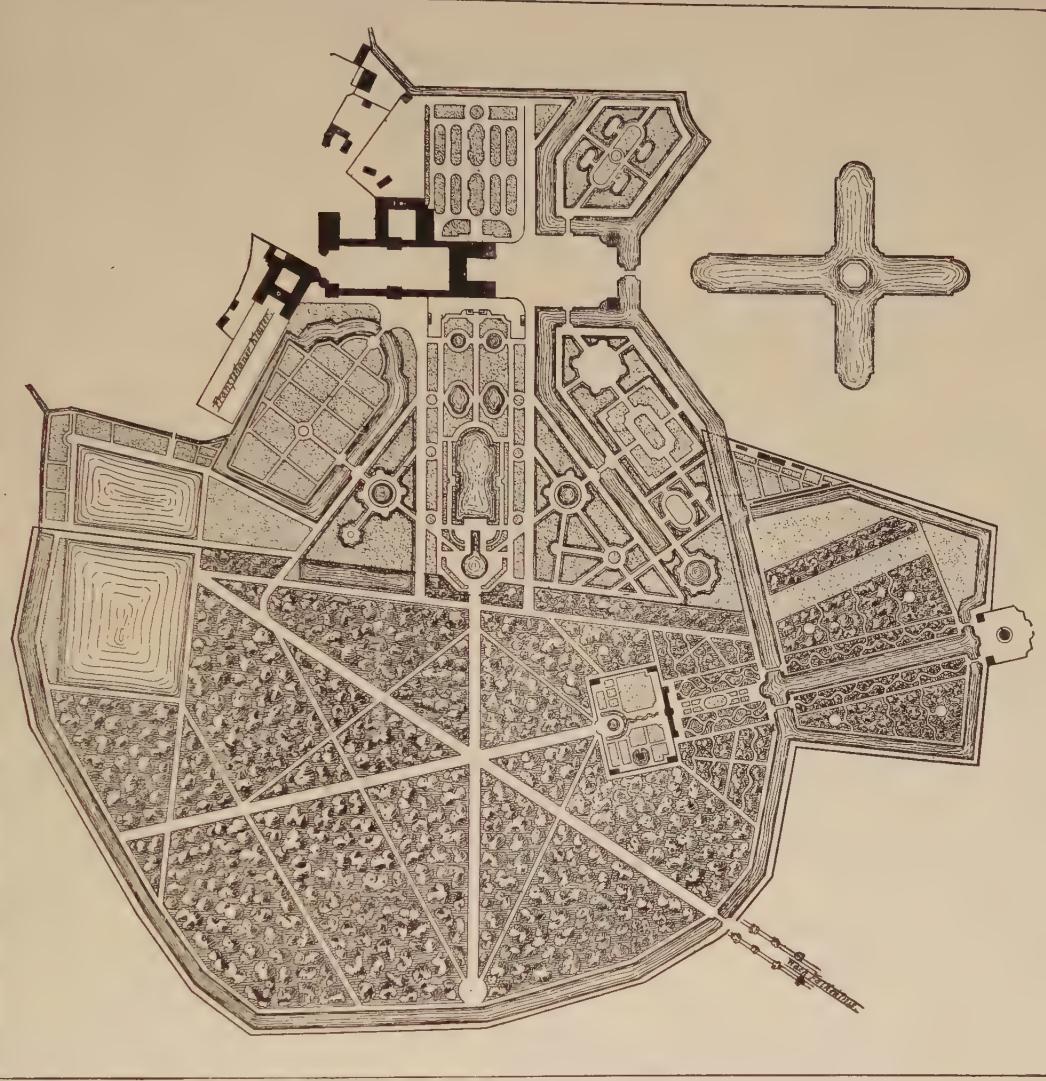


FIG. 464. THE CASTLE GARDEN, BRÜHL—GENERAL PLAN

a reminder of the French Renaissance garden—but the chief feature was a great canal in the form of a cross, in the middle of which there was a small island, not where the parterre is lengthened out, but in the axis of the court of honour; it was reached by a bridge over another narrow strip of water. The position of the parterre on the side of the south wing is also rather unusual; the garden front is built out in a wide terrace with two wings. The parterre itself is handsome, and on large lines, divided by waters and beds, which clearly show the hand of Girard: the only thing wanting is the wide view of the water that we get in both the Bavarian gardens.

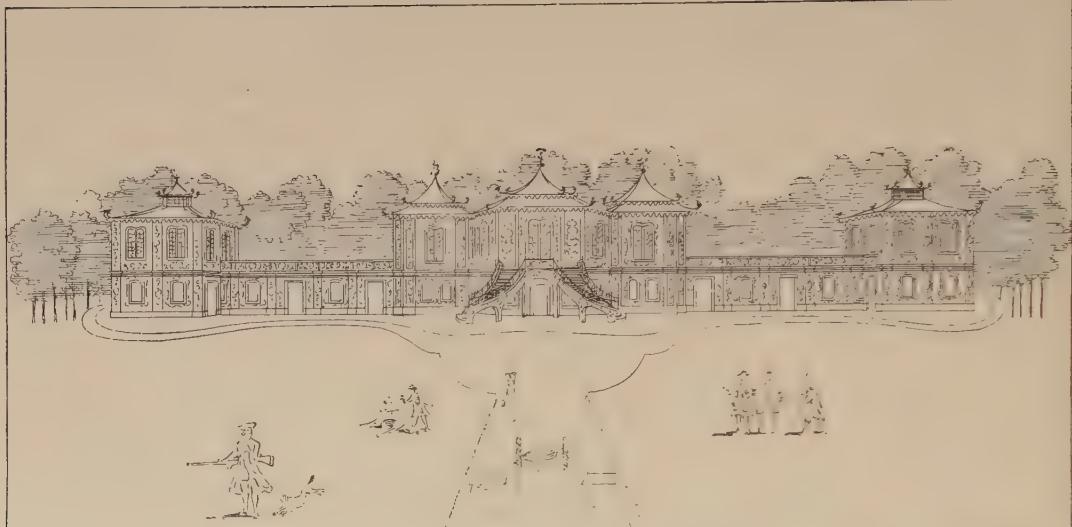


FIG. 465. CASTLE OF BRÜHL—THE CHINESE HOUSE

The numerous small buildings that enliven the park remind one of Nymphenburg, but everything here seems rather casual. The charming little casino called Falkenlust is at the end of a side walk, which issues from the great central star in the park. Nearer the castle is the amusing little Chinese house, very suitably dubbed the "Maison Sans Gêne" (Fig. 465). The wish for private life, and detachment from the more and more burdensome shows, made itself felt in things little and great, as the eighteenth century grew older. More was known about Chinese building than when the Trianon and the Pagodenburg were put up, and this little new house had curved roofs hung about with bells. The so-called Schneckenhaus (Snail-shell) is a thoroughly baroque affair (Fig. 466) set up in the middle of a circular pond: it is a kind of compromise between the old Schneckenberg and a Chinese tower. The park at Brühl shows all manner of indications of a new style, without abandoning the large straight lines required by the French garden, but yet more decidedly than most places that belong to the first half of the eighteenth century. Particular boskets, especially near the Chinese building, show wavy lines, though of course they are controlled by the feeling for symmetry.

The great importance that the smaller ecclesiastical princes attached to the land was not so much because of particular castles, but rather for the cultivation and improvement of their whole estates, which were not too big to be looked after personally. Like the old Romans, these spiritual lords required their accustomed luxury wherever they went: accordingly Clement Joseph of Cologne had a *corps de logis portatif* constructed for use on his travels, and this was made by a French architect and decorator called Oppenord; unfortunately no trace of it has survived. So these lords built themselves pleasure-houses and shooting-boxes in every pretty spot on their estates, so that they might go from one to another along the pleasant paths and streets and avenues, which broke up the country as though it were a park. Clement Augustus made an avenue of four rows of trees, from the Residence at Bonn to the castle at Poppelsdorf, which was a fine little erection with a round open interior court—a design we have often met with in Spain and in Italy. Both castle and garden were the work of Robert de Cotte, who built

the castle at Bonn. The house was very greatly altered afterwards, and of the garden little is known; but in addition to the ordinary water arrangements it contained a cascade, a theatre, an arena for wild beasts to fight in, and butts. It was chiefly meant as a place for a park and for bosquets, which could not be had at Bonn, where there was no room except for laying out a parterre.

How firmly and prominently the garden stood in the forefront of men's minds is indicated by Clement Augustus's institution of a "Confrérie des Fleuristes." Their sanctuary was the chapel of Poppelsdorf, which had to be decked with fresh flowers every day. A figure of Christ as a gardener, with Mary Magdalene, composed the altarpiece under an open *berceau*. From the castle of Poppelsdorf, which had the advantage of a view over the Kreuzberg and the Siebengebirge, a road led to the middle of the Kottenforst, and at the end of it stood the handsome castle of Herzogenlust, awaiting its master. A second road was planned to lead from Poppelsdorf to Brühl, while another led from there to Cologne. Clement put a charming little hunting-box on the top of the Humeling. This place, Clemenswert, consisted of one central building and eight detached pavilions placed round it in a circle. The direct influence of France is undeniable, but the task is accomplished in a rather original way at Clemenswert: eight paths start from the eight pavilions, making a sort of star; the three at the back are connected by a rectangular canal with three basins, and in front the middle path leads to the stables.

More important for garden history was the Schönborn family, a race of nobles occupying the greater number of ecclesiastical properties in mid-Germany during the first decades of the eighteenth century. After the famous and ambitious prince Johann



FIG. 466. BRÜHL—THE SCHNECKENHAUS

Philip of Mainz had raised the family to honour and dignity, a great number of his nephews, who had been destined to the career from their youth up, attained the high position of ecclesiastical lords. This peculiar sort of nepotism appears once more at Cologne as a late flower of the Italian Renaissance growing on German soil. And these fundamental relationships come out in a similarity of ideas, a proud and masterful spirit, an unbounded love of building, and also a sense of responsibility directed less to politics than to art. Wherever the Schönborn family came, life was full of activity. Their castle (built by the non-clerical part of the family in Lower Austria on the River Enns) shows the artistic feeling in all of them, both by its situation and in the importance of the garden

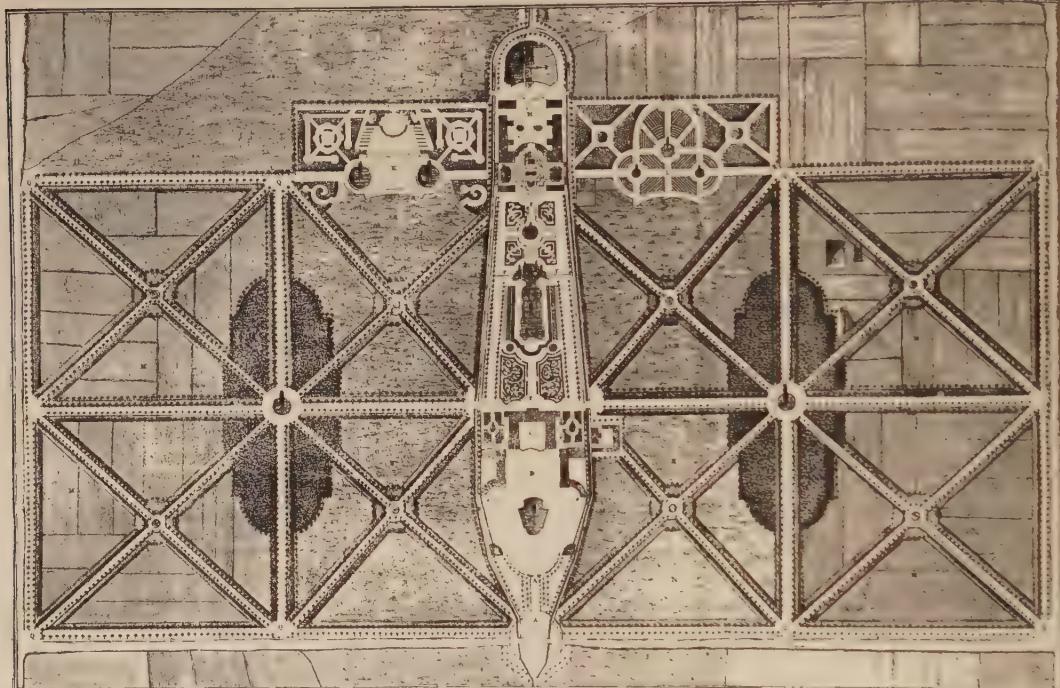


FIG. 467. CASTLE OF SCHÖNBORN—GROUND-PLAN

at the new home. It is one of those works whose *tout ensemble* is one of great magnificence in strict adherence to French rules (Fig. 467).

Of the clergy the most conspicuous was Lothar Franz, who became Bishop of Bamberg in 1693, also Archbishop of Mainz and Elector in 1695. The castles he built have been engraved, gardens and all, by Salomon Kleiner, and the engravings were published in 1728. These pictures are the only abiding witness to the gardens, scarcely one of which has endured to the present day. The shooting-box, Seehof, one of the smaller places, near Bamberg, was received as a legacy by Lothar Franz from his predecessor Marquard von Stauffenberg, after whom it took another name, Marquardsburg (Fig. 468). Lothar Franz finished it, and liked to live there while his residence at Bamberg was being rebuilt. To suit its character as a shooting-box, the central building was quite open. The original plan may have been to make it easy for huntsmen from the district to effect an entrance on all sides by four approaches, and so assemble at

the door. There is a large show-garden round the castle, and the whole ground is divided into three equal rectangles lying side by side. The house lies in the middle on a raised square terrace, which adds a slight contour to the level garden. The fine low-lying parterres with their cascades and fountains belong to the middle rectangle, the other two being laid out left and right in boskets, in one of which is the theatre, and in the other some fountains.

The most important garden made by Lothar Franz, the Favorite at Mainz, has the same threefold arrangement of axis (Fig. 469). The territory here was certainly quite different from that at Seehof. The land, again a regular rectangle, ascends gradually from



FIG. 468. MARQUARDSBURG, NEAR BAMBERG—GENERAL VIEW

the Rhine, only separated from the river by a carriage road. This garden is divided as it ascends from the Rhine into three parts, cut off from one another, but lying side by side. The first ornamental garden mounts upward from a parterre that has wonderful water-works, ending in a grotto of Thetis, to a still larger pond with statues and cascades. This main parterre (Fig. 470) is enclosed by six pavilions arranged with the chief building in the form of an amphitheatre. This originally was to be the actual pleasure-castle, but was afterwards converted into an orangery with a banqueting hall. The second garden, close by, was overlooked by a grotto terrace on the Rhine; again the axis is marked by the arrangement of the water, and a great pond comes to an end with a Neptune cascade, from which we mount farther to a Ring Cascade, and finally to the Grotto of Proserpine. The third and last garden has a hedge, which cuts off from the river a so-called *boulingrin*, the name now given to a sunk part with trees—in this case chestnuts—and a basin in the enclosure. From this spot we ascend to the great promenade between high hedges and on grassy steps: this walk has crossway avenues of chestnut, and water-works at

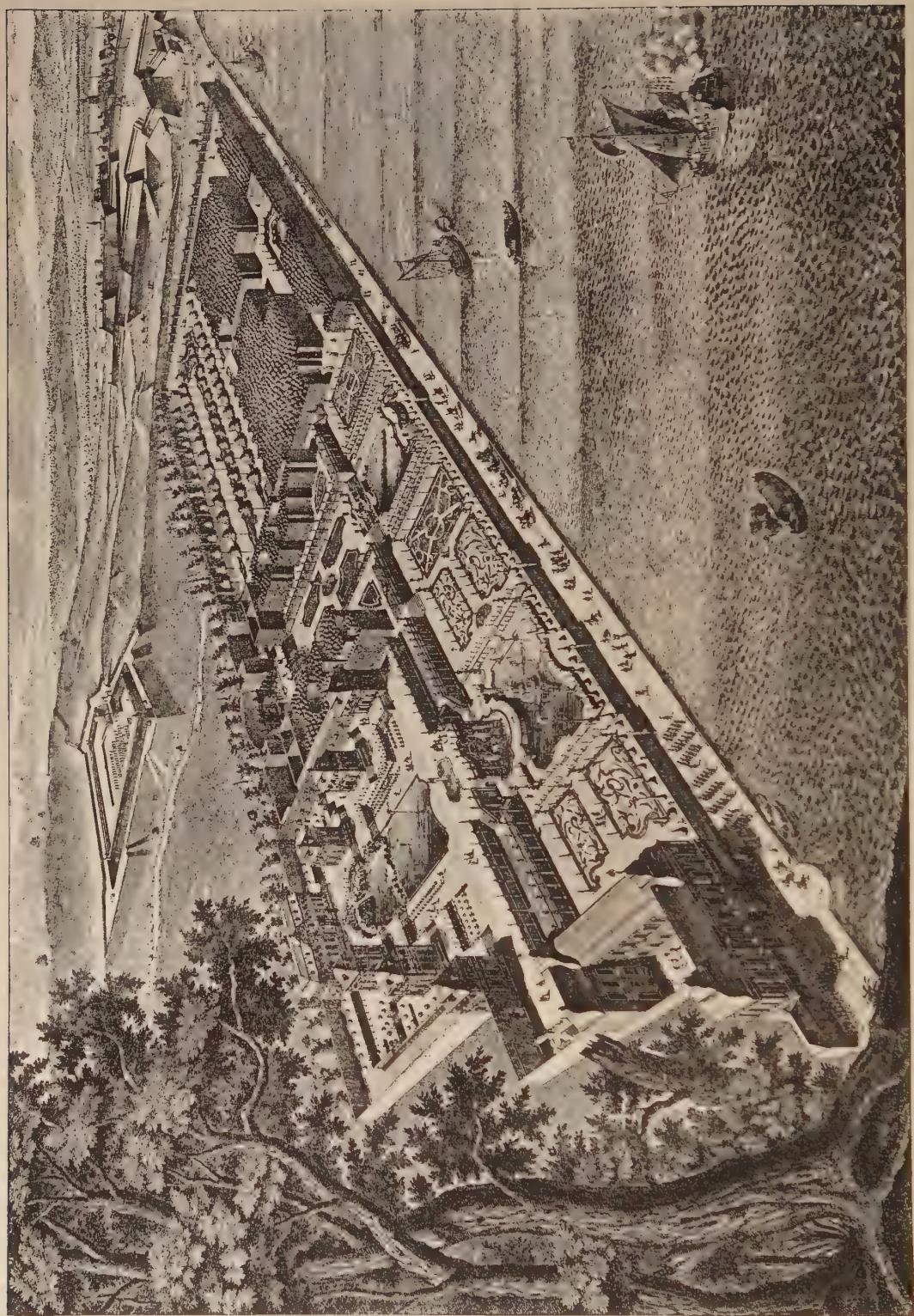


FIG. 469. FAVORITE, MAINZ—GENERAL VIEW

the end. The horse-chestnut was the favourite tree at the turn of the century, because it was new.

The Elector called this beloved creation of his "a little Marly," and certainly the first ornamental part, with its shining waters leading straight down to the Rhine from the main building, by way of pavilions, reminds us more of the much-admired French model than of any German garden. But the plan of the whole is most original, and to get the necessary balance between show parts and private parts these are placed side by side. But the river with its life and power binds the whole together, like a mighty canal across the end; and a most pleasant landscape frames the picture. When in 1726 the fourteen fine engravings of Salomon Kleiner were published, the editor added a pre-



FIG. 470. FAVORITE, MAINZ—THE PRINCIPAL PARTERRE

face, which says that, "although the almighty and omniscient Creator of the Universe gave it the perfection of beauty, still Art has given certain aid to Nature herself, by providing noble buildings and beautiful gardens, always more and more gay and elegant." This work (Favorite), however, "that can never be enough admired for its exquisite architecture," as the title says, perished in the storm of revolution, leaving no trace behind. The last Elector of Mainz, the Coadjutor Dalberg, entertained six thousand émigrés here in 1792, and arranged a magnificent feast for them in the garden. Favorite opened its hospitable gates for the last time to the Congress of Princes held on 19 July, 1792. On 21 October the French arrived, and a few months later the whole place was razed to the ground.

At the time when Lothar Franz was still busy over his darling place, his small private castle at Gaibach (Fig. 471) was altered. It was still a water-castle in the old style; and the Elector retained the moat as an ornament to the place, and only added two wings to the garden façade. People walked over the bridge into the garden, where Lothar Franz

succeeded in combining the most delicate products of modern feeling with the older character of the house. The fundamental plan of the garden shows a sentiment of the Renaissance, that union of the ornamental and useful which the age of Louis XIV. persistently challenged and rejected. After a fine *parterre de broderie* with a Triton fountain, there comes a place that again points to the Elector's preference for cross-roads, and perhaps also shows direct Italian influence: a plantation on the right is laid out as a round botanical garden for foreign plants, and answering to this on the other side there is a sunken round basin, with *parterre* beds and a high hedge round it, and across the end a

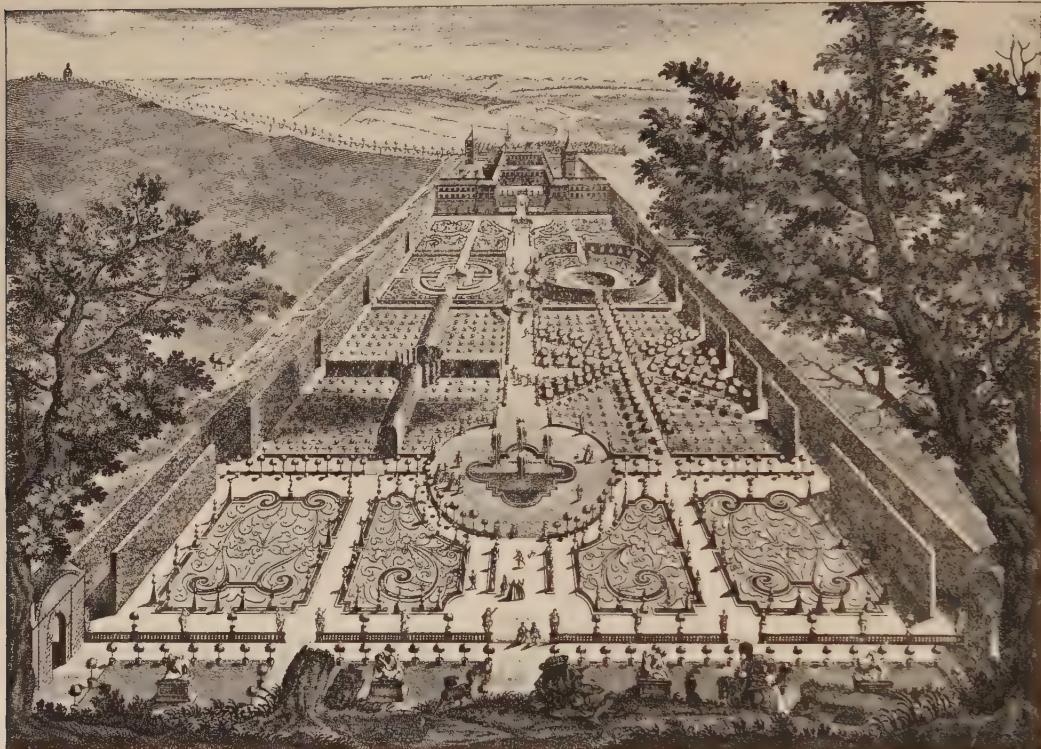


FIG. 471. GAIBACH CASTLE—VIEW FROM THE ORANGERY

grotto hill, ornamental waters, and a little house, which perhaps was a relic of the former garden. The next things we find are two large plots of greensward planted with fruit-trees, some tall, some dwarf. One of the two has a pergola on it like a great cross. From this part of the ground two gently sloping terraces rise, with a semicircular orangery and grand hall on the top (Fig. 472). To right and left we have *berceaux* and pavilions, and in front of the orangery there are *parterres*. All these separate parts might easily belong to a Renaissance garden; but in the place taken as a whole there is a severe regularity of plan; and the placing of the main and side avenues, the marking of the middle axis by fountains, all show the style of the eighteenth century.

A fourth castle that Lothar Franz inherited he altered in 1711 after Favorite was finished. This was Pommersfelden at Bamberg (Fig. 473). The peculiarity of the fine terrace gardens is that they end in two great ponds, which in most modern gardens would

be superseded by a canal. But the canal is always kept in the background in the gardens of the Schönborn family, and thus they again have a character in common, such as we find in the juxtaposition of the different kinds of garden scenes, in spite of the great variety they show.

From among the seven nephews of Lothar Franz no less than four princes of the Church were appointed. Perhaps the most original figure among them is Damian Hugo Philip, who held the bishoprics of Speyer and Constance till the year 1743. His means were small, and he came to a neglected land, but still he knew how to make a flourishing and attractive place out of the little Residence of Brüchsel, which was (to use his own words) "a peasant's hole, so to speak"; and from this, with the greatest difficulties to surmount,

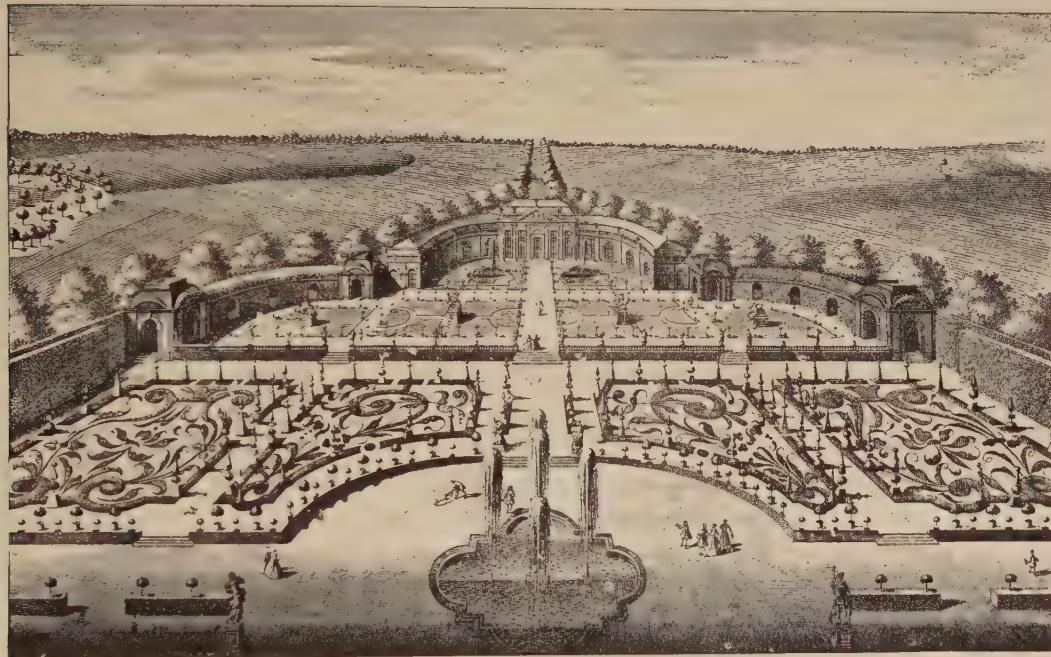


FIG. 472. GAIBACH CASTLE—THE ORANGERY

he grouped the various parts about his own house, where he began to build with great zeal and energy in 1720. His love of rule matched this energy. "I will be master," he said; "not till I am a cold corpse will I cease to be master." He always had it in his mind that he would get a claim to immortality in the world to come if he made his name famous through his buildings. Once when he returned from his travels, he found that certain burghers had dared to make some change in the stucco-work and the height of the windows, so he made a formal protest to posterity in the form of a protocol: "Thus do we herewith make protest, and no reasonable man will impute this to us for blame—seeing that outside and inside our land we have built and set up many fair buildings worth millions of money, under our own direction and ordering, to the approbation of all men—saying that in our old age we are foolish and base for devising arrangements so contemptible and worthy of laughter. We herewith once more protest most emphatically, and we disapprove of everything that has been done in this business, against our will, and against our own arrangement."

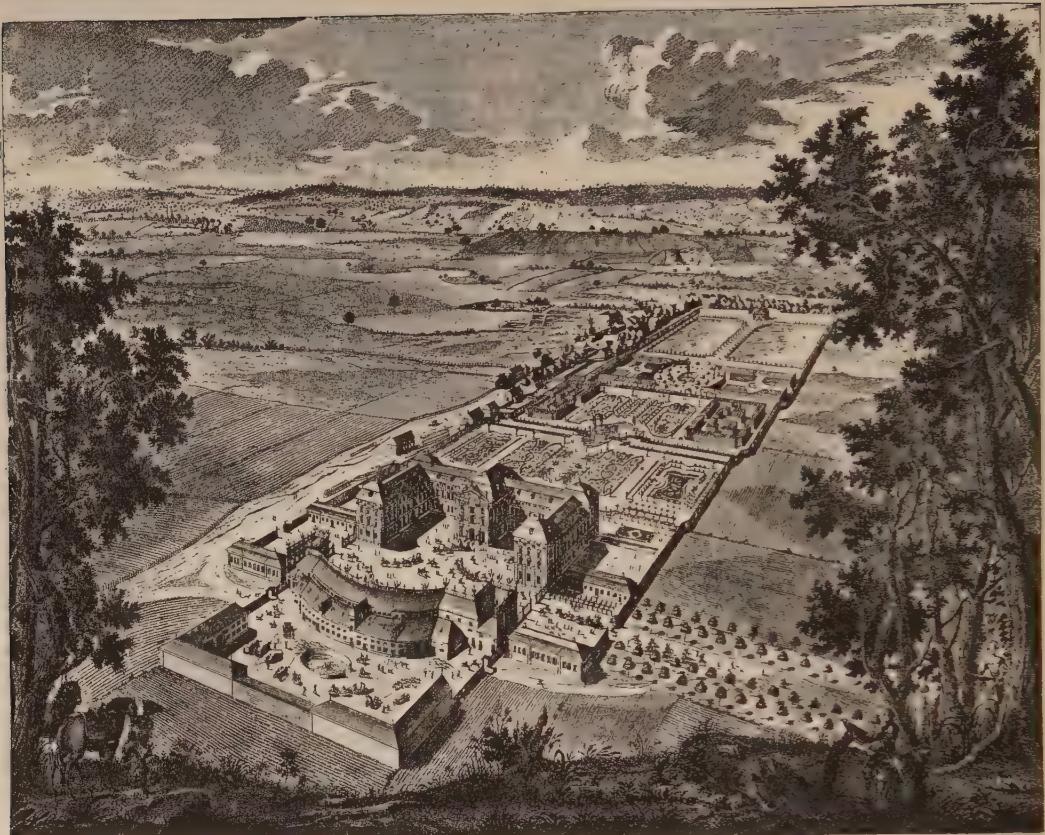


FIG. 473. POMMERSFELDEN CASTLE—GENERAL VIEW

The garden at this place was never very important, and its greatest charm was due to the wide terrace—the middle walk in its present altered state. This was edged by a pergola in a half-circle, and adorned with parterre-beds, which led by a few steps to the greater parterre. There is not the least doubt that there must have been an Indian house and other erections in the park beyond. A Chinese pavilion stood on the hill at a distance from the castle, and it is still preserved as part of the so-called Belvedere, which was in a small pleasure-garden, named Wasserburg because it contained the reservoir that fed the waters. When the work of restoration was completed, the court of honour was once more planted in the old charming fashion. The *parterre de broderie* round the two fountains has a very pleasing effect, especially as seen from the balcony of the castle. The enclosed court, bounded on the town side by gates and pavilions, was perhaps still more attractive to look at when shimmering waters flowed into the trenches that were cut between these buildings. It is a pity that an attempt was not made to restore the garden itself in the old style.

Brüchsel was not to remain as the only castle that Damian built and beautified with a garden. He raised the fortunes of the bishopric by the exercise of extreme personal economy, and there arose not far from Brüchsel another place called Kisslau, now quite abandoned, and a few miles farther on the peculiar hermitage of Waghäusel. The spiritual lords of Germany were well suited to maintain vigorously that union of

worldly pleasure and unworldly piety in the eighteenth century which began with the Renaissance and was especially observable in Spain. They found an outward symbol in the hermitage. Damian's personality, his true piety, his passion for building and the chase, and his love of art, all made him a typical representative of this spirit of the age. So his hermitage was close to an important cloister, with beautiful woods suitable for hunting, and therefore to his liking.

He was quite in earnest when he set about making his stucco-work in the hall "in hermit fashion," giving his instructions from Rome in 1730. One piece of the ornament is still extant, showing in the painting of the dome what this hermit-decoration meant (Fig. 474). The picture has a double interest: it shows a hermit's hut built into an ancient ruin; supports are seen fixed two by two, holding up a defective roof of straw, which is made to cover wooden beams exposing through their arches all sorts of other bits of ruined material; and sacred utensils are hanging on the temple pillars. The idea was to depict a garden hall with a hermitage roof. Very far removed as such a painting seems from the ancient frescoes, it certainly belongs to the same stage of development. It is here that the sentimentality of the age first makes its appearance, for it was not very much later that men began to put up buildings in the parks outside, which came into existence from the very same feeling. The sickly fancy for ruins and hermitages, not unknown in the days of the Renaissance, but at that time quite overmastered by experiments in other



FIG. 474. WAGHÄUSEL—THE ROOF

directions, has now grown more and more into a real passion, and the picture we give here is only a very early indication of what this movement will produce later on. From its structure Waghäusel ranks with open central buildings, and also clearly shows that it is a hunting place. Just as at Clemenswert, there are four pavilions at the openings of four avenues. Nothing of its garden surroundings is preserved, but a later plan gives fruit-trees in a concentric arrangement, and this may have been in the original design.

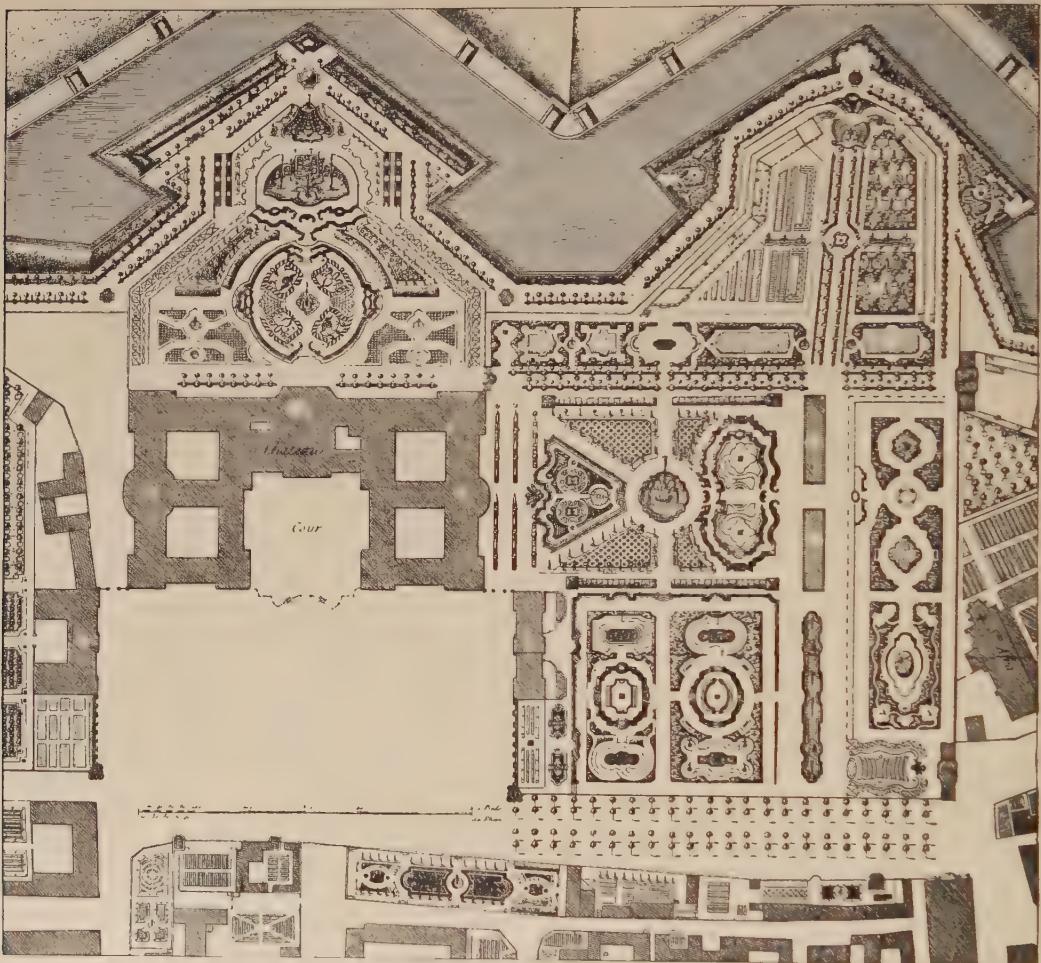


FIG. 475. WÜRZBURG—GENERAL PLAN OF THE CASTLE GARDEN

The two brothers of Damian Hugo held the bishopric of Würzburg one after the other, with a very short interval. The Residence was built for them by the most important architect of Middle Germany, Balthasar Neumann. The foundation of the beautiful castle, one of the most conspicuous of the eighteenth century, was laid in 1720, but building was postponed owing to the early death of Bishop Johann Philip Franz, and it was first finished in rough-cast in 1744 by his brother Friedrich Karl. Neumann certainly had the sketch for the garden in his hands in 1730, but it was only gradually made along with the castle, so that when Salomon Kleiner published his album of Würzburg in 1740, it only contained a page giving a bird's-eye view of the garden at its earliest stage. The

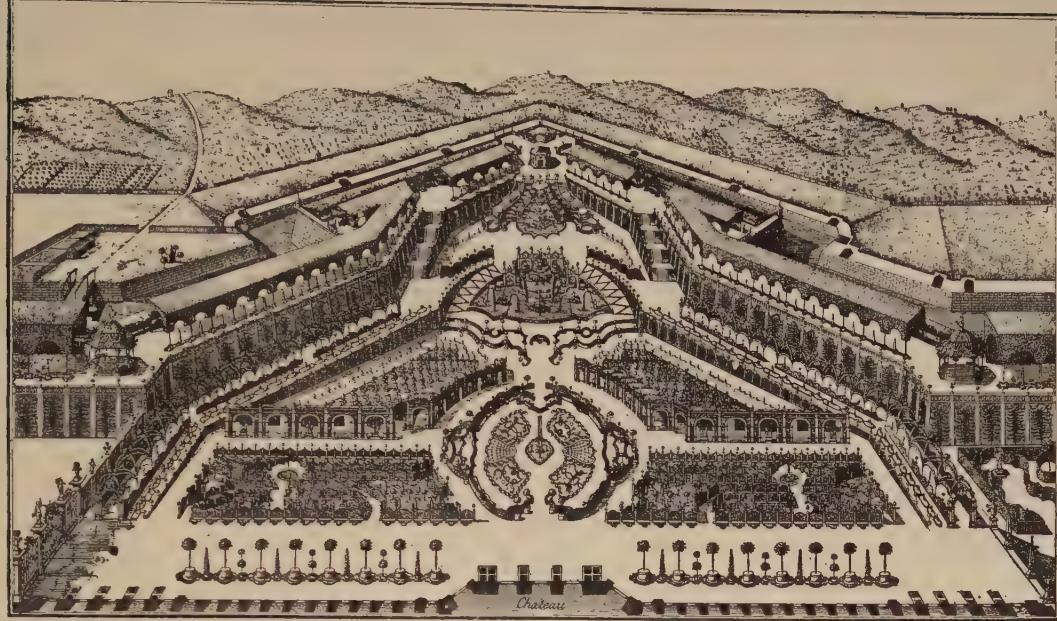


FIG. 476. WÜRZBURG—THE PRINCIPAL PARTERRE

plan is determined in connection with two corners of the town fortifications (Fig. 475). The middle axis of the castle was intentionally directed towards one of these, and the flower-garden had to conform, finding its appointed end behind the parterre at the raised steps of the citadel terrace, which, according to the first sketch, had two summer-houses at the top. The second corner was in the line of the vegetable-garden, where there were also boskets, a labyrinth, and the orangery. There was another part on the side, according to the favourite plan in gardens of Middle Germany.

As at Würzburg, the garden at Mannheim made use of the fortresses in its design.

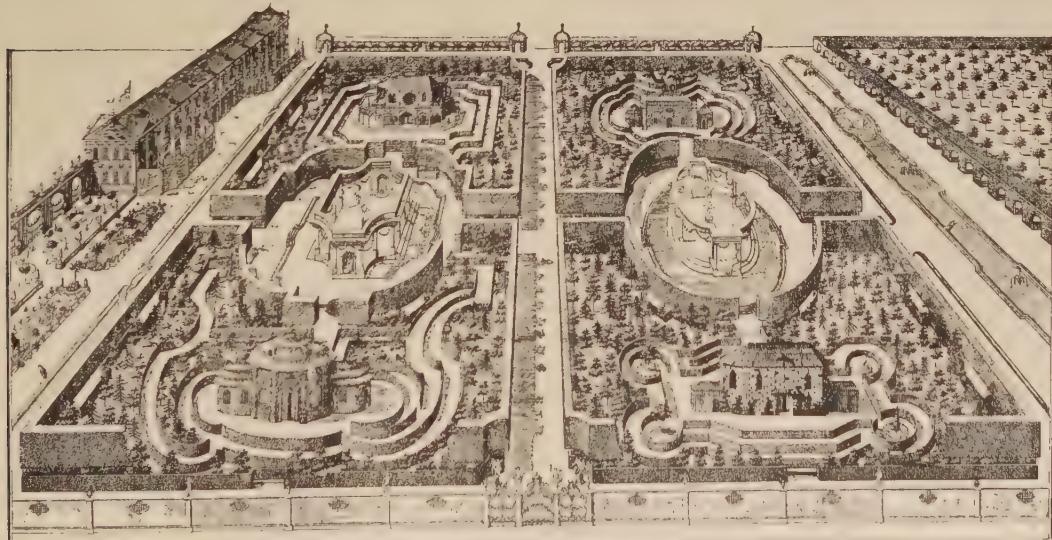


FIG. 477. WÜRZBURG—THE CASTLE GARDEN AND SO-CALLED LABYRINTH

The garden had to be laid out to agree with the extremely formal lines of the plan of the town, and then had to fit into the three corners of the fortifications in a shape that was practically the same in each case: the number of separate parterres was restricted by the raised "surround" which ran alongside the walls.

The Würzburg garden owes its completion and its historical importance to the second owner after the Schönborns, one Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim, who in 1770 summoned to his aid as inspector of gardens the famous Bohemian botanist Johann Procopius

Mayer. He enlarged the place, and gave it the form which it still keeps in the main (Fig. 475). Mayer, an artist of much taste and intelligence, published a book in 1776; though it was first and foremost botanical, it treated the art of the garden in a theoretical and pedagogic fashion.

At the time Mayer wrote, the English style of gardening had already made a victorious onslaught upon Germany: but he defended the formal style at Würzburg with the full sympathy of his employer, and made his defence in an essay at the beginning of the book. "Here we are to have no simple shepherdess, plucking meadow-flowers to adorn herself withal, but some proud court beauty must appear in all her paint and finery, one who is not debarred by dress or station from the free use of ornaments and gold, but must shine in array worthy of a palace—and of what a palace, one of the finest in Europe!" The real nature of the rococo in Germany could not be better described, and the garden was laid out in just this spirit. The ornamental part (Fig. 476) had no real axis, and the balustraded terrace beside the



FIG. 478. WÜRZBURG—GROUP OF CHILDREN IN THE GARDEN

parterre, and the plan of steps, which includes cascade and grotto and is continued to the garden by a semicircular trellis, produce a picture that for gaiety and splendour suggest Italian rather than French models. The natural sphere of interest for the lords spiritual was Rome, and they were attracted so strongly to Italy, and stayed there so often, that it is not surprising that the artistic bent of France in the garden was often interfered with by that of Italy.

At Würzburg the orangery was close to the charming flower-garden at the narrow side of the palace, and the kitchen-garden was beside the second corner of the fortification. Mayer himself was careful to draw attention to the gradation of his garden. After the orangery there follows what he calls the strolling garden or labyrinth, "of a kind that really comes nearer to the country." It is a curious place (Fig. 477): it has hedged paths



FIG. 479. WÜRZBURG—PERGOLA IN THE GARDEN



FIG. 480. VEITSHÖCHHEIM—A CORNER OF THE GARDEN

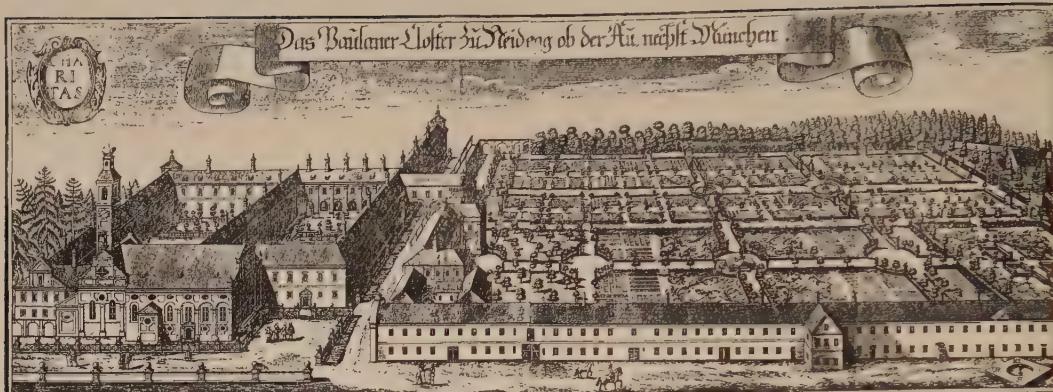


FIG. 481. PAULANERKLOSTER, NEAR MUNICH

that have nothing to do with the old sort of labyrinth, and within them a host of small erections: temples, Gothic ruins, coal-sheds, barns, hermitages, all these being required by the new style, though grouped in regular order; for this was a tribute that Mayer felt he ought to pay to his own age. Farther along the plan shows us nothing but a sunk bosket and a grotto with figures from *Æsop's fables*. Many statues are still preserved (Figs. 478 and 479).

The Prince-Bishop Adam von Seinsheim was still very earnest about the old style, and he had every garden kept thus in his castles at Bamberg and Würzburg, although many of his artists, and among them the Inspector Jacob, "admired the English style in their hearts." Veitshochheim also, the pleasure-castle of the bishops of Würzburg, was, if not designed, at any rate finished by him, and furnished with fine statuary (Fig. 480), which has survived till now, giving a picture of German rococo, wherein, in many colours and combinations, we find mythical gods, shepherds and shepherdesses in fancy dresses, and peasants in the costume of the day. This is a fashion that Italy probably introduced in the seventeenth century, but which constantly lent a charm to German gardens, always picturesque though often verging on the grotesque and even on caricature.

The castle of Veitshochheim was originally a centre building, a typical shooting-box. It lies on a high balustraded terrace with groups of children and a small parterre. Here, too, the garden lies in a side direction. Four avenues traverse this part lengthwise, dividing it into three sections, more or less answering to the French boskets. From the side façade there starts an avenue of fig-trees, first passing an out-of-door theatre, then various boskets, round temples, and statues till it comes to an end, where the corner is occupied by a pretty octagonal summer-house, which has its ground-floor treated as a grotto. The second axis also passes by boskets and round spaces ornamented with temples, fountains, and statues. In the third division there is a very large and somewhat elongated basin with a wavy border, and hedges and boskets: in the middle of the basin stands a bold group of Pegasus, which was originally painted, thereby showing something of the grotesque as well as the picturesque. This axis is finished off with a small pond. Cross-paths are cut into the long ones, so that you see temples, ponds, cascades, and summer-houses from every point of intersection. It is a pity that the clipped hedges, which were still there in 1830, have not remained in fashion, for with proper training and the use of the shears this garden might very easily have kept its original character.

It was only to be expected that when clerical magnates were thus flourishing, the monasteries would not be left behind. If at that period the style and ornament of churches reached the highest point in art and splendour, it was natural and right that their gardens should match them. The owners had long abandoned the simple laws of the kitchen-garden, and now were laying out grand flower-gardens, whose high walls showed a special desire for seclusion as at the Paulanerkloster, near Munich (Fig. 481).

Important as the great church lands were, especially for the central parts of Germany, there was still something unexpected and therefore capricious and unstable about their aspect. In the history of garden art we come to a surprisingly important cross-track—a thing that often happens in Germany. If we direct our attention once more to the then capital of the empire, Vienna, we find that a really quiet process of evolution begins very late, and that is so for outside reasons. Long after the Thirty Years' War was



FIG. 482. BELVEDERE, VIENNA

over, the oppression of the Turks kept back the development of gardening. The final conquest of the enemy came about with the last inroad in 1683, and then the court and nobles ventured once more to establish themselves before the gates of the city. This was done cautiously at first, but then with an impetuous desire for building, and a strong feeling for peace. Under the auspices of Leopold the Holy Roman Emperor came an ever-increasing prosperity.

Among the first who secured land in front of the glacis south of the town was Prince

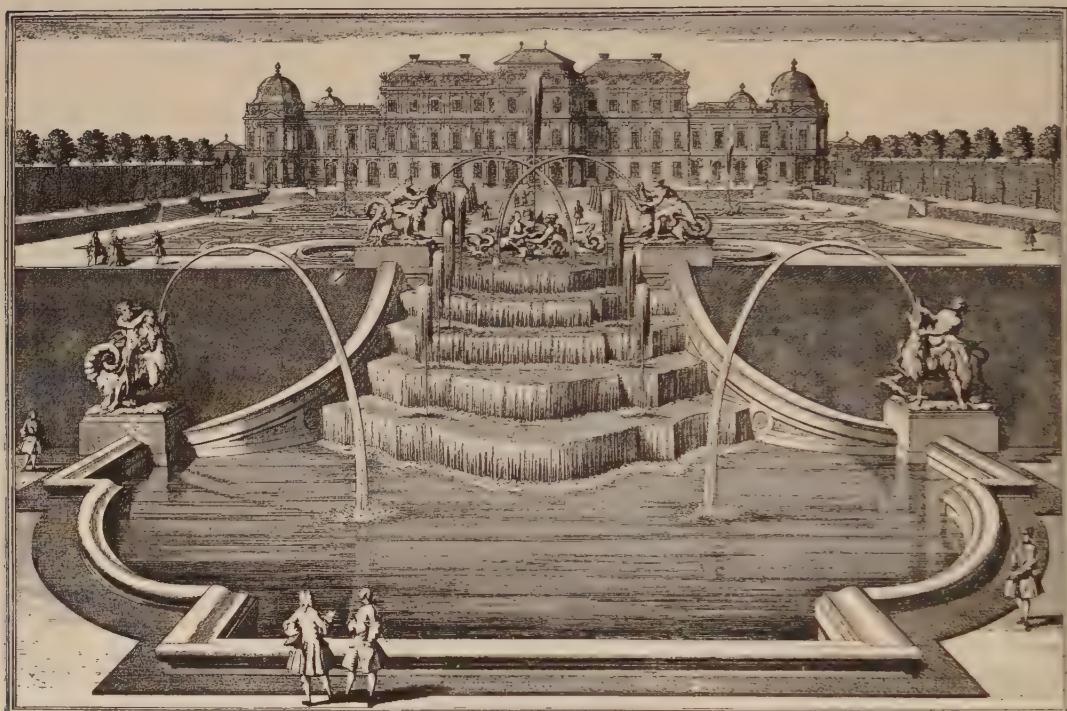


FIG. 483. BELVEDERE, VIENNA—THE GREAT CASCADE

Eugen of Savoy, the conqueror of the Turks and a much-admired hero. He bought a property where the vine-clad hills rise steeply from the racecourse as early as 1693, and a little while after he found a neighbour there, his old adversary in councils of war, Count Fondi-Mansfeld, who had been before him, in that he had had a palace built for himself at the foot of the hill, by Fischer von Erlach. Later on the empress established a convent for the nuns of the Order of the Visitation, whose garden was on the other side of the hill (Fig. 482). In all these gardens we have to deal with the type of a suburban villa, which means that they are somewhat limited in size. There could not be any park, and the view was necessarily over the city and its many towers. This explains the townish appearance of these places.

They are suitable for pomps and festivities, especially the Belvedere, as the prince's estate is called. The garden divides into two chief parts: the upper one has a very large parterre in front of the house and its fountain, and a second much lower and simpler parterre, with a magnificent cascade (Fig. 483) falling into the middle of it, and on both sides a flight of very shallow steps (Fig. 485). Round this parterre there runs a narrow



FIG. 484. BELVEDERE, VIENNA—THE UPPER ENTRANCE-GATES



FIG. 485. BELVEDERE, VIENNA—THE SIDE STAIRWAY AND CLIPPED HEDGES

terrace at the level of the upper entrance to the castle, and the whole place is entirely without shade, with tall hedges and Hermæ against the wall. The entire breadth is closed in by the castle, one of the lordliest of pleasure places, for which this high part of the garden must be regarded as a gigantic open dining-hall. The prince never lived here, and the great entrance-gates (Fig. 484) were only thrown open for festival occasions. Hildebrand the architect built the dwelling-house for the family by the lower road, cleverly adapting the slanting lines to the shape of the garden ground: this also took the whole breadth, but was laid out in a simpler, homelier fashion. After the parterre with its fountains there come boskets, four shady places with hedges, and lawns in the middle.



FIG. 486. THE BELVEDERE, VIENNA—THE ORANGERY

The two pairs are separated by imposing basins and fountain groups. An avenue of chestnuts leads along the supporting wall to the upper garden, whence there rushes out a second powerful cascade decorated with statues. At the sides the two gardens are connected with grand straight steps, and groups of children as ornaments (Fig. 485). Thus the upper and lower gardens are, so to speak, interwoven, with a most harmonious result.

The pressing problem of how to pass from the showiness of publicity to the comfort of privacy, from sunshine to shade, is admirably solved. If a spectator of to-day is worried by the want of shade in the higher part, he must bear in mind this fundamental requirement. There are little bits of garden attached to the large rectangular part, which skilfully and intelligently reconcile the want of regularity in this estate. Below on the right there is the charming orangery near the dwelling-house, with its arched trellis and attractive pavilions on the second terrace (Fig. 486). And by the upper villa there is the kitchen-garden, unobserved at the side of the grand approach for

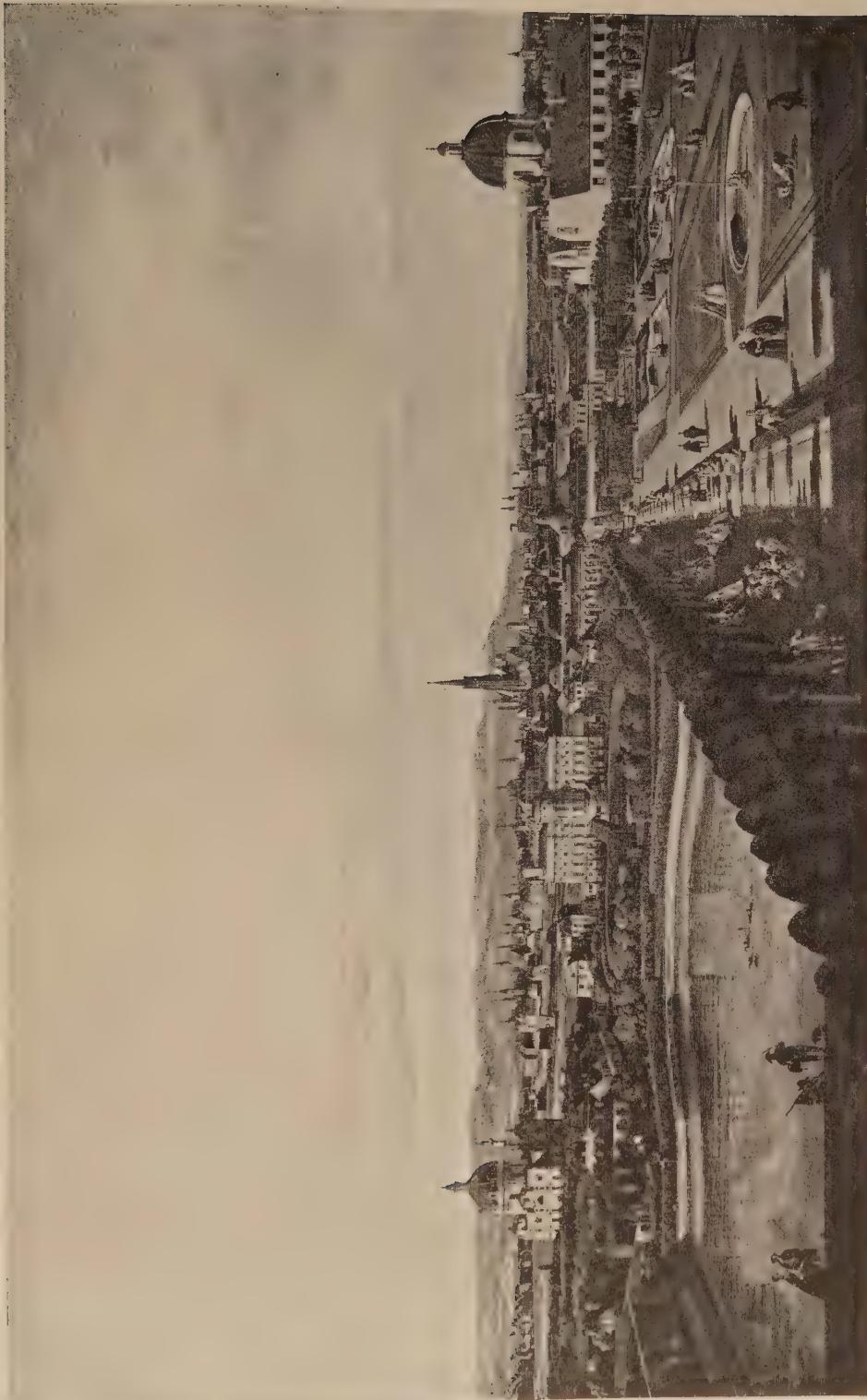


FIG. 487. SCHWARZENBERG, VIENNA—THE GARDEN, WITH BELVEDERE ON THE RIGHT



FIG. 488. THE LIECHTENSTEIN PALACE, VIENNA

carriages but reached from the garden side, and there is also the interesting menagerie. The idea of a concentric arrangement was adopted from Versailles, but in this place it is all on a smaller scale and more consistently worked out. Instead of finding a small casino in the centre as at Versailles, the spectator stands in front of an iron grating, whence little fan-shaped parterres spread out towards the animals' winter quarters. In 1731, when the prince was still living, Salomon Kleiner published some very fine engravings of views of the garden, and in the peculiar title of the work paid a personal tribute to the warrior-hero, calling it "The Wonderful Home of the Incomparable Hero of our Time in Wars and Victories; or the actual Presentation and Copy of Garden, Court, and Pleasure Buildings, belonging to his most Serene Highness, Prince Eugenius Franciscus, Duke of Savoy, etc." After the death of the prince in 1736, the Belvedere passed into the hands of the imperial family. Both before and after, the garden witnessed those brilliant fêtes for which it was intended: in 1700 there was a masked fête on 17 April, such as Vienna had never yet seen; and to accommodate six thousand dancers a great dining-hall was built out in the garden, covered over the top with 15,000 ells of linen; on the walls and roof there was painted a *berceau* of gigantic size, ornamented with flowers and festoons. The eighteenth century had still to learn how to keep a great fête!

The neighbouring estate, laid out by Count Fondi-Mansfeld in 1694, passed into the possession of the Schwarzenberg family in 1715, and they completed both house and garden. A similar but somewhat simpler problem was presented here. The garden had only to consider, in the way of buildings, the castle below, whence it climbed upward in terraces from the fine parterre, growing ever denser and more shady with groves. Its beauty lay in the well-marked middle axis of water: this formed two cascades with many

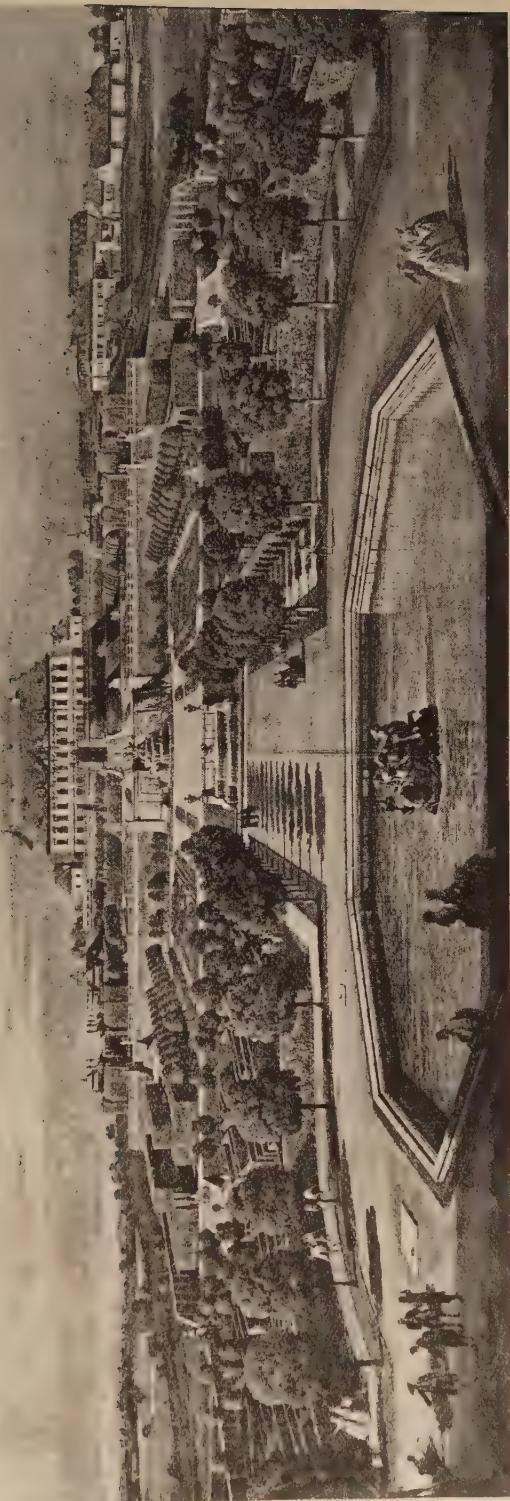


FIG. 489. HOF CASTLE, VIENNA—VIEW OF THE GARDENS

sculptured figures at the dividing walls, and ended with a great reflecting pond, that occupied nearly all the space there was (Fig. 487).

Just as the Belvedere supplied the town with a central point for a garden quarter in the south, the house built by the wealthy Adam von Liechtenstein in the north made with its splendid gardens a focussing point (Fig. 488) for other grounds round about the Alserbach. The beautiful Belvedere with its open pillared hall, cutting off the Liechtenstein garden on the river side, and giving a grand view of Kahlenberg, has been absorbed, view and all, into the town.

If we turn over the engravings by Delsenbach and Kleiner, which keep alive for us these Viennese gardens that belong to the first half of the eighteenth century, we are necessarily struck by their formal, prescribed type. The canal plays no part here, but instead many cascades are found in the strictly marked middle axis, conditioned by terraces which are everywhere supreme. The bosquets are simpler than those a French garden requires. All these peculiarities show that at Vienna the prevailing influence was not French, but more and more Italian, although there are many French details worked into an Italian background. This state of things suited the political situation—not only the violent animosity towards the French court, but also the long alliance with Italy, so sympathetic to the main interests of court life at Vienna. Under Maria Theresa all literature and art took their colour from Italy. The greatest architects of the period: Hildebrand, and Fischer von Erlach, who gave a new character to Vienna in the early decades of the eighteenth century, were full of Italian ideas. It is true that Prince Eugen had employed Girard, the French gardener at the Bavarian court, to lay out the grounds of the Belvedere, but it is noteworthy how the *genius loci* constrained this artist to work in an Italian style. One has only to compare his work at Nymphenburg with the Belvedere to realise the facts. In both, the water is the main feature of the design, yet what different pictures we get! In one there is the French canal garden, in the other, Italian terraces. Even the choice of ground shows the effect of the different styles.

All the gardens hitherto treated lie almost in the precincts of a town, and the absence of large parks may be put down to want of space, but one has only to look outside Vienna to discover the same thing. In the estuary between the March and the Danube stands the Schloss Hof (Fig. 489). This Prince Eugen inherited at the beginning of the century, and he made a garden there. Later it became an imperial property, and in the years 1758–60 Canaletto painted his fine pictures here, at the bidding of the Empress Maria Theresa. This garden, whose extension was really unlimited, was governed by the same spirit we have met with in the towns. Six terraces ascend to the palace, some wide, some narrow, and there are parterres on three sides of it (Fig. 490). We reach the actual ornamental garden by three steps, and a terrace projects from it enclosed by a balustrade, and forming three outstanding parts. Below there is a grotto in the middle, cut off by a wrought-iron gate. A fine flight of steps leads up to the next narrow terrace and to another parterre which has thick arbours of lattice at the side, and pavilions roofed with copper. There is a cascade in the middle, falling over a supporting wall which is well made architecturally. A simpler cascade plunges down from the fifth to the sixth terrace, with shrubberies to walk in at the sides. On the highest and lowest terraces there is a large fountain with groups of figures. The River March, which flows past the garden, brings this region to an end in the valley below. The peculiar southern character of this garden was kept



FIG. 490. HOF CASTLE, VIENNA—THE UPPER TERRACE

up by the use of evergreen hedges of juniper. French influence is seen in the great number of parterres, which are to be found on almost every terrace, but otherwise the Italian style is prominent. In the Austrian gardens of this date we can see a happy mixture of the two.

The greatest of the imperial castles, Schönbrunn, is not wholly wanting in the same spirit, in spite of its immense size, and in spite of the propelling power of its well-known rivalry with Versailles. Schönbrunn had belonged to the emperor ever since the sixteenth century, but in 1683 the shooting-box, built in the Italian manner, was destroyed by fire. Thirteen years later, with new noblemen's castles growing up everywhere round Vienna, we hear about fresh building at Schönbrunn. The bold first design of Fischer von Erlach shows the spirit that was then alive at Vienna in matters of art. The castle was to stand at the altitude of the present Gloriette, and the hill below was to be converted into great terraces, the supporting walls held up by architectural niches, with water-devices and parterres on the terraces. Above, in front of the castle, there was to be a circular pond on a terrace of a similar kind. A great court of honour, meant for games, was to form the end of the place in front, and it is like what we have to-day in the same part in front of the castle. A cascade in seven streams falls foaming over the rocks. This plan might truly rival the fairest villas of Italy—nay, it might eclipse them. An inscription under the picture says that there was a desire to get the grand view from the top, and that the park was to be laid out on the land that sloped gently towards Hetzendorf.

It was an architect's dream, which even the wealth of the Viennese court could not realise. Fischer had to content himself with a second plan, which was to build the house at the foot of the hill, and to lay out the garden right up to the top; and this scheme was



FIG. 491. SCHÖNBRUNN, VIENNA, WITH THE FIRST PARTERRE BEHIND



FIG. 492. SCHÖNBRUNN, VIENNA—THE GLORIETTE

in the end carried out. The absence of a view from the main house was to be compensated for by setting a little pleasure-castle on the top of the ridge. In the very large parterre shown in the sketch by Kraus (Fig. 491) Fischer makes other concessions to French taste. A canal flows all round it, and two small pavilions mark the corners. At the back the canal curves in a half-circle; and between it and the hill (shaped to make a semicircle as though for a theatre) there lies an open space; you go up past a fountain by a middle walk to the casino. The garden is formal, and differs very much from its last state; that, however, was due to Maria Theresa. Hesitation seems to have been felt chiefly over the way the hill part was laid out, for a pleasure-house was firmly established on the top. One design, which perhaps was never carried out at all, solves the difficulty very happily with a broad cascade foaming down into a pond. Another plan, which was carried out under Maria Theresa's rule, gives the hill divided up into different terraces with steps and grottoes and semicircular colonnades about the pleasure-house. It was not till 1775, when the garden received its present form, that the architect Hohenburg set up the pretty Gloriette (Fig. 492), an ornamental building with a room in the middle and open halls on both sides. Unfortunately its fine silhouette is only shown nowadays against a background of empty field, cut up with ugly zigzag paths. This leaves a sensible gap in the whole garden picture of the castle.

One of Canaletto's pictures gives a good view of the whole parterre, embracing all the level ground from the castle to the hill slope (Fig. 493). They gave up the canal plan, in spite of the fact that a Dutchman, Steckhoven, educated in France, was the gardener at that time; they had too little sympathy with the Austrian feeling for art. The parterre itself was of course often changed according to the caprices of fashion, and about the middle of the century it was laid out with patterns on the grass *à l'anglaise*, and with narrow ribbons of flowers. Then in the eighties it became the mode to decorate all gardens with baskets of flowers on the lawns, and unusual flowers in bloom were set in them (cf. Fig. 547). But the flower-gardens proper were partly sunk on both sides of the

FIG. 493 SCHÖNBRUNN, VIENNA—THE PRINCIPAL PARTERRE



PLAN
des KKLUSTSCHLOSSES und GARTENS
zu SCHÖNBRUNN.

0 100 1000 1100

- Erklärung:

 - a botanischer Garten
 - b Fasan-Garten
 - c Tiroler-Garten
 - d Baumschule
 - e Palmenhaus
 - f Gewächshäuser

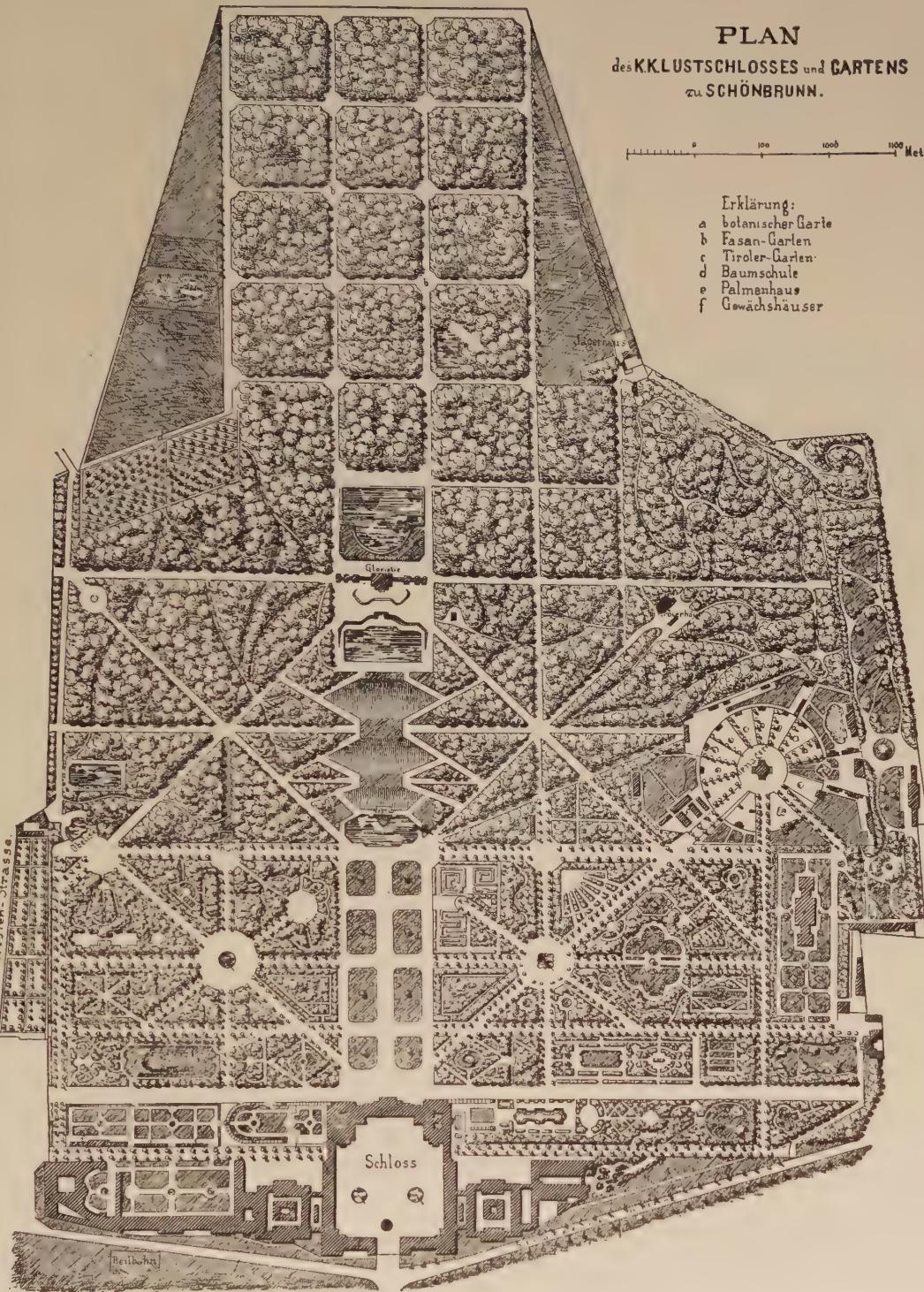


FIG. 494. SCHÖNBRUNN, VIENNA—GROUND-PLAN OF CASTLE AND PARK

house like *giardini secreti* (Fig. 494); they were separated from the great gardens by a pergola, which protected them. It was in the seventies that the parterre had the fine end-piece added, the Neptune fountain, which decorated the foot of the Gloriette hill. From the beginning the great parterre was bordered on both sides by groves, which were originally laid out as a sort of labyrinth with so-called "apartments" (Fig. 493, on the left). At the crossing of the main paths the eye is arrested by fine fountains with sculptures.

In the park beyond there are certain sites which, though they show different tendencies in the course of the long period when Schönbrunn was building, may very easily be admitted into the grand movement of the style that was now predominant. The



FIG. 495. SCHÖNBRUNN, VIENNA—THE ARTIFICIAL RUINS

menagerie shows a most marked leaning towards Versailles (Fig. 494), and this was the cherished creation of Francis I., the husband of Maria Theresa. Its plan of concentric circles was more rigidly carried out than at Versailles, and in the centre there was a pleasure-house, from which the cages could be inspected, running out like the spokes of a wheel. Then Hohenburg put up a sham ruin at the foot of the hill in 1776, only a little later than the menagerie. It was on the left of the Fountain of Neptune, and fitting properly into the scene of the park (Fig. 495) it formed a good termination for one of the side avenues.

We have often encountered this fancy for ruins in the history of gardening, but until now it has never found a suitable home. In Italy ancient ruins were utilised in the same way as antique statues. The French gardens of the *grand siècle* were opposed to all fancies of the kind; they were too honest, too fond of their own proud forms, altogether too magnificent. But in the eighteenth century sentimentality had so grown into the German nature that ideas of this sort were greedily seized upon. We found forerunners in the paintings at Waghäusel and others like them, though the artists could not free them-

selves entirely from the formal style. But at Schönbrunn artificial ruins came into fashion as the result of another tendency, which arrived in the second half of the eighteenth century, side by side with the sentimentality of the northern countries. This tendency was classical; it came from the South, and exercised a strong influence on garden decoration. Archæological interests, as we said before, were particularly active in Italy in the middle of the century: the important work of Winckelmann is an eloquent sign of this. But, side by side with the desire for real scientific knowledge, there went (as so often at such times) a certain lack of discrimination between what was false and what was genuine. This is indicated by the number of forgeries that flooded first Italy and then other countries. Hand in hand went a delight in imitating antique building, though in this there was no doubt a real archæological interest, as we can see in many of the erections in Italian villas, above all in the ruins at Villa Albani. In 1786 Winckelmann spent some time at Vienna as an honoured guest. It is not known for certain whether the idea of building the Hohenburg ruins emanated from him; but here, as at Albani, there is no sentimental romanticism to be detected, only delight in successful imitation; it would have been contrary to the instincts of Maria Theresa, who was gay, determined, and self-willed, and she made Schönbrunn her usual residence.

All the other statuary was of the antique character. An artist educated in Rome might revel with his fellow-workers in Greek gods and heroes, but although Italy would sometimes go wrong in her models, here they went wrong always, for they had no models. Instead, they relied on archæological handbooks and lexicons to inspire their imagination, and the result was rococo, and the affectations that we find to-day. It was in the same spirit that they first undertook the delightful task of reconstructing Roman villas with the help of Pliny's letters. But the attempt of the court architect Krusius at Dresden, and later the similar effort of von Schinkel, never transcended the limits of their own age; and in both cases nothing more came of it than the gardens of a French castle.

The rivalry in garden culture was always very keen in the Austrian crown lands. All the gardens, such as Hellbrunn and Mirabell at Salzburg, were decked out with fashionable parterres and statues; and, most of all, men's eyes were directed towards the groves, where decorative effects were achieved (Fig. 496) that were quite foreign to what had gone before. At that time the inspector at the Salzburg gardens was Franz Anton Danreiter, who translated the French instruction book, *La Théorie et Pratique du Jardinage*. His activities were very important, even in the garden plans that he made himself, which, to be sure, were often as much over-valued as were those of Dekker.

Hungary had no special development to boast of as distinct from Austria. Till late in the seventeenth century the Renaissance flower-garden held its own with interests purely botanical, and these were also furthered by learned travellers. In 1631 a physician of Upper Hungary was granted a title of nobility with the affix *ab hortis*, as a recognition of his services in this field. It is also said of Protestant theological students that, on their return from Dutch universities, they often brought some cutting or rare bulb in their modest knapsacks, and in their heads the knowledge of all sorts of garden constructions that they made use of at home. When in 1664 the first garden book in the Hungarian language, *The Garden of Pressburg*, appeared, its author, George von Lippay, described exhaustively the garden belonging to his brother, the Prince and Archbishop of Gran. He owned the most famous Hungarian garden of the time, and took the utmost pride in

the number of flowers which were raised there, and which made a fine many-coloured picture on their beds with the marvellous borders. But at the beginning of the eighteenth century French influence made its way without restraint into the gardens of Hungary. They vied with those of Austria, and the same nobles owned properties in both countries.

The Austro-Hungarian nobility at the time were most opulent, and felt that their first duty was to art. This was the time when Prince Esterhazy built a castle in the style of Versailles at his family seat in Hungary, and there erected a theatre and opera-house, where his *Kapellmeister* Joseph Haydn performed his works before a select audience that

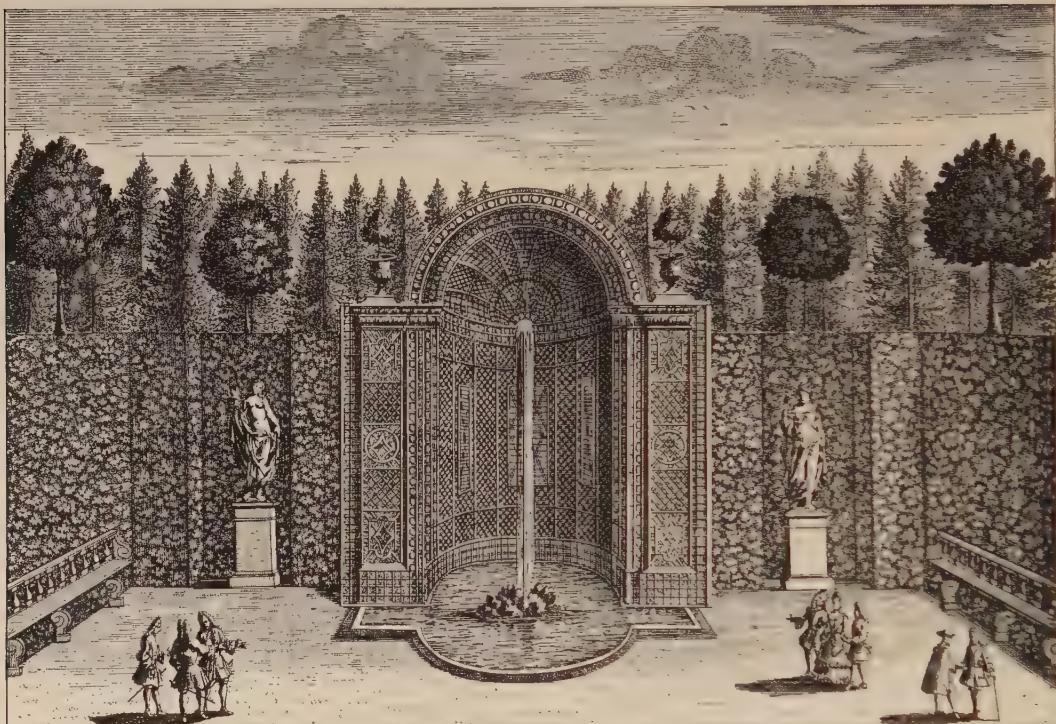


FIG. 496. MIRABELL, SALZBURG—SMALL FOUNTAIN WITH BOSKET BEHIND

numbered four hundred persons. The theatre opened on the beautiful garden, where the fêtes were held. The chief garden was laid out entirely in the Austrian taste, with *giardini secreti* at the side of the castle, and a great lawn with innumerable baskets of flowers on it, with high espaliers enclosed by boskets. Under these princes, who liked to be in the height of the fashion, it was only in the pleasure-park that the new style crept in, with its "winding walks of the English sort"; for Austria had long been contending against its onslaughts. Although Vienna and the country round about took time to arrive at the undisturbed reign of peace that is demanded for garden art on traditional lines, still it had arrived at a style of its own, due to a position rather different from the rest of Germany, and one which had apparently a surer footing than any of the other local developments in the eighteenth century.

The gardens of Middle Germany were far more affected by the growing movement, and especially in the kingdom of Saxony. From an early date there had been a fine

show here; for even in Renaissance days it had not been only the princes and the rich nobles who kept gardens well tended, but the towns had played an active part as well. And now Leipzig, which was wealthy, thanks to its central position for trade, had as citizens men who ventured in their self-confidence to live their lives on an equal footing with the great lords, even in a century when the power of court and nobles seemed overwhelming. The town gardens of Leipzig in the eighteenth century enjoyed an international reputation. Two brothers named Bose laid out gardens of marvellous beauty. The place belonging to the elder, Caspar Bose (Fig. 497), was at the Grimma gate, and not only did it excite the observation of Italy, but (we are told) the Pope inquired into the nature of its arrangements. The most interesting part is the site of the sunk orange-parterre, with radiating beds in a great semicircle, in the middle of which orange-trees were planted.

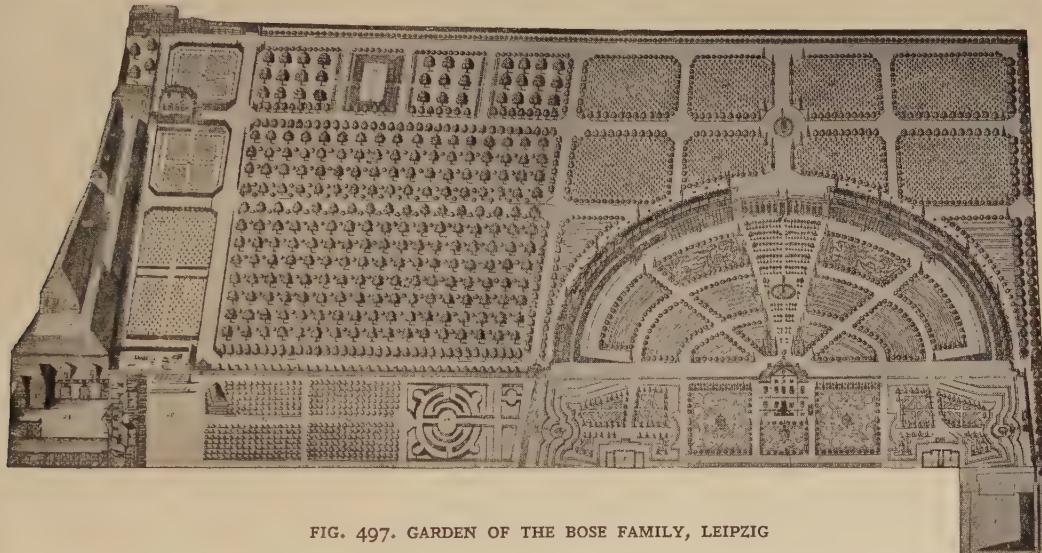


FIG. 497. GARDEN OF THE BOSE FAMILY, LEIPZIG

The ground that shuts off the orangery in the middle axis of the villa rises in the form of an amphitheatre; and fountains and statues enliven the scene. At the top there are flower- and tree-gardens, grottoes and more fountains. We see here the Renaissance ideas firmly maintained in the town garden, in spite of all the ornament in particular parts; and this is especially noticeable in the immediate connection of use with pleasure. Moreover the orange-parterre recalls the arrangement of botanic gardens, which, ever since the one at Padua was founded, have been apt to show the trapezium shape in the beds.

The creator of this place was the architect and copper-engraver David Schatz, who also laid out the next garden we speak of, which is peculiarly interesting for having attracted and delighted the eyes of Goethe when he was a young student. He writes to his sister in December 1765: "The gardens are so beautiful, I have never seen anything like them in my life. I may send you a view some time of the entrance to Apel's garden. It is glorious; the first time I saw it, I thought I was in the Elysian Fields." And Goethe was right, for it far excelled the ordinary town garden in size as well as arrangement. True, the idea of the parterre, like an amphitheatre, was also present in the Bose garden; but here there were fan-shaped avenues stretching out behind, and coming to an end

in a great circumference, richly stored with statues and with all sorts of thickets. Although the picture (Fig. 498) does not do it justice, it is evident if one looks at this garden that it was meant for great fêtes as at a court. King Augustus the Strong was a welcome guest, and the older writers assert that he had a close relationship with the rich merchant's wife. One fête on the great canal at the side, the so-called Fish-sticking, for which Apel engaged fishermen from Naples, was celebrated here for the first time in 1714 in the presence of the king, and has been kept up till the present day as a people's festival.

The garden must have been grand at that time, to please the ruler of a court recognised as the most brilliant in Germany. Augustus the Strong liked to think he had about him a kind of copy of the court of Versailles, and his own love of building in no way fell



FIG. 498. GARDEN OF THE APEL FAMILY AT LEIPZIG

behind that of the French king. In his own country he found garden art in a flourishing condition, and water-castles in particular are still more numerous in Saxony than in any other German territory. The greatest number, if not actually made in the seventeenth century, were altered in the proper style, and a garden suited to the castle was laid out according to the fashion of the period. The character of the Renaissance is shown markedly in the way that canals are turned into ponds or moats. But in the eighteenth century also they knew how to suit their gardens to water-castles of this kind. We may compare the plans of old and new lake-houses, or still better, the form given by Augustus to the old water-castle of his ancestors, the Moritzburg at Dresden. This house was originally on a tongue of land in a pond. The king had it connected with the bank by means of a bridge and a dam, widening the pond on one side so that the castle was on a little island, much in the same way as at Chenonceaux. Outside the flower-garden, which encircled the high-lying island castle as a second terrace, there was a great semicircular region beside the bank, in the middle of a network of forest paths in straight lines, which cut the woody district into regular divisions.

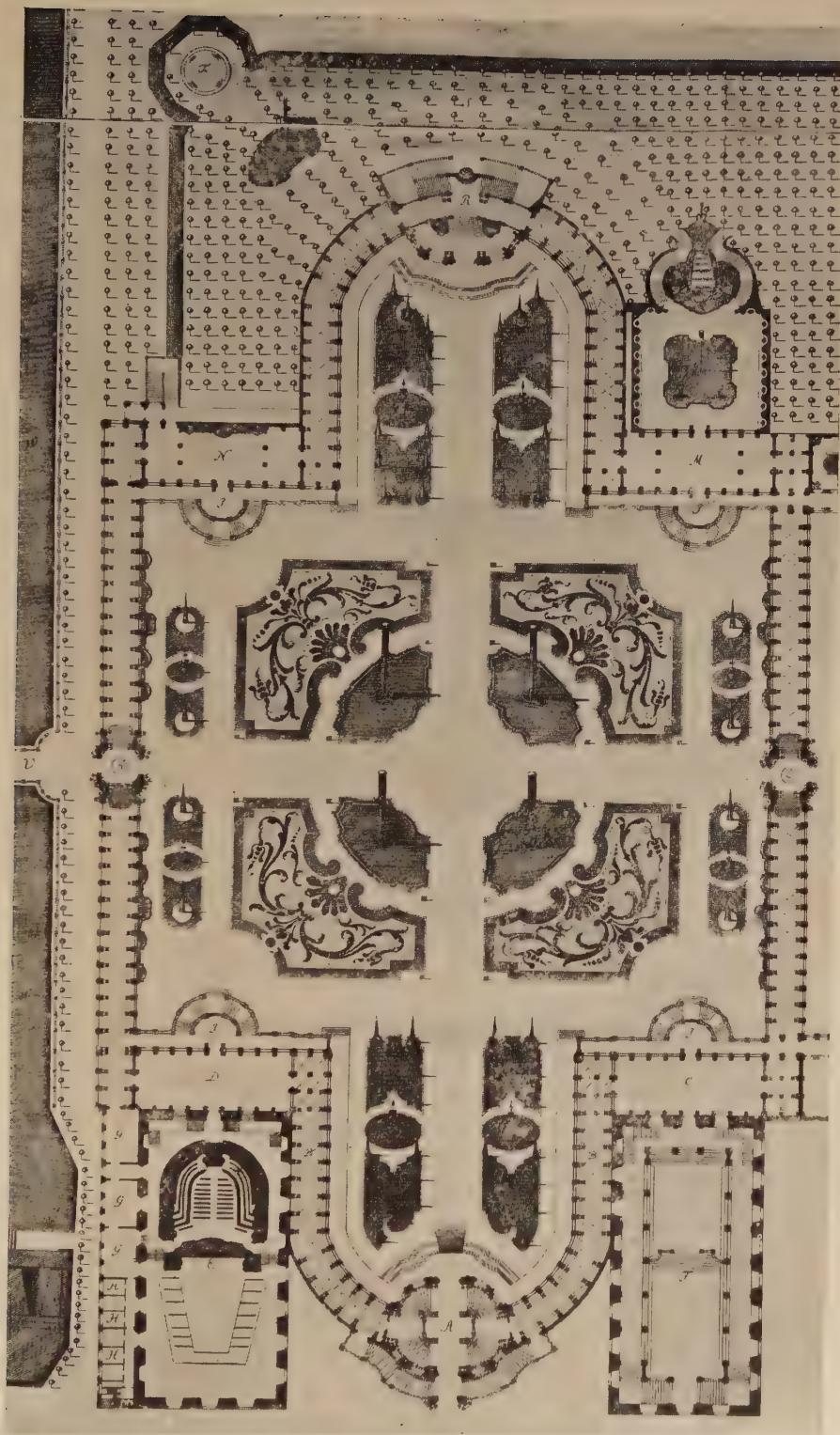


FIG. 499. PLAN OF THE ZWINGER, DRESDEN

The French feeling for lines and wide spaces came into Saxony with Augustus; and first and foremost in his mind was the thought of building a new castle as his residence. According to the plans made by his architect Poppelmann, it ought to have been one of the grandest of the kind. The area can only be computed now by the original orangery, which, because of its enclosed situation, was named Zwinger (cage) (Fig. 499). It was characteristic of the time that they should have begun with the orangery; and only when one considers the Zwinger as that can one understand the plan of the building. In the seventeenth century orangeries were made in more and more lordly fashion. People specially liked to make use of them in summer, when the trees were standing in the garden, as comfortable cool rooms for guests; and later on they mostly connected a grand dining-hall with the conservatories where the trees were kept, and made greenhouses in a semi-circle on both sides, so that they could be approached that way, and fêtes could be held there in the winter as well. A good example is seen in the end orangery at Castle Gaibach (Fig. 472), where the semicircular greenhouses have beyond them semicircular *berceaux*.

In the decoration of these buildings they felt that they could give free play to their fancy. Before now Salomon de Caus in his plan for the first stone orange-houses at Heidelberg hung his pillars with flowers and foliage. Taken all in all, we may say that in the Dresden Zwinger we find the plan most highly developed. The design shows a repeat of the semicircular nursery galleries, widened on the sides by straight wings. Thus an enormous garden court is shut in by corridors, which are interrupted by four corresponding monumental gate-pavilions (Fig. 499, Plan A, R, K, L). In the four corners fêté-rooms were built, these also in accordance with the ground-plan, unsurpassable in size and splendour: a great dining-hall with an ante-chamber (F), a theatre also with an ante-chamber (E), a grotto-room (N), and a nymphæum with a bath-room (M, Q) filled out these corners. The architect, to judge by his plan, had intended the whole court to be treated as a garden parterre, with basins in the middle and water-devices at the sides. It is clear from the ornamentation of the south side as it then was, i.e. fountains and statues, that a plan for a gigantic nymphæum was hovering in his thoughts. In the summer this parterre was further decorated with the treasures from the greenhouses. But as a real nymphæum such as they had in the Renaissance days there was made a small court for a bathing-room—a place lying deep and cool, with alcoves fitted out with fountains, and statues between its pillars. Opposite this room a cascade fell over some steps between the statues into a semicircular basin. The middle was occupied by a large tank and fountain, and even in its neglected state at the present day it makes a fine picture (Fig. 500). When the plans for the castle were more and more advanced, the galleries also were made use of for fêtes. The orangery was at a greater distance, and the garden court was used also as a place for show processions, tournaments, and the like.

While the king was busying himself with these far-reaching building plans, he spurred on his nobles to other extravagant works. They built away cheerfully, and the more it cost the better, for they knew the king would be delighted to buy their estates at a high price and give them to one or other of his mistresses. The Dutch, or Japanese palace (Fig. 501), so called because of its famous porcelain collections, was built by the minister, Count von Flemming, apparently with the idea that, if the king's buildings were completed, there should be a fine garden scheme leading from the royal castle to the Elbe, and on to his own grounds, which lay upon its banks. In 1717 the king bought the place,

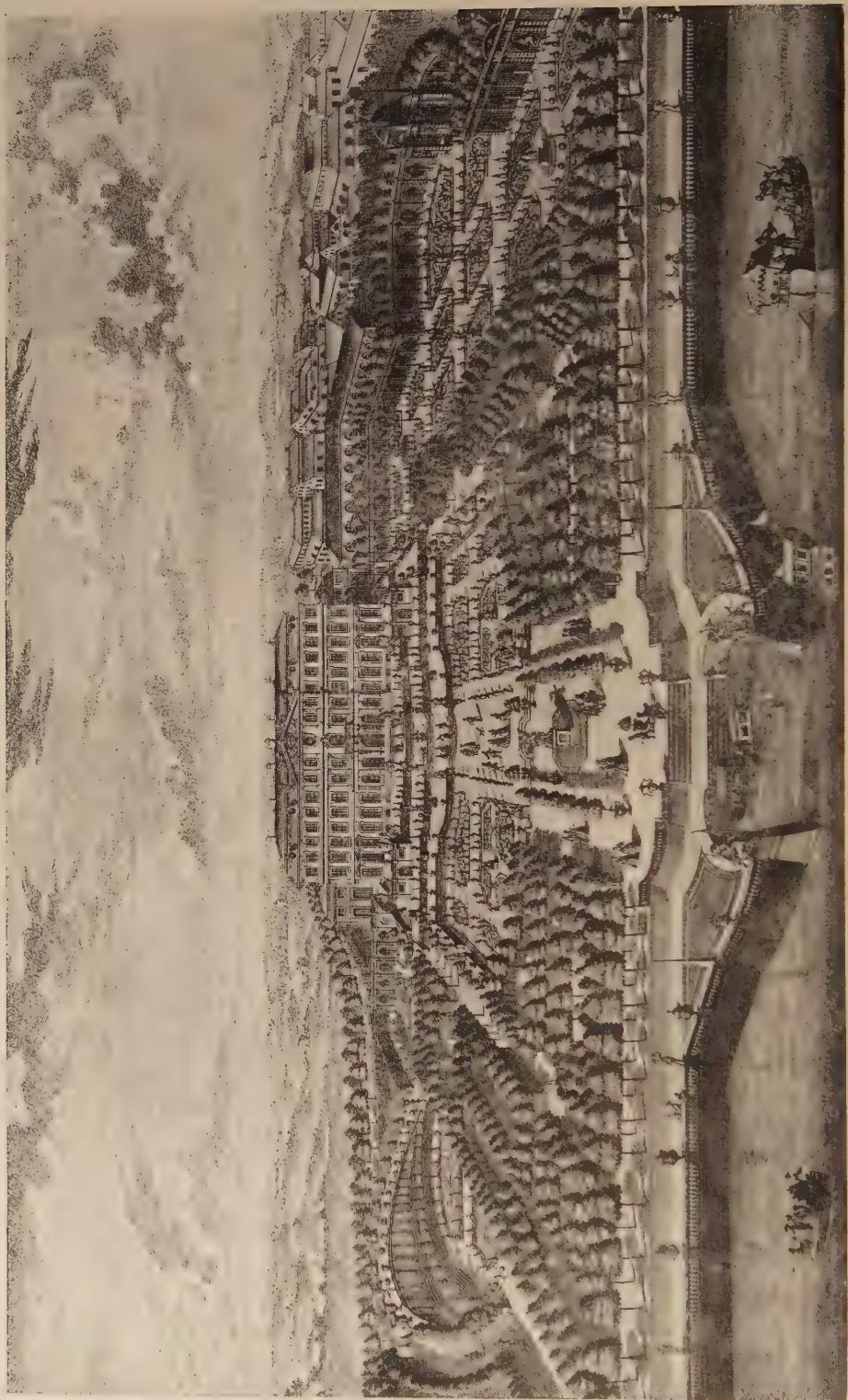


FIG. 500. THE NYMPHENBAD AT THE ZWINGER, DRESDEN

and began by laying out the parterre along the Elbe in gently sloping terraces. Later on the garden was enlarged at the side of the palace, and behind the great semicircle of the fortification walls, which served as point of view for the parterre, there was a great canal with ornamental waters, and also pretty boskets, a theatre, and other places.

On the other side of the town, the south-east, Johann Georg II. had made himself a shooting-box in the middle of the wood, in the eighties of the seventeenth century, and this now bears the name of the "Great Garden" (Fig. 502). The house, in the middle of a pheasantry, exhibits the familiar characteristics of a hunting-seat. It is one of the earliest on German soil, for with its eight pavilions it had been built by 1698. The garden developed gradually out of a little hunting-place and a mere pheasantry, where "hedges and underwood made a pleasant wilderness," into a wide expanse. The French spirit is shown in the complete mastery over all the materials, so that a mere imitation discovered, so to speak, a way to an original scheme. When the garden was finished, at about the year 1720, the castle looked out on a narrow parterre like a ribbon, which passed round it. To right and left you saw parterres divided two by two in the boskets—a plan much favoured in Saxony. The eight pavilions mark out the broad middle tract of garden. They are united in pairs with terraces, that are designed to exhibit orange-trees in the summer. The four front ones enclose a part that is planted with clipped trees, and later on with parterre-beds, and in those at the back there is the great basin like a canal, which ends in a pretty open pavilion. From here semicircular avenues pass round the water, and meet in a central one, which leads through the park to the gate on the north. Round these inside show-gardens there are ornamental thickets, showing a variety of arrangements to a bird's-eye view. The out-of-door theatre also belongs to the beginning

FIG. 501. THE JAPANESE PALACE, DRESDEN, BEFORE THE ALTERATIONS



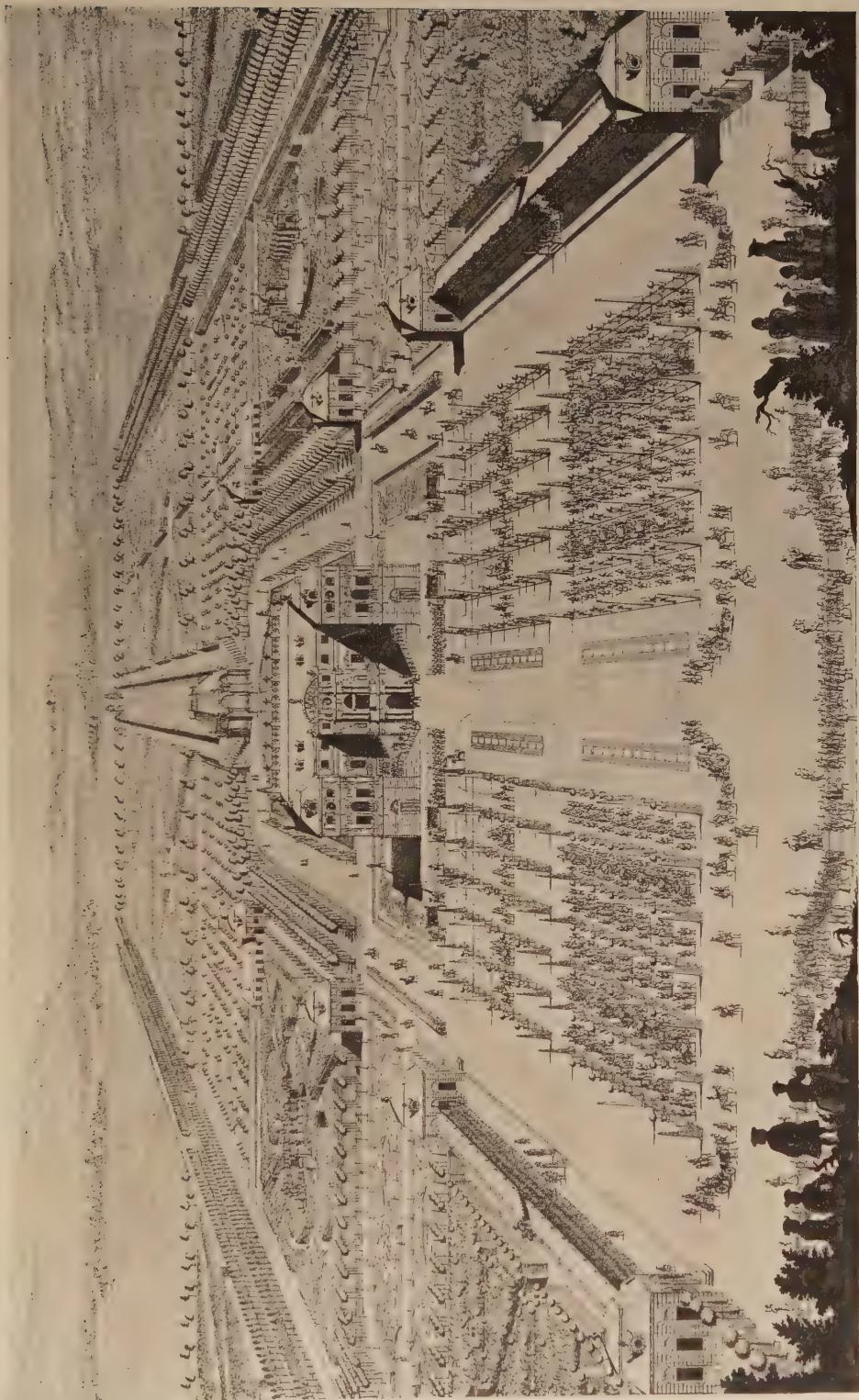


FIG. 502. THE GREAT GARDEN AT DRESDEN IN 1719

of the century: it is set out very finely in the northern grove on the right. The side scenes are made of trellis-work, with a background that is shortened by perspective and encircled by round paths. Just as at Herrenhausen, the stage is separated from the auditorium, which is built like an amphitheatre reached by a sunk path. The great boskets surround this ornamental garden in the form of a Greek cross.

According to a plan of the Bavarian court architect Cuivillié, drawn in his own magnificent style, there was to have been a still more important feature shown in this garden about the middle of the eighteenth century. The canal was to have been lengthened from the wide basin on to the end, and finished off there with a great water scheme. But as the little castle was to be discontinued and rebuilt nearer to the town on a much larger scale, it is a good thing that the plan never arrived at completion.

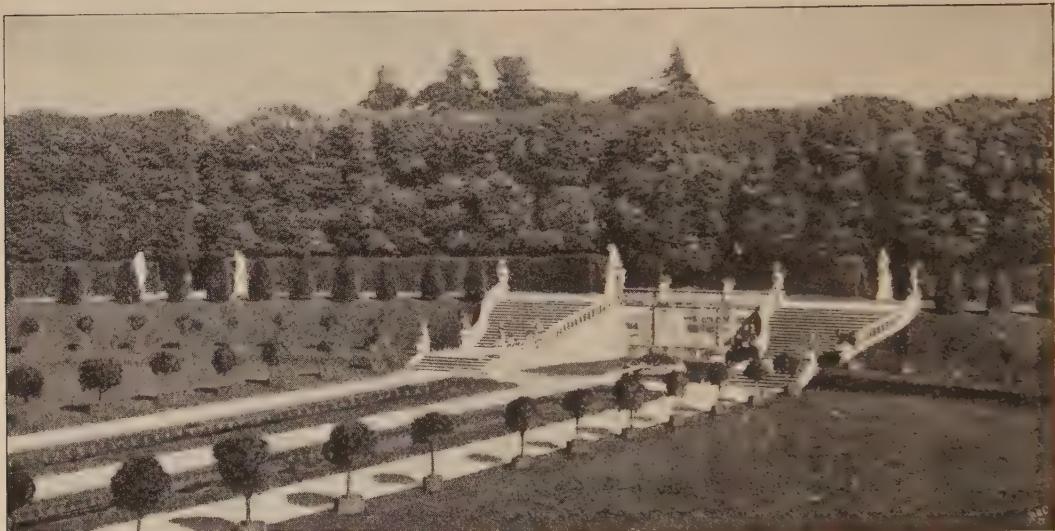


FIG. 503. GROSS-SEDLITZ—THE ROYAL GARDEN, "STILLE MUSIK"

If the king and his architect had had the means of Louis XIV., they would certainly have gone beyond their French model. But there was a personal limit to what was possible for Augustus the Strong, and in this he differed from "Le Roi Soleil," who carried out all his plans. The works of the Saxon king which are still in existence are on so large a scale that it is surprisingly difficult to grasp the fundamental plans, until we remember that these are only those portions that were actually completed. This is particularly the case with the still imposing Gross-Sedlitz. There are two rows of terraces beside one another, leading down to a cleft in the valley (Fig. 503). The park mounts again to the other side. The one set of terraces forms a semicircular orangery with gardens going up from it; and on the top of the other stands the castle. The water axis of this garden forms on the opposite side a fine cascade, pouring its waters into the dip of the valley. Originally the orangery design was to have been repeated on the other side, so that the castle with the water axis in front of it would have been in the middle, and thus would have made a truly regal pleasure-house.

In the same fashion Poppelmann, helped by Longuelune, who worked with him as garden architect, made a series of equally great plans for the royal place of Pillnitz on

the Elbe. What actually was worked out was one side of the original garden scheme with two pavilions (Fig. 504). It was a huge toy, which might have enchanted some giant's daughter, it was so charmingly carried out. But at that time people were more and more absorbed in an endless variety of games, and in this respect Pillnitz is quite a typical place. There were two little palaces, exactly alike, one on the river and the other by the

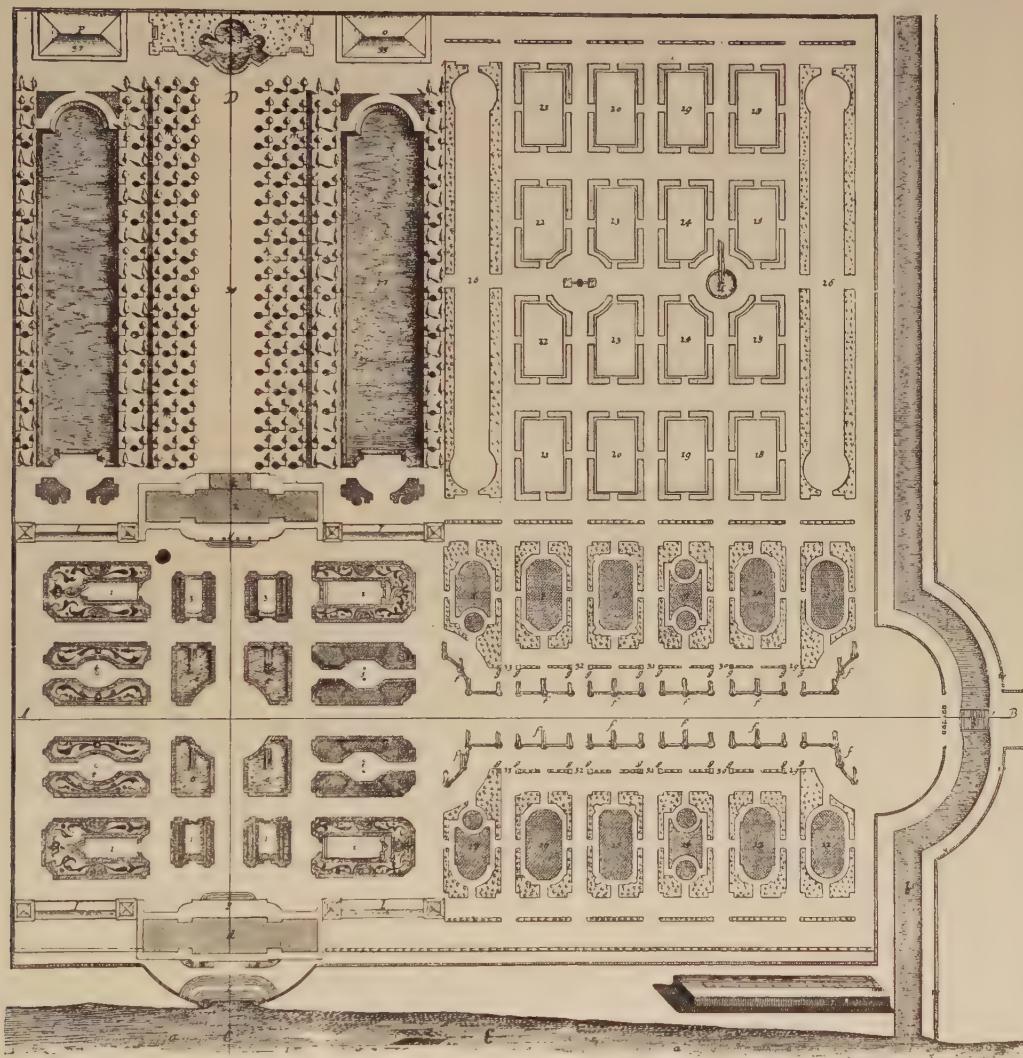


FIG. 504. PILLNITZ, DRESDEN—GROUND-PLAN

hill, and these are clearly shown by their style to have been originally mere summer-houses: they are so-called "Chinese" pavilions, with a baroque underground part, on stumpy columns, an open front hall, wavy "Chinese" roofs, and cornices with all sorts of Chinese decoration. The whole garden, which extended as a parterre between the two houses and round them on three sides between river and hill, was laid out with a view to games of all kinds. There were forty-four little square plots for playing on, mostly with hedges round them, and also a shooting-ground behind the house by the hill (Plan D)

with the butts in a kind of grotto in the hill-side. Over against the garden was the tennis-court (29), a little billiard-house, and another for wrestling (O, P). It is a sign of the great skill and the certainty of plan in garden-making at this period that the designers knew how to give not only symmetry but also a certain grandeur to this region of games, by making an imposing approach from the Elbe, and by laying out large courts in a clever way with narrow water-terraces and fountains (called in the plan "water-lights") (f), and thereby emphasising a crossway axis.

With King Augustus I. the great time of Saxony, even in the art of garden-making,

quickly came to an end. Nothing new was made except certain attractive minor features, and there were no ideas for great estates. Many of these lesser features have been preserved at Dresden. In the matter of fountains a high degree of virtuosity was arrived at, the erection of statues being combined there with water. One masterpiece is the fountain in the Marcolini garden (Fig. 505), with its playing waters. The charming picture of this place recalls what would otherwise be lost. And also at this time the pretty trellis-work of the Renaissance, as well as fountains, was revived, after being little used in the later days of Louis XIII. The interest in the garden that Count Brühl laid out on the narrow Elbe terrace lies only in the ground-plan, which shows how he



FIG. 505. MARCOLINI GARDEN, DRESDEN—THE NEPTUNE FOUNTAIN

managed to get over the difficulties of the space he had to deal with. Its chief beauty was in the covered walks made of trellis, which enclose the large garden in the front, and lead down from the belvedere in the garden at the back in a half-circle. This part, united with the terrace of trees by several avenues, cleverly joins on to the round part in the informal corner that had the Belvedere above it, a building now replaced by a new one. By the side of the trellised walks were the famous fountains that are still working, and have always been a marked feature. This late time can only claim originality when it gives itself up to play, either entirely or in part. And what Pillnitz did on a large scale in part only, the smaller places did altogether.

A really amusing place for games, and consistently carried out, is the little pheasantry called Falkenlust at Moritzburg. This is a very neat round building on an extremely

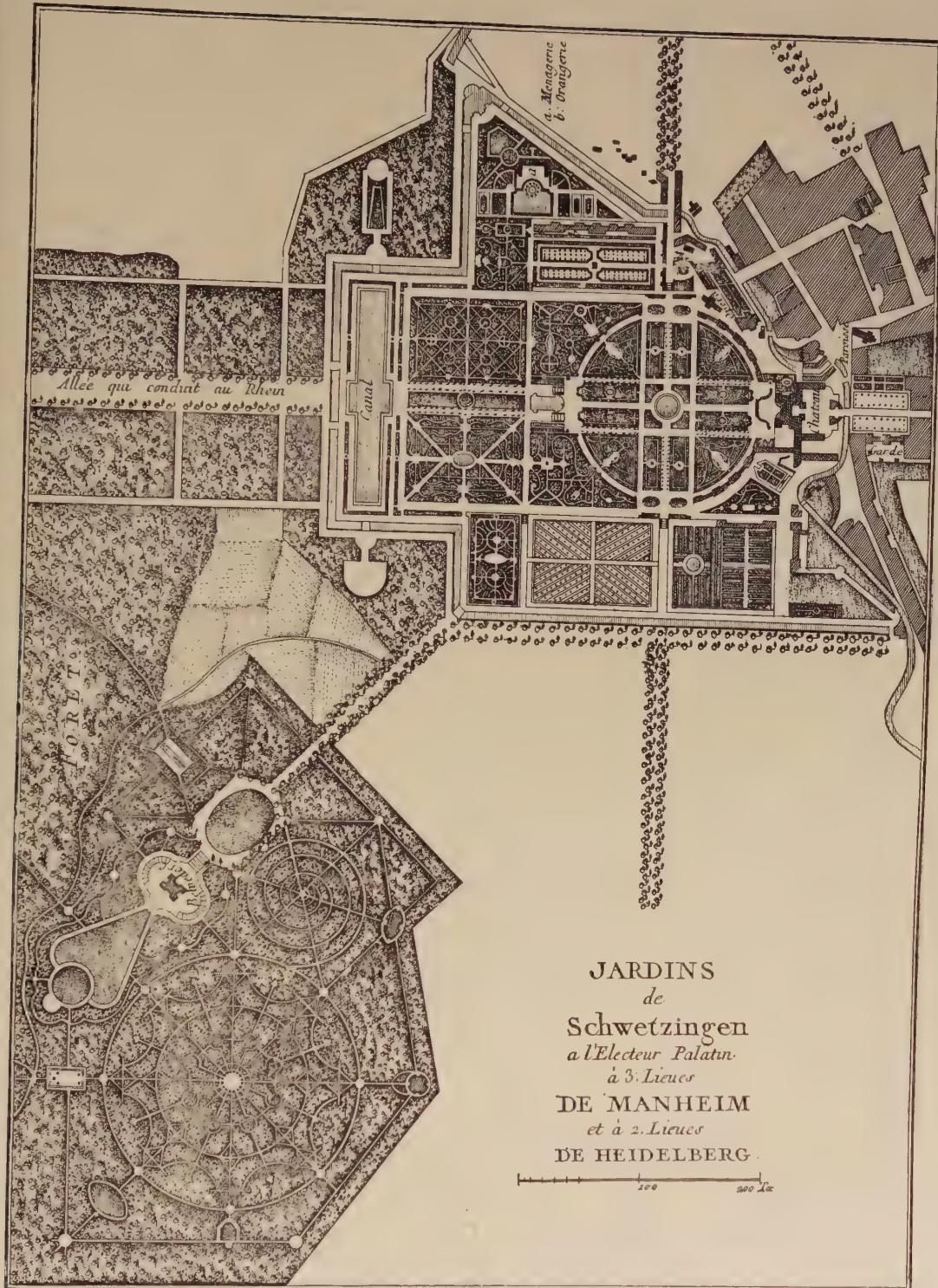


FIG. 506. SCHWETZINGEN—THE CASTLE GARDEN

small scale, with a Chinese roof and figures, standing on an artificial rock decorated with creatures of all sorts. Here to begin with were the pheasantry buildings, enclosed with trellis overgrown with greenery, and ornamented with various fountains which are more or less well preserved. The little castle is at the junction of the great avenues of the park. In the main walk towards the Moritzburg there is a great canal with artificial rockery, and by the side of it an elaborate garden piece. Hedges of pine are trained to an immense size, so that they slant obliquely from a height of one metre to eight or ten, and then "show clearly and distinctly the initials A.F.A., of their exalted Majesties."

This main walk leads down from the castle to the lake, and there we find a well-fortified harbour, with pier, lighthouse, bastions, forts, and a little frigate, all very pretty and dainty. Saxony may boast of having reached a point, not too high, of the prevalent Chinese fashion.

The formal style of garden was now threatened from every side. There were attempts, in adopting features of the new fashion, to combine them with the old severe restriction of the straight line and symmetry, but in the end there was complete capitulation. It even came about that the same owner and architect worked the changes in the same places. One good example of a transition garden is found at Schwetzingen. It was laid out for Charles Theodore of Bavaria by the architect Pigage and the head gardener Petri, in the formal style. It came into existence in the years 1753 to 1770 in a fashion that was entirely French (Fig. 506). The *Théorie et Pratique du Jardinage* had a great influence in the garden-plan.

The parterre ends in a longish basin. On the other side the *tapis vert* forms a middle axis between the boscets; it is a wide strip of grass adorned with statues, reaching to the great canal that crosses it, and makes a slight widening inside the park. The French garden book also recommends a semicircular end of the parterres in covered trellis. At Schwetzingen these are finished off with galleries that are also in semicircles, which join the two sides of the castle into a whole circle: this gives a peculiar stamp to the garden, so much the more because the parterre, always quite open in France, is traversed by avenues both lengthwise and crosswise, and these are of course kept clipped very low. This was a concession to the taste of the day, which preferred seclusion and shade to the open show-garden. Still from the *pian nobile* of the castle one could get a view of the whole:

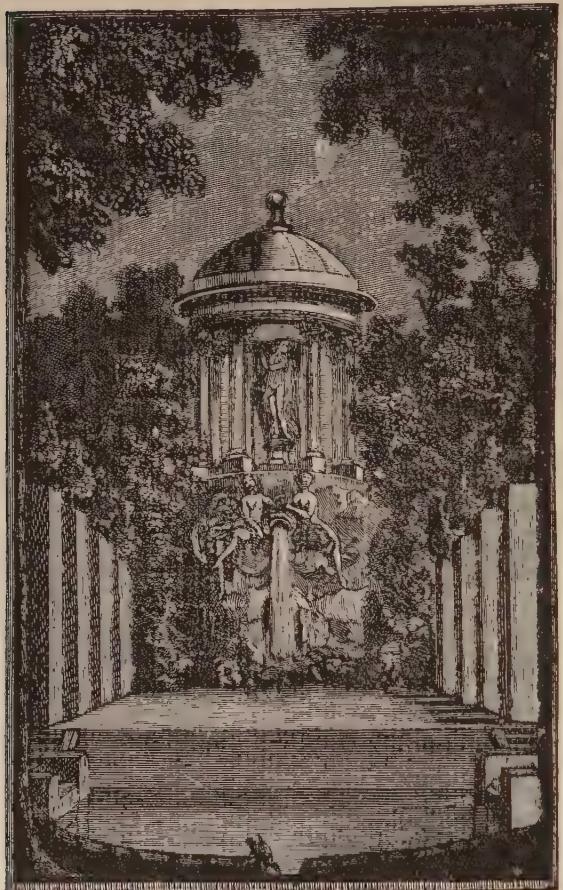


FIG. 507. SCHWETZINGEN—THE APOLLO THEATRE

the round parterre with its narrow beds in the middle stocked with flowers, and the side plots of trapezium form. High trees now conceal this effect, beautiful in their masses of greenery.

In its great lines the garden belongs to the best traditions of France. On the other hand, it shows some wavering in the laying-out of the boscets, for there is plainly an effort to accommodate itself to the gospel of the wavy line which is foreign to its own style. Of course the patterning of the parterre had already been working towards the change of line. Still, however elaborate the *broderie* in Louis the Fourteenth's patterns, they were never simply wavy and niggling. This was checked by the feeling for bold masses and clear symmetrical designs; but under Louis XV. and Madame de Pompadour the little broken-up patterns became ever more numerous, and were mixed up with a completely separate arabesque. In groves more and more licence was allowed, and *Les Sources* at the Grand Trianon actually showed the wavy line. But what was at first tolerated as variety now began to spread, because even avenues were laid out à l'*anglaise*, although they were still kept in check by the formal style.

The boscets in the Schwetzingen gardens were free from the peculiar sentimentalities that marked the first period. Pigage, the architect of the little buildings in the park, was no genius, but he showed a delicate feeling for grace and beauty in such places as the out-of-door theatre with the Temple of Apollo as background (Fig. 507), and the Bath Pavilion with its charming aviary. To show to perfection, both these places need their old surroundings of severely clipped hedges to serve as side scenes of the natural stage, and the trellised walks and aviary for outside bordering. Also the rock fountain with its cascade has nothing of the picturesque colouring of the English park, set as it is in clipped hedgerows. Scarcely, however, had Charles Theodore finished here than he was unable any longer to resist the current of modern thought, and he entrusted to Ludwig Skell, the rising star in the garden world, the task of laying-out his grounds according to the new taste. All the same, Charles Theodore felt so great a respect and reverence for what he had made that he set this new garden only as a girdle round the old French part. The canal, which formed the boundary, was left there by the artist fronting on the old garden, and forming a clever transition in such a way that it lent itself to the picturesque style by dipping into the opposite bank with all manner of deep-cut inlets and curves.

Every court, great or small, had given some flowers to the wreath of lovely gardens that now covered the provinces of the German Empire. Even the young and aspiring court at Berlin had its peculiar, many-sided picture to show. We have already seen how the Great Elector (Frederick William) had worked in the furtherance of the art. At his Residence he had too much to do in establishing his house; and the pleasure-garden of the castle at Berlin was only a smaller garden, though a flourishing one. It was Frederick, the first King of Prussia, who first found in castles and gardens an ample field for his love of magnificence; and the gardens of Oranienburg and Charlottenburg were laid out in a style purely French. They were among those that boasted—though it was but a legend—of having been laid out from the plans of Le Nôtre.

Charlottenburg was remarkable because of its unusual supply of water (Fig. 508). The Spree ran along the whole length of the garden, and beside it there was a large so-called carp pond, with six rows of trees shaped like a hippodrome round it. Outside, a number of tributaries of the Spree were conducted through the back part of the park, all

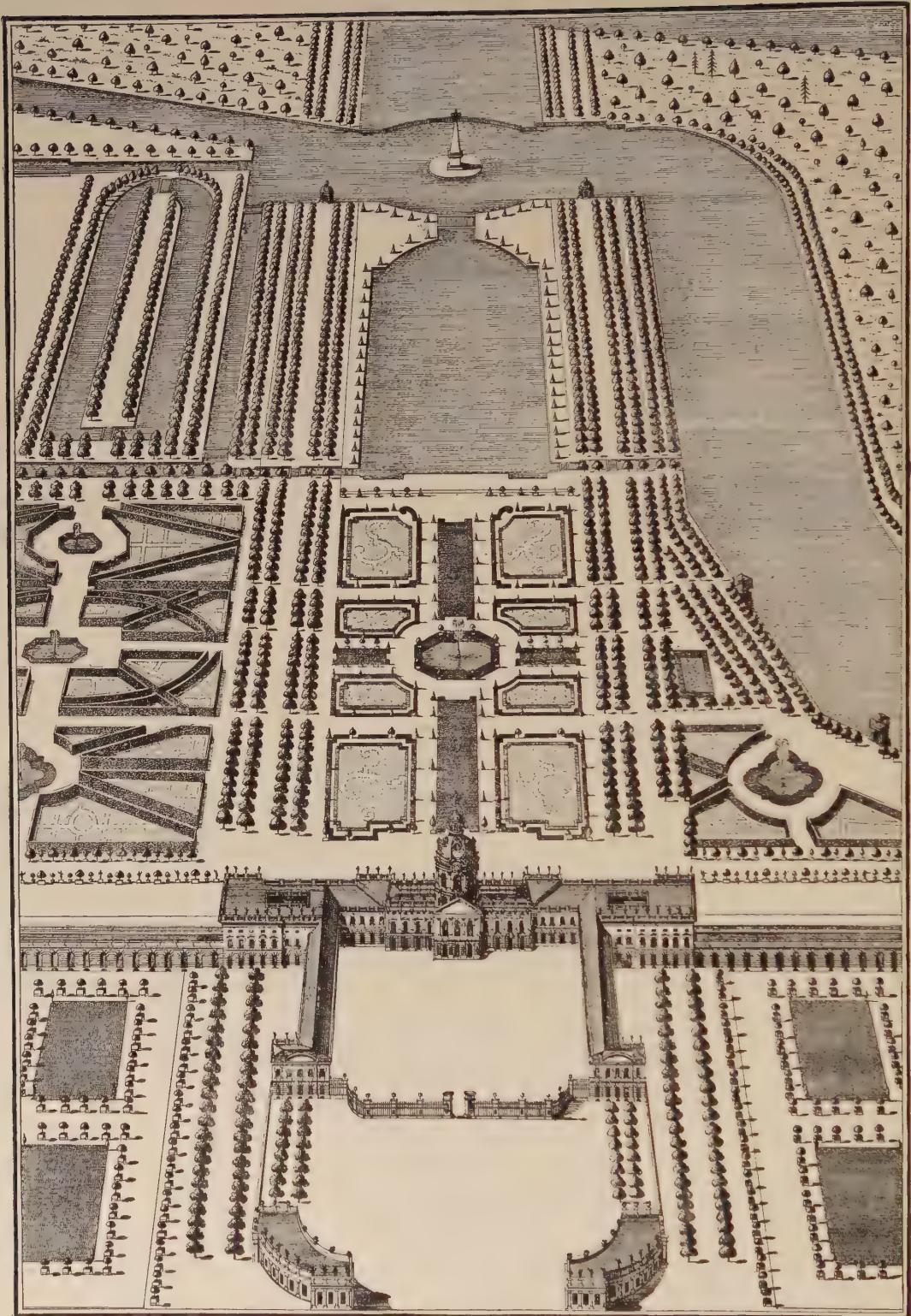


FIG. 508. CHARLOTTENBURG—GROUND-PLAN SHOWING CASTLE AND GARDENS

of them used for gondolas or to rear fish of various kinds. Next to the castle was the tennis-court, and also the orangery. Many statues stood in the very large parterre which was known as the pleasure-ground, and twelve busts of emperors were especially famous; these stand to-day in a pergola at the left of the entrance.

In the time of Frederick William I., the minimum of ornament was insisted upon, and the maximum of use and profit. He converted the pleasure-gardens in front of the castles at Berlin and Potsdam into exercise-grounds, and the place he chiefly used for his own recreation was a fruit- and vegetable-garden, which he laid out on the north-west of Potsdam round a little pleasure-house, on which he conferred the pompous title of the Marly Garden. "I cannot tell why," says the Margravine Wilhelmine, who shared her father's recreations very unwillingly. It is the best proof we can get that Marly was the actual name for a small pleasure-house removed from the Residence; the king might just as well have called it a hermitage or some other name of that sort.

His son, the future Frederick the Great, had when he was crown prince shown the strongest inclination towards the art of gardening. Lovingly and with great care he had ornamented his castle of Rheinsberg. This love of the garden he inherited from his mother, who converted her little summer place, a very charming house near Berlin on the Spree, into a real treasure which deserved its name of *Mon Bijou* (Fig. 509). Until 1725 it was only a small house in the middle of a garden, a real Trianon, made with the same object and in the same spirit, with porcelain and small choice works of art, and on both sides trellised walks and pavilions. A pretty parterre with flowers and fountains and attractive side scenes led to the river from the house, which stood rather high. Near the road the garden was laid out with boskets, leaving a large empty space in front of the house, presumably for games. At the side was the orangery with its own parterre, and opposite this a little menagerie for tame animals. In 1717 this retreat was endangered by a visitor, the Tsar Peter, who spent a couple of days quartered here with his retinue. It was known beforehand, of course, what sort of guests to expect, and the queen had had everything fragile removed. But in spite of this, after their departure house and garden looked "like Jerusalem after the sack." So says the Margravine of Bayreuth, and as a fact

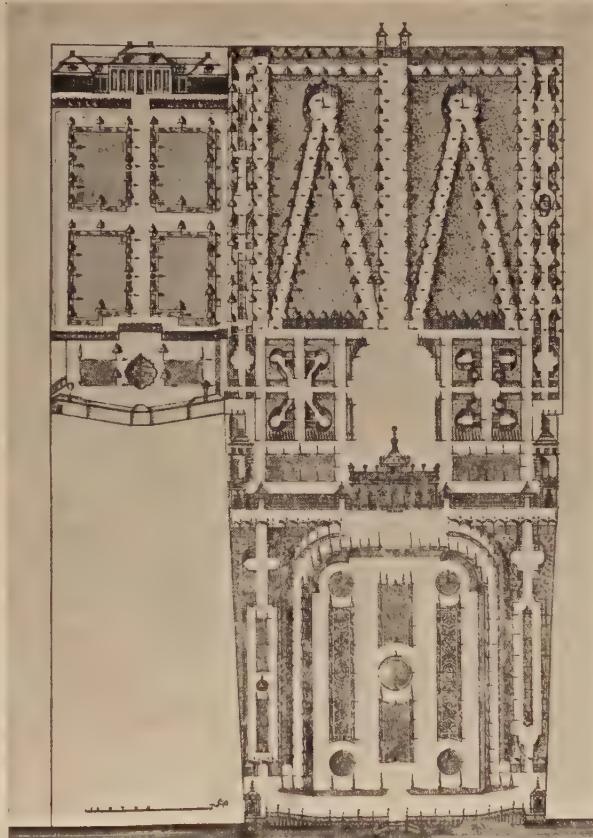


FIG. 509. MON BIJOU, BERLIN—GROUND-PLAN

the queen had to have the whole place restored from top to bottom. The mother of Frederick the Great lived here for forty-six years; she was a lover of art, and she had castle and garden greatly ornamented and enlarged, but never altered the fundamental plans.

When Frederick the Great came to the throne, he wanted to build a little hermitage near Berlin according to his own fancy. For this he chose the hill opposite his father's Marly Garden, and in 1744 laid the foundation-stone of his castle Sans-Souci. This place would in any case deserve special consideration as the creation of Frederick himself, but there is more than that, for in garden history it fills a page of its own. His nature, a happy blend of the characters of his parents, is very clearly brought out in this his darling home. Even while he was crown prince, he was busy pursuing his love for fruit culture,

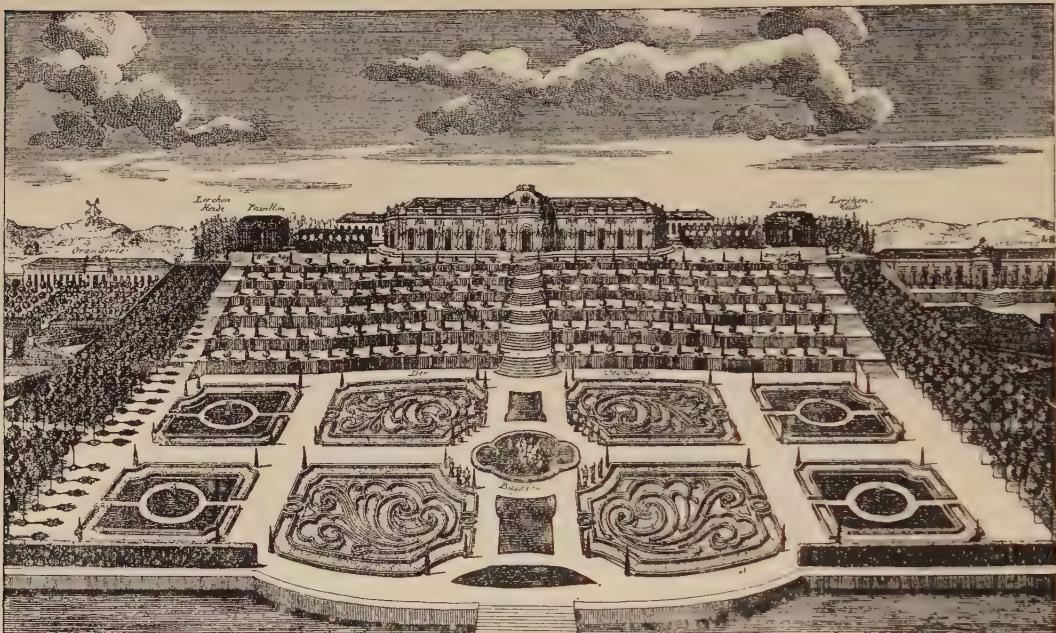


FIG. 510. SANS-SOUCI, POTSDAM—THE TERRACE GARDEN

and in his garden at Neuruppin he had made himself a vineyard and an orchard, which he had called Amalthea, proving that he read his Cicero with love and understanding. At Rheinsberg he tried yet another experiment, for he had his vineyard made in the form of a labyrinth with a temple of Bacchus in the centre.

Now that he was king he desired to make nothing more nor less at Sans-Souci than a great pleasure-garden with a hill planted with vines in the middle. Whether at first his sole intention was to make the hill and the little house—at first called Vigne, which suggests this idea—is not of moment now, the less so as in the first year the garden already showed an important extension in proportion to the house that was actually built. The main thing for us is that in the eighteenth century, which had created gardens purely for pleasure and banished all and every special kind of cultivation of particular things, when every minor prince and every wealthy private person regarded these luxurious pleasure-grounds as theatres for displaying their riches and their power, this king unconcernedly harked back to a stage in garden history that seemed long since super-

seded and abandoned. And just as that primitive garden was made, which we hear of in the ancient days of the Egyptians, so Frederick devised a scheme whereby everything was grouped about the vines, which served as a centre. For the vineyard terrace (Fig. 510), on whose high ground the king erected his pleasant summer-house, the most southerly aspect was carefully selected. The grapes must have friendly sunshine, and so the supporting walls were sloped, and made a sort of parabola, so as to get for the more precious kinds every ray of sun that the northern clime could yield. In winter they were protected from frosts by glass. On this centre for the cultivation of vines Frederick the Great concentrated all the skill that the science of his own age could supply. In the middle of his projecting terraces, whose very object made their lines beautiful, there rose broad stairs, and at the sides were gently ascending paths made secure by stone-work. The narrow terraces were cut off in front by low hedges of yew clipped into pyramids, and at the back there were in summer orange-trees and pomegranates in flower.

The castle at the top is reminiscent of the first state of Mon Bijou with its low windows, and in spite of its grandeur it never loses its character of a country place. On each side of the upper terrace was a bosket adorned with statues, and covered walks with pavilions flanking the house: in one of these was the beautiful Praying Boy now in the museum at Berlin. There were many busts and vases, but in this upper part there was no parterre. The first one was laid out at the foot of the terraces round a large basin, with a group of gilded statues in the middle. The end of the parterre was made by a canal that crossed one of the terraces and went on farther round the whole park. On the far side of the canal was an avenue with two sphinxes at the upper end, leading to two summer-houses: rows of trees bordered this garden. It had been the king's first idea to make a little vintage-house here, "*une espèce de vide bouteille*," writes the friend of his young days at Rheinsberg, Bielefeld, in 1794, "*mais ce vide bouteille commença par être une retraite de Roi et finit par former un palais d'été digne de Frédéric. S.M. en traça Elle même le premier dessein.*" Two pen-and-ink drawings confirm these statements.

The king's architect Knobelsdorf carried out the



FIG. 511. SANS-SOUCI—GENERAL PLAN

completed plan, but Frederick insisted on making the final decisions about every detail, hence no doubt amateurish features are to be seen in places. Sans-Souci really became little by little a Marly to the king. It was not in the main axis of the castle that the garden was widened, but at both sides on the slopes of the hill (Fig. 511). On the top the king made on each side of his house another one-storied building, on the west side a small shelter for horsemen (at first intended for an orangery, and looking out on a cherry-garden), and on the east the picture-gallery. From this a terrace-garden descended. The dividing walls, which were covered with shells, led down by steps and grottoes into the so-called Dutch garden, a *parterre d'émail*, laid out with glass beads and Dutch vases for ornament. Semicircular *berceaux* led to a lower balustraded terrace. Another small



FIG. 512. SANS-SOUCI, POTSDAM—THE COLONNADE IN THE PARK

secluded garden, which still breathes the spirit of Frederick, lies farther to the east of this one; on the top is a grotto of Neptune with the god, and nymphs and tritons escorting him. A sort of nymphæum was in the mind's eye of the king in this part of the garden. He had planned handsome water-works, which were to feed this grotto and others; also cascades, but he was badly misled—a most unusual thing at that time—and much to his chagrin, he could never get enough water for them.

By the side of the nymphæum, at the foot of the hill, was the chief entrance to the garden, a semicircular gateway with beautiful doors in the middle, and made with double columns, which at one time also had convenient low doors. They were unfortunately replaced by the immense, ostentatious gates fit for an exhibition, which now quite spoil the delicate beauty of the entrance. From this part there is a wide, very long avenue leading first through a front garden, and then right through the main parterre and across the whole of the park (Fig. 511), which extends on the west of the castle, and was originally meant for deer and pheasants. Behind the parterre this main axis again passes through boskets

ornamentally laid out with statues and basins, and goes on to the wall at the end, which separates the pleasure-garden proper on the west side from the park, meeting near the middle of the park the Marble Colonnade (Fig. 512), a charming building made by Knobelsdorf. This was an imitation of the colonnade of the bosquet at Versailles, but unfortunately it was broken up later, so that its columns could be given to the marble palace built in the reign of Frederick William II. As an end and *point de vue* a great grotto construction was contemplated, but after the Seven Years' War the New Palace was built a little behind, and the grotto had to give place to this.



FIG. 513. SANS-SOUCI, POTSDAM—THE CHINESE TEA-HOUSE

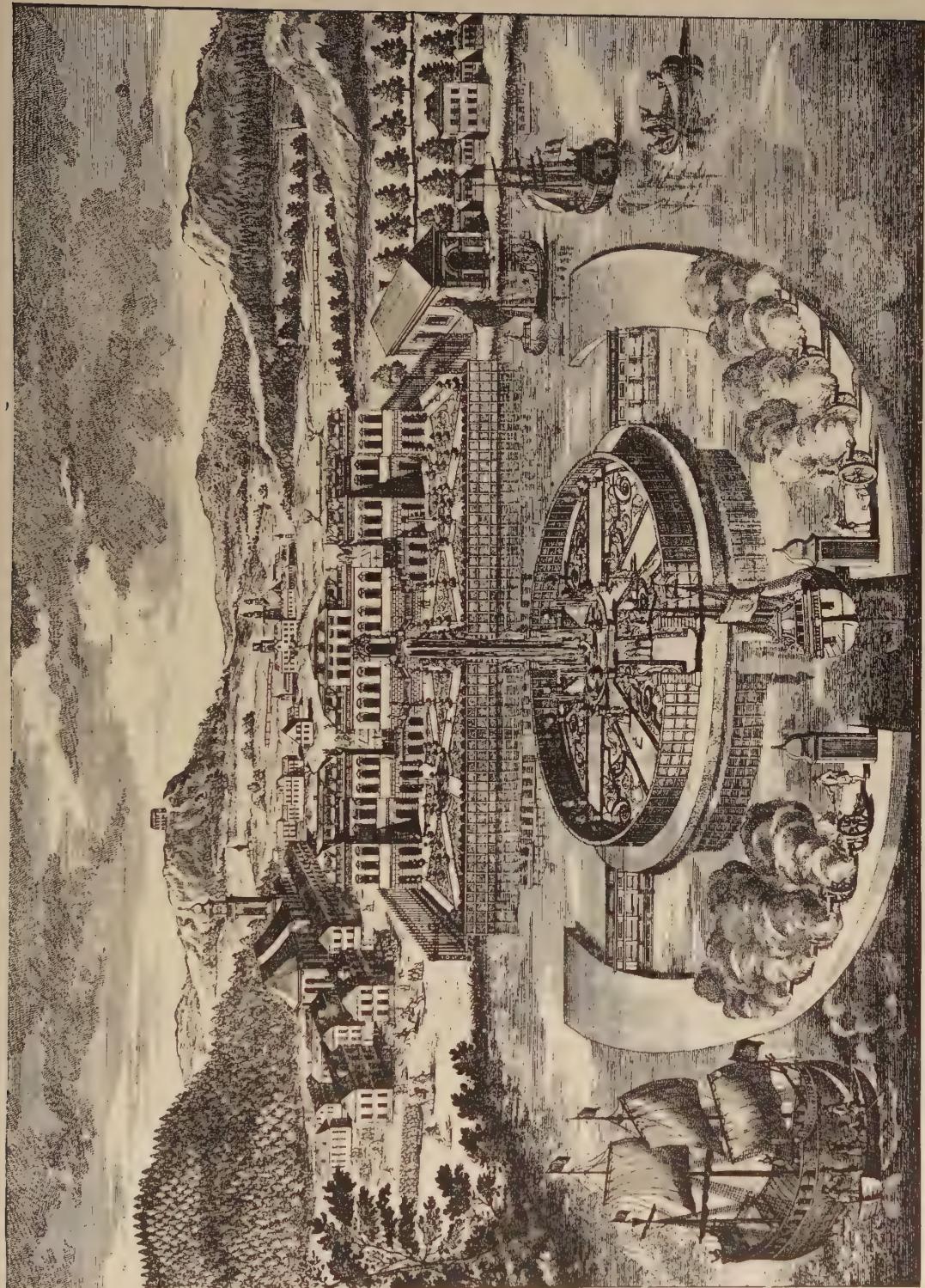
In the park itself the king had several small buildings set up, so as to bring the northern hill into connection with it, and among them the beautiful Belvedere, a two-storied rotunda with Corinthian columns round it on the north-western slope. Below was a Chinese pagoda; and farther to the east, immediately above the castle, Roman ruins were built on the hill. Round them there was to be a reservoir, and they were to give a *point de vue* for the rather long colonnade, which is in front of the back façade of the castle. In the south-east corner of the park there was still standing, a little while before the Seven Years' War broke out, the Chinese Tea-House (Fig. 513), one of the most freakish attempts in this foreign style. The cheerful little rotunda has an overhanging roof with a Chinaman on the top, supported on gilded palm-trunks; round these columns are grouped Chinese figures taking tea. The whole place is merely a fancy, and it lies prettily in the middle of a space bordered with hedges, which opens on three of its sides into small grass paths, narrowing as they advance. Vases made of Misnian porcelain stand at the end.

Before the Seven Years' War the park itself was crossed by straight avenues. But in the meanwhile the new style had penetrated into Northern Germany, which was nearest to England. There were actual examples to be found here and there, and people were beginning in a cautious way—sometimes painfully and unintelligently—to obey the new gospel. The change in the park at Sans-Souci, which was effected after 1763 when the New Palace was put up, is a good example of the somewhat uncomfortable kind of compromise. What chiefly inspired the designers of these transition gardens was the dogma of the wavy "line of beauty." In various other gardens we have found the same idea, especially in the treatment of the small boskets, still more or less under the control of the laws of symmetry. But here the walks were allowed to run about, right and left of the middle axis—itself straight and happily not tampered with—in the oddest curves and windings. On both sides these paths were hedged, and would have given the impression of an endlessly long labyrinth to anyone strolling there, had they not been interrupted now and again by an opening with a view of some meadow landscape, which adjoined the narrow thicket at the side of the path. Especially unrestrained were the serpentine paths round about the Chinese tea-house; so possibly the notion of a labyrinth was intentional there. When we come to study the development of the fundamental principles of the English style, we will consider again the complete misunderstanding shown in this park.

It is certainly not to be regretted that the next state of this garden was not merely in part, but entirely modern. Would that instead Sans-Souci's pleasure-gardens had been kept in their old form, and above all the great parterre! But here everything is upside-down. Because the new taste was partially adopted by way of compromise, the finest effect of Frederick's estate was lost through introducing woodland at the foot of the terraces. All the same, we can still enjoy the sight of the king's work, one of the greatest achievements of his days of peace, and easily disentangled from foreign trimmings. On the threshold of a new ideal of art, Frederick produced a work which was so clearly his own that it is difficult to speak of any decided influence, and to separate what is due to France and what to Italy. We must accept it as an expression of his personality.

The children of Queen Sophie Dorothea were all great garden lovers. One of the sisters of the King of Prussia, Louisa Ulrica, we shall meet again in connection with her work in Sweden. The favourite sister, the Margravine of Bayreuth, most like her brother in many ways, says herself that she has so beautified her hermitage that it is now "one of the loveliest places in Germany." Wilhelmine married into a family which loved building. From the beginning of the eighteenth century her husband's forbears had built one pleasure-castle after another round the Residence at Bayreuth. At the attractive place called St. Georgen (Fig. 514) there was a little lake with a round island in it, gay with garden-beds and fountains. Here there was a mock-fortification afloat, much the same as at Moritzburg. The margrave could watch water-fights and competitions from his pleasant castle. At first this was in separate buildings, each divided into three parts, and with parterres on both sides; later, when a larger castle was built, a small town was added at the back of the Residence, and was laid out in regular lines. The founder of St. Georgen, the Margrave George William, also had a hermitage set up. This was certainly not intended to imitate Marly; but from outside the unhewn stone was to create the impression that the rooms were really cells; and if they did not succeed in looking so, at any rate the margrave, his wife, and the court, lived there dressed as hermits, and had a little bell that summoned them to prayer.

FIG. 514. ST. GEORGEN, BAYREUTH—CASTLE AND GARDEN



Wilhelmine altered the castle when she had it as a personal gift from her husband, but without quite taking away its original character. In her graphic description of her "Tusculum," she says:

The house has no architectural adornment outside, and it might be taken for a ruin among rocks. But in the front there is a parterre with flowers, and there is a cascade in the background, which seems to start from a fissure in the rock; it falls towards the hill, and empties into a great basin. Every path through the wood leads to some hermitage, and they are all quite apart. The view from mine is the ruin of a temple, made on the model of those that have remained from old Roman times. I have dedicated it to the Muses; and inside there are portraits of all the famous learned men of the century: Descartes, Leibnitz, Locke,

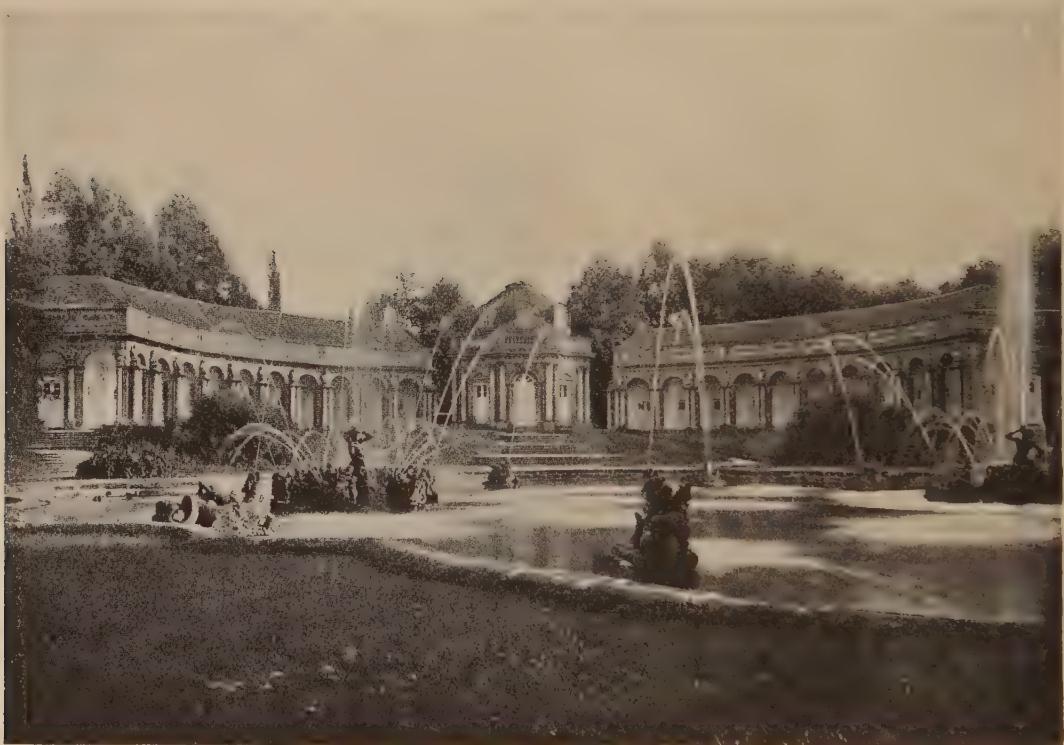


FIG. 515. THE HERMITAGE AND ORANGERY, BAYREUTH

Newton, Voltaire, Maupertuis, etc. There is a round hall at the side; there are also two smaller rooms, and a little kitchen which I have had decorated with old Raphael porcelain. Going out of the small rooms you come to a little garden, at whose entrance stands a ruined portico.... Higher up you meet with a surprise in the way of novelties. You come upon a theatre of freestone, with arches at intervals, where operas can be performed in the open air.

Below this truly sentimental place the same princess had a new castle built, the so-called orangery, which was to be an imitation (of a kind) of the Great Trianon, and gives a surprisingly good and full picture of the great style of the seventeenth century, by its striking arrangement of arcades (Fig. 515) and wonderful water-works, all within a severely regular garden parterre. Bayreuth offers us a good example of the inquiring, ever-restless eclecticism of those days. There are ideas and to spare everywhere, and old and new are alike seized upon, and sometimes subjected to the former criterion of style. The inner part of the orangery includes a curious room, which no doubt came into

existence after Wilhelmine's time. On the walls is depicted a garden, with a fountain in the middle and a low grating, with climbing plants reaching up to tall trees; in the foliage there appear ripe oranges and exotic birds. All this is carved and painted in many colours, and mounts up to the ceiling, which is like a blue sky with white clouds (Fig. 516). A long chain of ancestors unites this fantastic place with ancient garden-rooms, but still the chain seems to have reached its end in the clumsy naturalistic hermitage at Bayreuth. What most attracts us there is the atmosphere of the lively sister of Frederick the Great.



FIG. 516. THE HERMITAGE, BAYREUTH—A GARDEN-ROOM

The hermitage, however, was no exception at that time. If we read the descriptions of gardens in travellers' books about the middle of the century, we shall understand that the pleasure-castles, with the precious collections, and the gardens, were the main stages or goals for travellers of the period. And this was not so in Germany alone, for we meet the same thing in countries which were now first open to the research of eager travellers, such as the Scandinavian peninsula and Russia.

SWEDEN

Queen Christina first introduced the ideas of France into her country in the middle of the seventeenth century. In the first bright days of her actual reign she hoped to gather round her a splendid court of the Muses, and she summoned to her side André Mollet, the son of that Mollet whom Henry IV. had employed in France. He had left England

some time before because of the Civil War and he now came to Sweden. In 1651 Mollet published at Stockholm his book called *Le Jardin de Plaisir*, which he dedicated to the queen, and which influenced the theory of gardening. Unfortunately he does not say for which garden he designed his *parterres en broderie*, *compartiments de gazon*, *bosquets*, but the style seems to indicate one of the best Swedish seats, Jakobsdal, which after the year 1684 was known as Ulrichsdal, after Prince Ulrich. The castle came into being between 1642 and 1644 (Fig. 517). A set of fine engravings by Perelle show the state of the garden, as it was laid out about the middle of the century by Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie. It was improved by Queen Hedwig Eleonora, widow of Charles X., who possessed the place after 1669.

The castles of Sweden owed their chief charm and beauty to their great stretches of water. The house as a rule either has the sea close to it, or has one of the great lakes, as here, on two sides. The main approach is by water, the others are by the garden. Jakobsdal

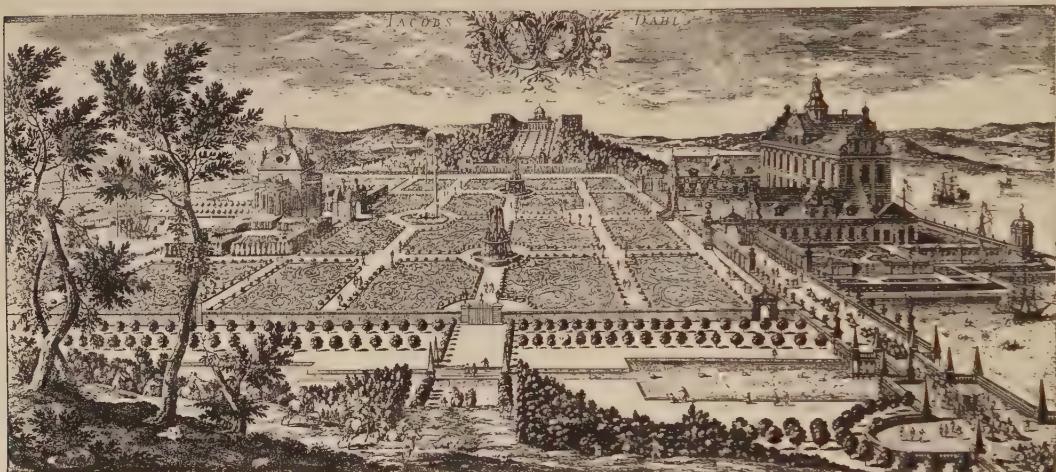


FIG. 517. JAKOBSDAL, SWEDEN

stands on a terrace, which is washed on three sides by the waters of the gulf. A wonderful balustraded approach leads from the landing-place to the fine Renaissance building, which on the garden side has two wide wings standing about a paved court. A carriage road with balustrades serves as the approach on one side to this terrace. There is an ascent by very wide steps to the large parterre. There are sixteen *compartiments* laid out in the style of Mollet, connected by dwarf trees with statues in the corners and three fountains. In the main axis and in front of the castle is a domed building, in a grove which contains a grotto. Farther along on both sides of the middle walk there are two vivariums, the one on the left ornamented with a dragon fountain, at the foot of a wild grotto hill: here Andromeda is fixed to the rock, and Perseus appears leaping down from the heights. To the right of the castle the park climbs up the hill, and broad steps lead to the summer-house called Marienberg, after Magnus Gabriel's wife. Lying along at the foot of the hill is the orange-garden. On the other side a canal widens out into two basins and joins the sea. This garden is one which ranks Mollet, if we may assume that the design is really his, among the outstanding artists of his time, just as his father was. The style of the French Renaissance, visible everywhere, has adapted itself most happily to the magnificent situation of this castle.

In Dahlberg's *Views of the Swedish Castles of the Year 1735* we find several smaller gardens clearly showing the Renaissance character, and of these Jakobsdal is the finest. The paths are covered with trellis arbour-work running crosswise, as in the pretty little garden at Eckholm, or the parterre at Mirby engraved by Perelle. But most of them show the influence of Le Nôtre, which was quite irresistible here after the end of the seventeenth century. Hedwig Eleonora in particular was devoted to the laying-out of gardens and their beautification. Her favourite place was the Castle of Drottningholm (Fig. 518). She found a mediaeval castle on one of the islands in Lake Mälaren, and she began to make alterations in 1661. This castle also stood on a raised terrace, and its approach was by water from an oval-shaped harbour. The garden lay towards the south, and showed the influence of Versailles more than any other in Sweden; its fine parterre was laid out in patterns of box, with a border of clipped trees and flowers. In the centre, steps in the open mount up by a wide middle walk to a basin with a Hercules fountain. After this comes the water-parterre, some steps lower, with eight round or oval basins and fountains. At the end of it there is one of those water-roads that French gardens adopted from Italy. This part ends on the left with an oval basin, with a cascade blocking the view on the other side. Beyond the water-parterre are elaborate bosquets. On the west of the large parterre is an immense pond with an island on it, and adjoining it a park for deer with straight walks cutting through it. The fine scheme is completed with a menagerie site made in concentric circles on the south-east.

In the second half of the eighteenth century this garden was destined to flourish once again, loved and tended by another queen, Frederick the Great's sister, Louisa Ulrica. She, like her brother and her sister at Bayreuth, found the greatest joy of her life

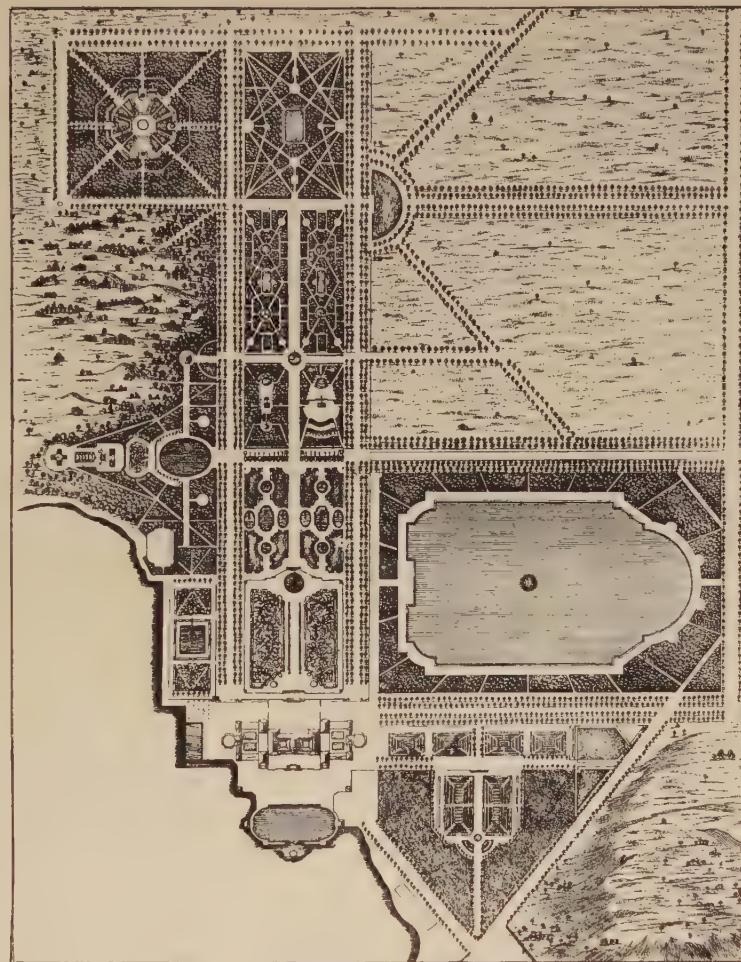


FIG. 518. DROTTNINGHOLM, SWEDEN—GROUND-PLAN

in the study of literature and art, and she also had inherited from her mother a delight in collecting things, and in the splendour of her surroundings. "All the queen's rooms are most beautiful," says a traveller of that day. She, like Hedwig Eleonora, chose Drottningholm for her favourite dwelling-place and furnished the inside of the castle with collections of porcelain, Chinese and Japanese carpets, pieces of furniture, and pictures. The garden, and still more the park, were now equipped with all kinds of fashionable nooks and corners in accordance with the feeling of the time. In the park, a gun-shot distance from the garden, Louisa Ulrica set up an entire little colony, which she called China. Round a plot of ground there were pretty little houses in the Chinese style, the chief one adorned with tables of lacquer and Chinese figures. There was a Chinese pagoda with a bell-tower, also Chinese vases in porcelain, and gilt statues. The whole place was



FIG. 519. CARLSBERG, SWEDEN

enclosed with a dense border of firs, that made it dark. Hirschfeld speaks of another place with little buildings which shows the queen's affection for China: "It lies at the end of the French garden and is called Canton."

The largest of the Swedish castles is Carlsberg (Fig. 519), but the garden has not the individual character of Drottningholm, though the approach is similarly by way of the lake. Behind the house is a semicircular piece with a narrow border of flowers, and behind that are dense thickets, with immediately at the back, parterres round a large pond in a wide open space. As this garden lies towards the north, the tall trees round the house are to keep off the cold winds. Near the house itself this was made up for by handsome side parterres, which keep a decidedly Renaissance aspect, being treated partly as hanging gardens. Round about them there is a great park, penetrated by avenues that run out in the form of a star, and this park has kept its French character to a great extent even to the present day.

It follows from the situation of castles like these, that the real importance which the canal acquired for French gardens is here superseded, for the outlook over the lake or the sea fulfils the object of the canal, though in quite another fashion.

DENMARK

The gardens of Denmark developed under similar conditions to those of Sweden. Very little has remained of those that lay around the proud castles of the Renaissance, and the ones that show most traces of the period are the gardens of Frederiksborg at Copenhagen (Fig. 520). The front courts and castle buildings are on three islands connected by bridges, at the side of which is a small parterre, also on an island. The chief garden reaches to the north bank of the lake, and because of this situation has renounced all allegiance to a connected ground-plan, though the house does stand in the central axis-line. The arrangement of the parterre, which has a canal going out from it and cutting through the boskets, certainly belongs to the seventeenth century. The plan of the castle of Hirschholm is like this, and stands on islands which are joined by bridges upon a lake. Both house and parterres follow an axial line upon the islands, and are shut in by groves round the bank (Fig. 521).

A typical castle of the French kind is Fredensborg (Fig. 522), which was built to commemorate the Peace between Sweden and Denmark. The garden and park are now the best in Denmark. The castle lies high above the Essommer Lake, and its grounds reach down on the left side of the building, on the east. The garden is in many respects like Hampton Court, but its semicircular parts are united with its buildings in a more original way. There is an octagonal court, and in front of the garden there are seven avenues passing like rays into the park, but first leaving room for a semicircular parterre, and to the right and left for two boskets enclosed by hedges. A semicircular avenue of limes passes round this decorative place, and makes an outside border for the avenues. The middle walk has four rows of trees like Versailles, and a wide view over lawns with statues on them. Instead of the canal cutting across here, there is the shining Essommer Lake to help the view. It forms the end and *point de vue* of the western avenues, which all wend their way to the water.

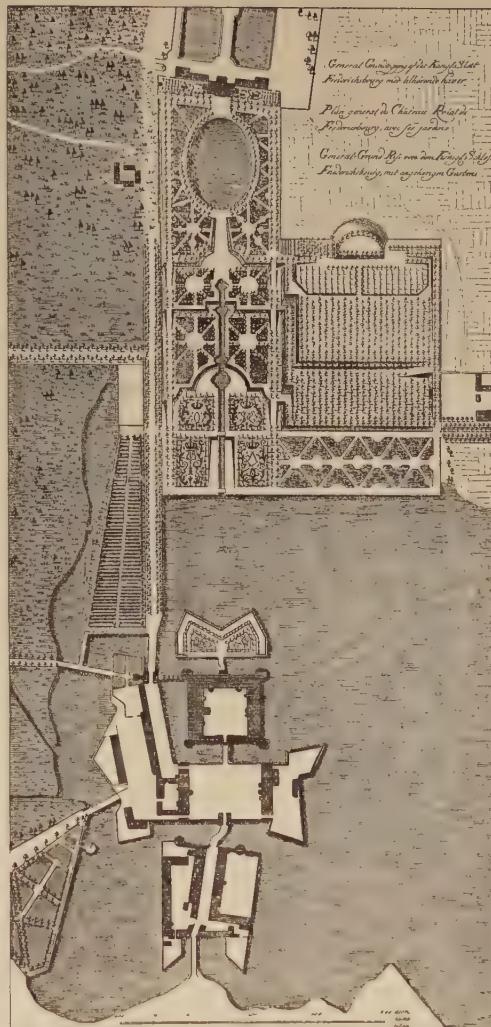


FIG. 520. FREDERIKSBORG, COPENHAGEN—GROUND-PLAN

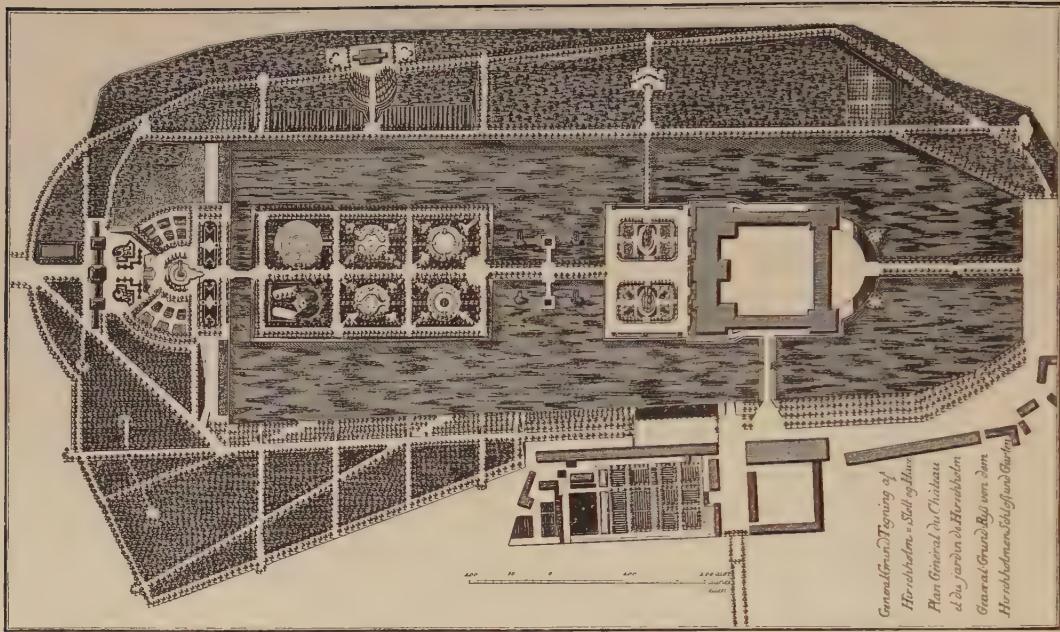


FIG. 521. HIRSCHHOLM, DENMARK—GROUND-PLAN

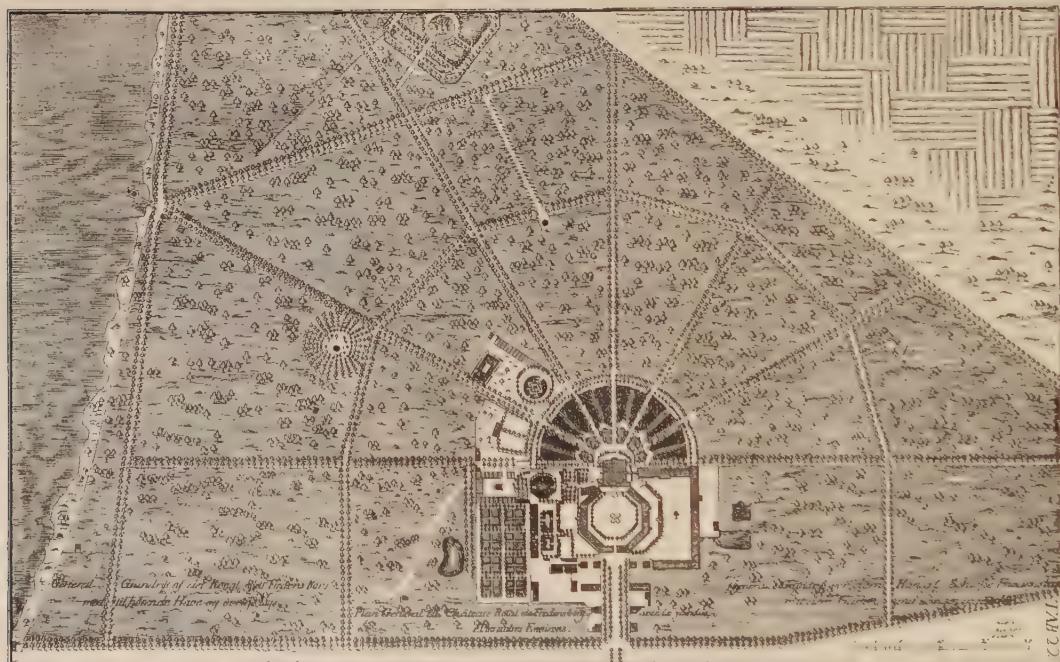


FIG. 522. FREDENSBORG, DENMARK—GROUND-PLAN OF THE GARDENS

RUSSIA

Russia enters into the history of gardening much later than any of the countries we have written about, and it is impossible to speak of any individual cultivation before the days of Peter the Great, in the first third of the eighteenth century.

The information is very scanty about the summer residences of the emperors at Moscow. Up to the end of the seventeenth century we find nothing but wooden buildings, very subject to danger from fire, and these first had gardens made round them in the reign of Peter the Great. But after Petersburg was founded, there arose not only the palaces of emperor and nobles, but gardens as well; the Tsar had learned to recognise the earlier examples, having studied them on his travels in Holland, England, and Germany. He knew far better how to protect the gardens at his own home against his barbarous troops, than how to protect those foreign gardens and homes which he had ravaged on his travels. In 1714 he made a great garden at the summer palace on the so-called Admiralty Island, which was made by the River Neva with her canalised arms, and has now disappeared. Here he and his followers adopted all the ideas that the style of the time had to give. The parterres with their grand waters, cascades and playing streams, the plantations with their tall espaliers, were all adorned with works by famous Italian sculptors; also antiques were brought, for they were always to be had, while in the park there were various summer-houses, and a bosket with fountains illustrating *Æsop's Fables*, as at Versailles, as well as a menagerie with valuable beasts.

For the grotto which Peter made, as also for the water-works, he engaged the great architect Schlüter of Berlin, who had left his own home, in a state of discontent, to find a new field of activity in the Tsar's service, but the very next year died in Petersburg without having done anything. The French artist Le Blond fared better, for he was at once entrusted by the Tsar with a most important piece of work. Opposite the town, at the south of the gulf, the Tsar had built a little house on the shore, before he was attracted in 1715 by a beautiful spot where he built a pleasure-castle, which he named Peterhof. This was on a natural terrace twelve metres in height, where the hilly part of it falls away somewhat towards the land (Fig. 523). Of course it was intended to rival the French Residence, and so French artists were called in. The plans came straight from Paris, and there was nothing to hold Le Blond back from getting on with the castle and garden.

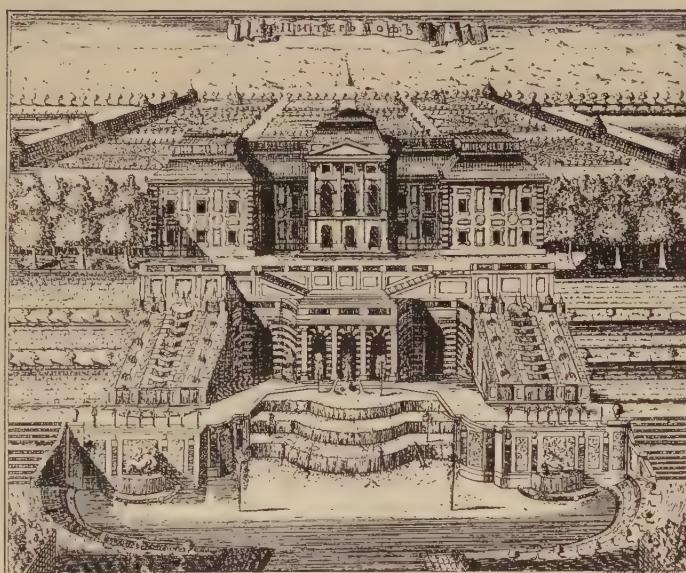


FIG. 523. PETERHOF, RUSSIA—THE CASCADE AND UPPER GARDEN

The great advantage here was that they did not have to concern themselves much with underground operations; but the planting of the vegetation was no trifling matter, and whole shiploads of trees and plants were procured. The interior of Russia supplied elm and maple, and we are told that 40,000 trees were brought. Then came beeches, limes, and fruit-trees from Western Europe. Foreign specimens were brought from the ends of the earth, and in spite of the long winters flourished and still flourish. With these the whole of the lower part, from the sea to the lofty terrace, was planted and laid out as a park, with a great variety of fountains, which marked the crossways of the main avenues.

There is one cross-road which starts from a little house called *Monplaisir*, built



FIG. 524. PETERHOF, RUSSIA—CASCADE AND CANAL

on the strand by Peter in a pretty little garden in the Dutch style. It leads to a second small building, and this is named Marly—another reminiscence of France. Behind the Marly pond falls a cascade, glittering on gilded steps. The boskets contain, among many other water-devices, some weeping trees; little did Madame de Montespan know what an effect she would work with that boscage which she designed. But Peter also was very fond of fairy-tales and fantasies; in his little hermitage there was a real “table-be-covered,” which at the sound of a bell rose out of the ground and vanished again. This park was divided in half by a sort of large waterway in the middle axis of the castle (Fig. 524). A double cascade falls from a terrace in front of the castle down into a wide basin. There is a grotto beside it, with sets of seven steps in coloured marble, and on them a series of gilt statues. In the basin is Samson on a rock, tearing open the lion’s mouth, from which a great column of water goes up. From here a quiet canal flows seaward, and buildings

at the harbour help the disembarking and landing from the royal ships. On both sides of the canal there is a walk with fountains which throw silver showers up and down upon the dark tall firs, and various masks spurt their waters into the canal. There is a cheerful open garden beside the cascade, and the terrace steps on either side are decorated with dwarf trees, while on the flat there is always a basin with beds of flowers. Above, in front of the castle, there is an incomparable view, for right over the lower garden and the water's edge, which so soon was covered with fine country houses and gardens following the king's example, the eye sweeps right over the sea to the town with its golden domes, while far away on the right the Finnish coast appears. Behind the castle lies the upper garden (Fig. 523) with its fountains and the Neptune in the middle; here all travellers praise the lovely clear waters that the hills of Peterhof pour out in profusion. Hence proceeded wide star-shaped avenues, passing through the park above, and meeting at one point on the hill, whence it is possible to see all the views skilfully and pleasingly combined.

The French artists, using the nature of the ground, cleverly created a wonderful picture. This garden is clearly a symbol of all Petersburg culture, which at that time was the scion of a French stock. For western eyes there was too much gold and glitter and too many colours used in other castles as well as in this one, in accordance with the Russian taste and feeling. There is a story that the French ambassador, when he first saw Karskoje-Selo, Queen Catherine's castle, exclaimed that there was nothing wanting but a case to protect this jewel in bad weather. The short reign of the French garden came to an end with this castle. Catherine was so modern a ruler that she laid out her garden in the new English style, the first one in Russia, and greatly admired.

In all these countries of Northern Europe the art of gardening reached its highest point in the eighteenth century. We have not found any fine display of new ideas, but French art absorbed and embraced within its wide boundaries much of the individual peculiarities of the different countries, and their various changes in taste during these hundred years. Variety was the charmed word that led them to their pinnacle. All the same, this variety had to be united with a definite and abiding form in the main lines. We have seen as we went along how economic and political conditions prepared the soil for garden development in the course of this century.

ITALY

We do not find the southern countries, especially Italy, so much inclined to adopt a thoroughgoing change as Russia was. Italy had no doubt given up the leadership to France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was fully conscious of that country's superiority. So the art of Le Nôtre was supposed to have done the impossible, and villas like Ludovisi and Albani were quoted as works of his, whereas one was much before his time and the other was made after his death. But this want of precise knowledge at Rome was the best possible proof that the spirit of Le Nôtre and his northern feeling for style had not vanished from Roman minds. Only thus could it have been possible for such a really Roman villa to be created as the Villa Albani so late as the year 1740. Certain concessions made by the cardinal to the taste that was then the fashion penetrated (somewhat timidly and, so to speak, unintelligently) into nooks and corners. The

small garden, sunk below the so-called coffee-house, tries to be a sort of bosket in the park. At the side of the coffee-house there are steps leading down to an artificial ruin, such as was talked about so much, and this one was built as a bird-house. The part at the back of the coffee-house had a country-like appearance, and it looked out on a cascade, which plunged down into an elongated basin like a canal. But the canal passed between walls to the back entrance of the garden. This part, which was quite small, would have found its proper place in a northern park; but here, shut in by walls on every side, it looks most odd when one walks down to it from the thoroughly Roman parts on the upper terraces.

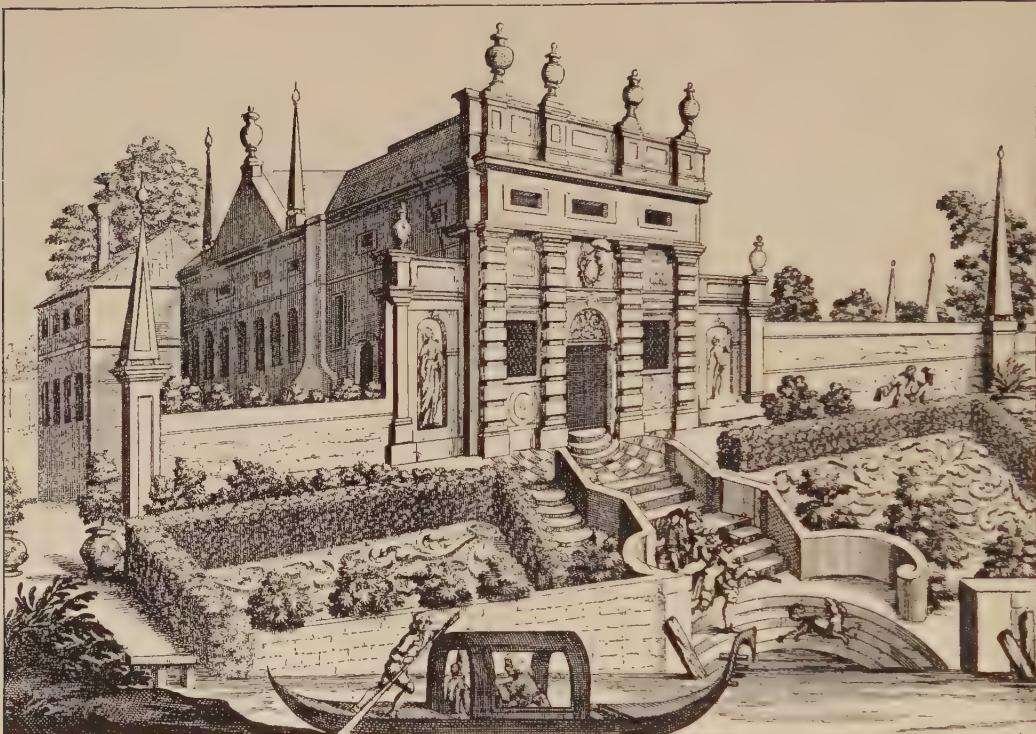


FIG. 525. PALAZZO VENIER ON THE BRENTA

All the classical alterations made in the larger villas had been at least hinted at before; and there was seldom any progress made in this direction, even though there was nothing at present so fatal as the English landscape style, whose approach was imminent.

For Northern Italy the French style was necessarily important, because the level ground of the plains of Lombardy was suited to it. The nobility of Milan and Turin always had French sympathies, and, like the towns on the other side of the Alps, these looked to France for the patterns of their own villas. Moreover, country houses sprang up on what there was of terra firma in Venice, and these were clothed with French gardens and parks. A collection of Da Costa's engravings, called *Delizie del Fiume di Brenta* (*The Beauties of the River Brenta*) show the villas and palaces (Fig. 525), as they were when Goethe saw them, when leaving behind "many a lordly garden, many a lordly palace," he proceeded by the beautiful Brenta to Venice, his longed-for goal, on 28 September, 1786.

Nowadays the gardens of these villas of the Venetian terra firma have either completely

vanished or have been badly kept. The largest and most important of them is Palazzo Pisani, built in grand style for the noble family of the Pisani about 1740. The garden is on large lines, but has no importance for the history of art. In the same way the neighbourhood of Milan felt the influence of France; and of the gardens there, we have engravings on copper in *Ville e Delizie di Milano* by Dal Res, published in 1773. Almost all are of much the same design: parterres and groves in the French style, and a small summer-house here and there in the park.

The Villa Castellazzo has in some measure preserved its old state. The great parterre,

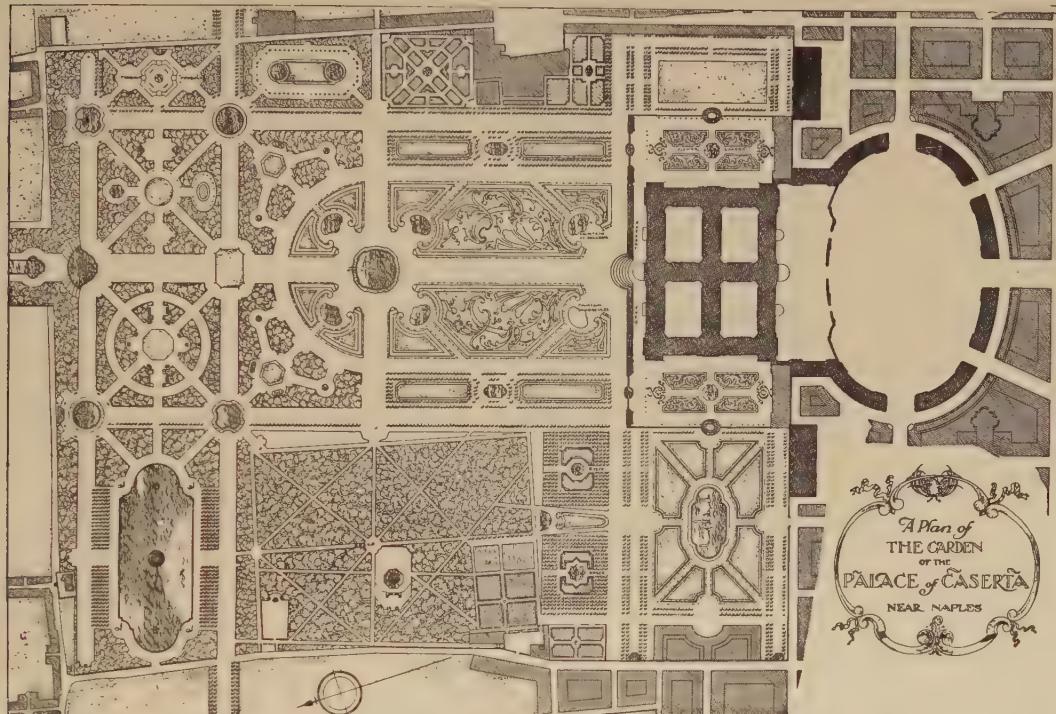
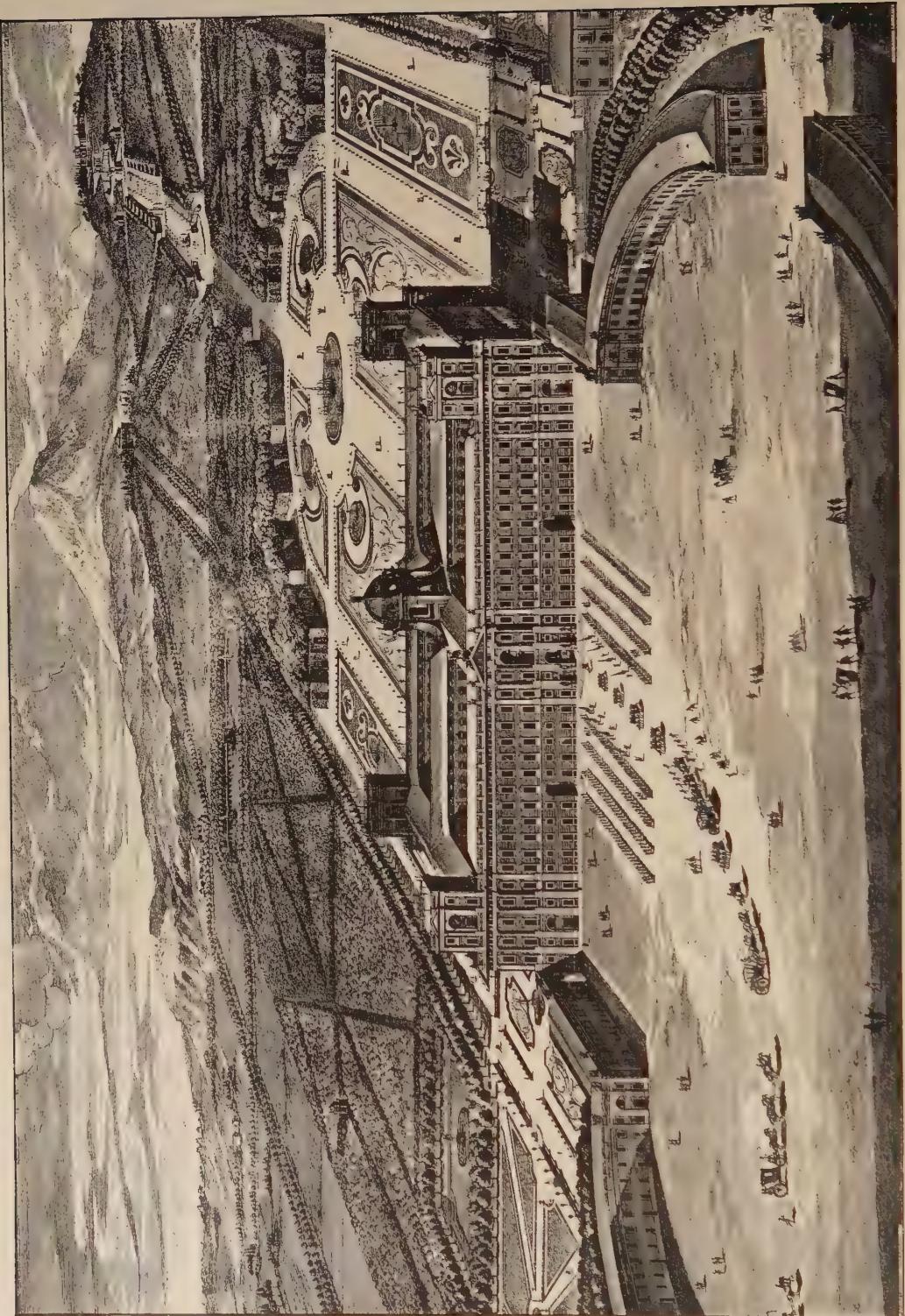


FIG. 526. CASERTA, ITALY—GROUND-PLAN OF THE PARTERRE

with boskets all round and mostly on the north, lies in front of a side wing in which is the principal room of the house. The park begins behind at a closed door, near a semicircular plot with a Hercules on it. By the side of the boskets, which enclose fountains, labyrinths, and statues, a wide avenue leads past a green theatre to the Diana fountain, a very charming but quite Italian spot, which is the more important through having to the north of it a thicket with bird-decoy and aviary, forming the end of the garden.

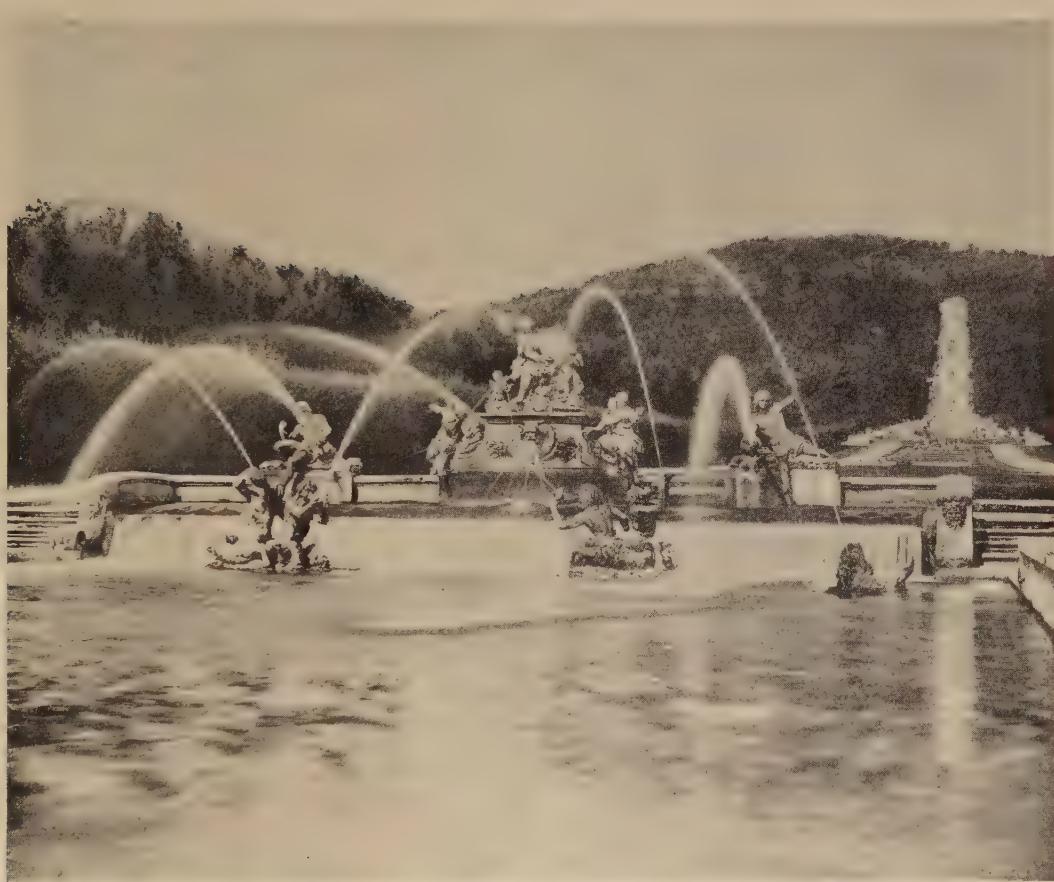
Wherever the Bourbons came with their changing fortunes we perceive French influence. When the son of Philip V. of Spain, Charles III. (who was sole heir through his mother of the Farnese family), came to Parma in 1731, he laid out the great public garden that is still there by the side of the little Palazzo del Giardino, built in the sixteenth century. In its present condition this garden suggests something foreign that has pushed in from the North, especially as the high box hedges bordering the paths that run through the boskets are stripped of their statuary, and the parterres are not kept up with their

FIG. 527. CASERTA, ITALY—PRINCIPAL VIEW OF THE CASTLE AND GARDENS



old patterns. Charles proceeded to Naples as king in 1734, and after he had at length secured recognition from the Powers, he desired to give proper expression to his might and dignity by building a gigantic castle in the fashion of his northern ancestors. In 1752 the architect Vanvitelli began to make a castle at the little town of Caserta, and this was to be the greatest palace in the world (Fig. 527).

There was no doubt in the mind of the founder that this place would rival Versailles,



Photograph by Mrs. Aubrey Le Blond.

FIG. 528. CASERTA, ITALY—THE POOL OF THE GREAT CASCADE

garden and all. The building, with its four great courts, was entered through a gigantic fore-court, oval in shape. By the side were parterres of flowers, and an orangery was on lower ground on the east, as at Versailles. On the other side there was a riding-course bordered by avenues in the Roman fashion. A series of steps leads from the castle terrace to the great parterre, which was embedded in bosquets with basins and fountains (Figs. 526, 527). Neither the parterre nor the surrounding groves show any original features. The effect of the whole must have depended on the cascade, which fell from the hill opposite into the main axis of the castle. Above, it is cut off by a terrace which gives a fine view. The water falls sheer fifty feet down into a pond, which is decked out with groups in Carrara marble, representing the story of Diana and Actæon (Fig. 528). Thence it falls from step to step, so superabundantly beset with statues that their white curving bodies are mingled

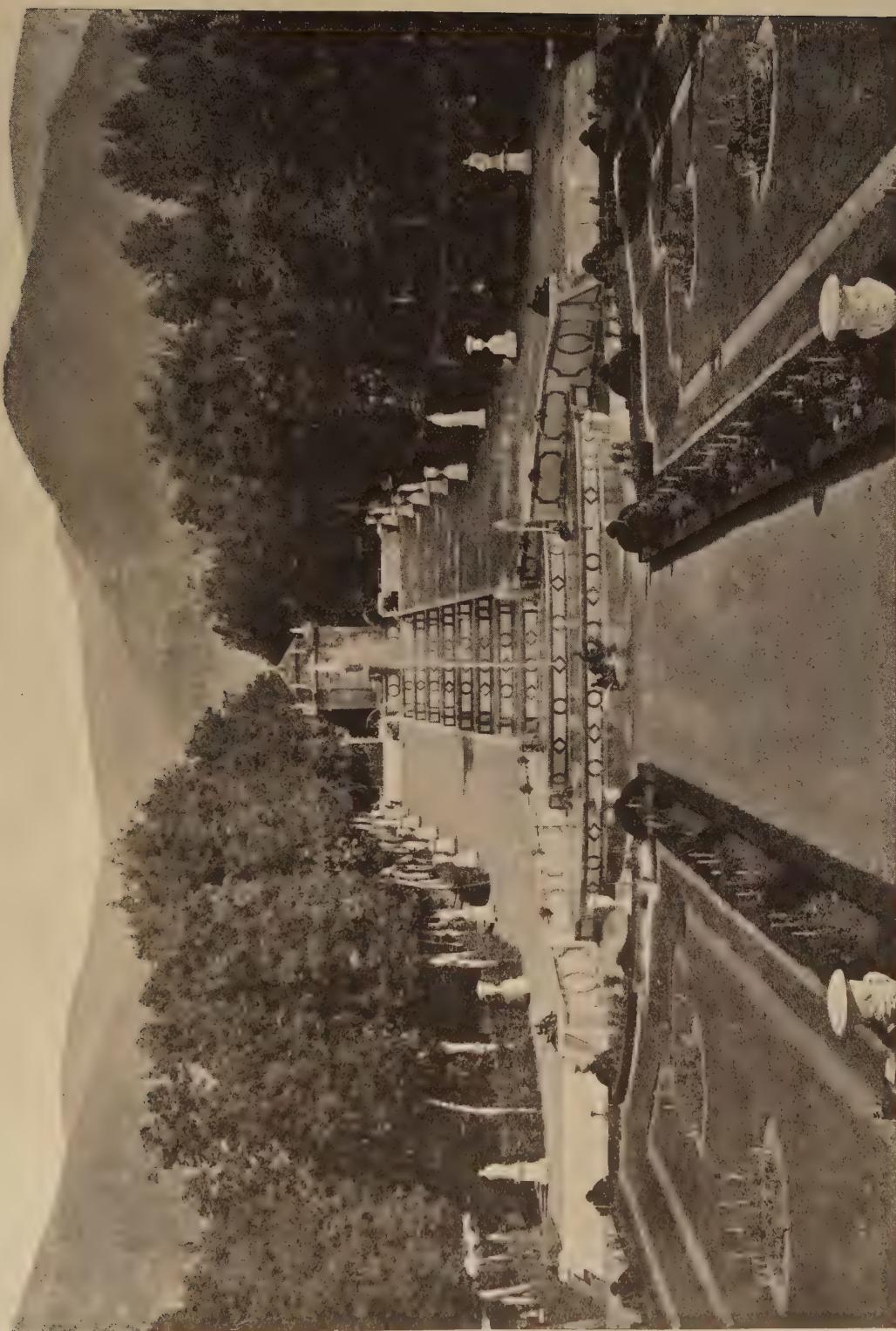
with the foaming, plunging waters, looking now like a solid stream, now like a moving shape, till they end at last in a great basin with statues representing Neptune's seat, close to the great parterre. There were tall hedges the whole length of the canal, and at the different stages there were marble steps on the bank. It made a majestic view, most astonishing for anyone who saw it suddenly from the frame of the gate as he emerged from the great corridor of the castle. But like the house with all its vastness, the cascade is wanting in good proportions, and one is struck by the absence of a great connected coherent scheme. We have only to compare with Caserta places of the good period, such as Villa Aldobrandini at Frascati, which show intelligent consideration of every detail, and therefore are never wearisome, but keep the whole picture uniform and noble.

SPAIN

The Bourbon Charles III. did not take any Italian villa nor even Versailles as the immediate model for Caserta, but the garden where he had spent his time as a boy, La Granja at San Ildefonso, north-west of Madrid. We saw that Buen Retiro was the last great creation of the Renaissance in Spain; and after Philip the Fourth's death, the whole of Spain slumbered while his son, a weak, lazy man, ruled, and things got worse and worse. In 1665 Aranjuez was burnt to the ground, and the king allowed it to lie in ruins during the whole of his reign—one thing typical of many.

After the War of Succession was over, the influence of France was entirely victorious with the House of Bourbon, both in architecture and in gardening. It is significant that there was now no question about the park at San Ildefonso being laid out by French artists, Carlier and Boutelet, in spite of the fact that Philip V. was melancholy, quite unfit to rule, had no will of his own, and was completely governed by his Italian wife, Elizabeth, a princess of Parma, of the Farnese family. She would naturally have preferred Italians as advisers and if possible as artists. We learn, however, from the whole history of the summer residence how much this French grandson of Louis XIV., yielding and easily influenced as he was, succumbed to the peculiar spiritual atmosphere of Spain. After the end of the War of Succession the king lived in an old, beautifully situated castle that had belonged to the monarchs of Castile, on the western slope of the Sierra de Guadarama, and from here he used to visit the hermitage of San Ildefonso, which was higher up the mountain. Henry IV. had before this, in 1477, laid out a farm there; it was near the hermitage, and he had presented it to the monks of Porral as a summer retreat. King Philip was very melancholy, and was only affected in a serious way by the beauties of nature and by music; so he was greatly attracted towards this lovely spot, which stood at a height of 1191 metres, and was overhung by the powerful crest of the Pico de Peñalara. He at once determined to put up a shelter here that should be the kernel and centre of a mighty castle and important large gardens. This reminds us of the wish of Louis XIV., who also intended to make himself a hermitage at Trianon, and at Marly, both of them being turned into castles and parks. Here in Spain, however, his grandson was directed to other paths; for added to his personal recollections of Versailles there was the thought of the Escorial, which was so sympathetic to his temperament; and the actual grouping of the castle buildings was very strongly influenced thereby.

FIG. 529. LA GRANJA, SAN ILDEFONSO—THE PRINCIPAL PARTERRE



It has rightly been conjectured that the kernel round which Louis XIV. framed his enormous place at Versailles was his own bed-chamber. At any rate, his private rooms were in the old castle of Louis XIII., and they were the actual centre for all later extensions. At San Ildefonso the centre was the old farm with its cloister court, the Patio de la Fuente, with the large collegiate church adjoining on the north-west, completely dominating the palace court. It was the first thing built and was consecrated as early as 1724. La Granja (the farm) was the name by which the whole royal estate was known. There can be no doubt at all that the park, which was the result of diligent anxious work during twenty years, really was meant to copy and rival world-famous Versailles. But in the struggle to overcome nature by art, La Granja is rather to be compared with Marly. Monstrous subterranean works were needed, on quite another scale from those at Versailles, so as to get level terraces and plots for gardens in the steep mountain cleft. Of one thing, however, they had enough and to spare, and that was water; it was used so lavishly that we are full of admiration for the artist's ideas. Some guardian angel seems to have protected this mountain-girt garden from such storms as worked destruction on the French castles, so that the greater part of it has been preserved in its original condition. Nature allowed herself to be mastered, and then added to art her beauties of marvellous plants, grand trees, and the giant frame of her everlasting hills; and this beauty Louis XIV., for all his powerful will, could never attain in the pleasant vale of Marly, to say nothing of the flat marshes round Versailles.

The artists at San Ildefonso never even remotely approached the noble schemes of Le Nôtre, and his masterly grasp of a whole. To the south-east and south-west the garden rises steeply, so that the part on the north-east is considerably lower. The chief parterre (Fig. 529) is treated in a comparatively simple way, and does not produce the same striking effect in relation to the waters as one gets in French places with the view from the middle windows of the castle. There is a semicircular basin, cutting off the two parterre beds, and a fountain of Amphitrite, at the foot of a marble cascade, which shows at the top a pretty two-shelled fountain of the Graces. The view at the back is cut off by a charming octagonal garden-house. The small garden here is quite independent and almost cut off from all the others, with statues at the side and hedges at the corners, and tall trees overhead which were once more closely cut back. The court of Philip V. had abandoned the idea of a show-garden, which as a middle axis should subordinate to itself every detail of the endless number of separate parts. The eighteenth century with its tendency to seclusion always growing stronger, shows feeling conspicuously here.

On the east of the palace, great steps lead to a parterre on a lower level, which is bounded by the canal on one side, and runs in the same direction as the chief parterre, ending in a far more splendid water arrangement. There is a basin approached by steps, with in front a Neptune fountain (Fig. 531), and behind it love-gods riding on sea-horses, called *Carreras de Caballos* (Fig. 530); this idea was developed by Charles in a far larger way later on at Caserta, and here the fountain formed the *point de vue* from the side windows of the castle. A further parterre, also in the same axial direction, is on the east, and ends in the Andromeda Fountain, a work of incredible boldness in the grouping of its figures, showing the utmost flexibility that statuary is capable of. A labyrinth of no great importance adds an attraction to the bosket on the east side.



FIG. 530. LA GRANJA, SAN ILDEFONSO, CARRERAS DE CABALLOS

All the western part of the park is absorbed in a region which has an importance of its own, in that it unites the tradition of Spain with a more unfettered French spirit. In the centre is a large octagonal place from which go out eight avenues, *ocho calles*. It is decorated with a single group, of Apollo and Pandora. The avenues are held together in pairs by a fountain with a large marble arch overhead. At the end, as the crowning point for these walks (arranged in two groups of four), there is set up another fountain of some importance, which independently acts as a central point for a round plot. The wide path which runs alongside the façade of the castle ends at the so-called Bath of Diana



FIG. 531. LA GRANJA, SAN ILDEFONSO—NEPTUNE GROUP

(Fig. 532), which is a place of waters similar to the French water-buffet, over-ornamented with marble architecture and bronze statues. From here the water descends in falls at the side, by fountains and in light cascades, into a large semicircular basin. The south-west façade forms the wall of the great court of honour, the Patio de la Herredura, which is joined by a parterre on the side (Fig. 533), which again ends in a colossal fountain-site, the Fuente de la Fama. This is a rock with figures attached to it in the most unnatural positions, and is crowned by a statue of Fame on a winged horse. It is a Mount Parnassus, which no Spanish garden from the earliest Renaissance days cared to be without.

Quite on the top, apart from the castle, there is another great reservoir, called El Mar, which is not utilised for the general view of the garden, although it is in the main axis, and can be approached by park avenues. Standing alone in the solemn surroundings



FIG. 532. LA GRANJA, SAN ILDEFONSO—THE BATH OF DIANA



FIG. 533. LA GRANJA, SAN ILDEFONSO—THE SIDE TERRACE

of the dark mountain forest, it makes a happy contrast with the cheerful exuberance of the garden. It is clear that the artists were at this point thinking of particular views, which in the tradition of the Spanish Renaissance are always desired for the surroundings of fountains (Fig. 534). But they are without connection, and so lack the rhythmical feeling needed in the picture of the whole; and that last achievement of the French garden, the subordination of the parts to the whole, is absent here.

The real moving spirit and head of all was Elizabeth, the queen. When Philip abdicated in 1742, feeling himself absolutely unequal to the cares of state, he went back



FIG. 534. LA GRANJA, SAN ILDEFONSO—LEFT, FOUNTAIN; RIGHT, VASE

to La Granja, and reserved for its rebuilding an enormous sum which the exhausted country could barely supply. But after nine months the death of the king's son caused the weary Philip to take the reins once more. The queen hoped to spur on her husband to take an interest in the work at the gardens of Granja by eagerly pressing them forward, and in the course of his long absence in 1727 a great deal was effected, among other things the Bath of Diana being completed. But the king could only give a weary smile, and, it is said, utter these words in front of the Diana: "It has cost me three millions of money to get three minutes' entertainment."

At the same time Philip gave orders for Aranjuez to be rebuilt in the same style as far as possible, but larger. Towards the east the great parterre was added, with a double fountain in front of the new wing. A canal was made round the parterre and a second stone bridge to the Jardin de la Isla. Later the present Jardin del Principe beside the great walk, Calle de la Reina, was made, very like the island garden with a long series of fountains



FIG. 535. ARANJUEZ, MADRID—JARDIN DEL PRINCIPE AND CERES FOUNTAIN



FIG. 536. ARANJUEZ, MADRID—FOUNTAIN IN THE JARDIN DEL PRINCIPE

(Figs. 535 and 536). The little summer-house at the end of the garden, the Casa del Labrador, conceals under a modest name a luxurious park house such as we have often met with in the North. About the middle of the century a very important change was taking place for the whole town attached to the court. A new plan of building was now to create a regularly-designed little town out of the small wretched village, whose hovels hitherto had leaned against the castle. This was so linked on to the east parterre that two of the star-ray avenues of the park were now extended to form streets in the town, and the third was the old Calle de la Reina; on the other side the walks approached till they were quite close to the castle. We have seen in the North this tendency of the period to build towns on rational principles, and orientated to the centre point of the residence, and it was from the North that this idea came into Spain. The actual originator was the Marquis Grimaldi. He had been ambassador at The Hague, and thus this last form of royal residence came from Holland.

HOLLAND

No country has had to suffer so much from the hostility of supporters of the picturesque style as Holland. Everything freakish, petty, in bad taste, or contrary to nature, was stigmatised as "A Dutch garden," in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Indeed the country had every fault of the old style laid at her door. This happened more and more, and in England, where these hostilities began, they may be explicable by local conditions. But if we look at the part played by Holland in garden history—and this will take us back to an earlier period when she was flourishing—we shall be enlightened as to her peculiar position. People were misled by the term "Dutch garden," as it came to be used derisively in the eighteenth century, and so they were always trying to discover some special definite Dutch style.

The very important part played by the canal in Dutch landscapes and therefore in Dutch gardens has caused people, and especially later writers, to think that the Dutch garden was a leading factor in the development of the French canal plan. Although at the first glance this seems an illuminating idea, considering the close relations of the two countries, the whole course of our story shows that the merit must be accorded quite simply to the natural development of the gardens of France. Although, however, as Hirschfeld perceived, Holland does not play so important a part in garden history as this, she has evolved a peculiar style of her own which is due to geographical conditions. In garden history, just as in the general history of art and culture, Holland appears late. The gardens of the Netherlands, with which we dealt in our account of the Renaissance as a flourishing branch of German gardening, were developed in the southern provinces of Belgium. In those fine engravings that de Vries has left us, the canal plays no part, and water altogether plays a much smaller part than in many another country, including Germany. Later on, Belgium was here, as everywhere else in the world of art, only a branch of French development. We can understand such a garden as the Dukes of Enghien (Fig. 537) laid out in the middle of the seventeenth century, only if we bear in mind that the chief idea of Louis the Fourteenth's grand style was still apprehended in only a vague way, and was confused with the works of the Renaissance. Separate gardens

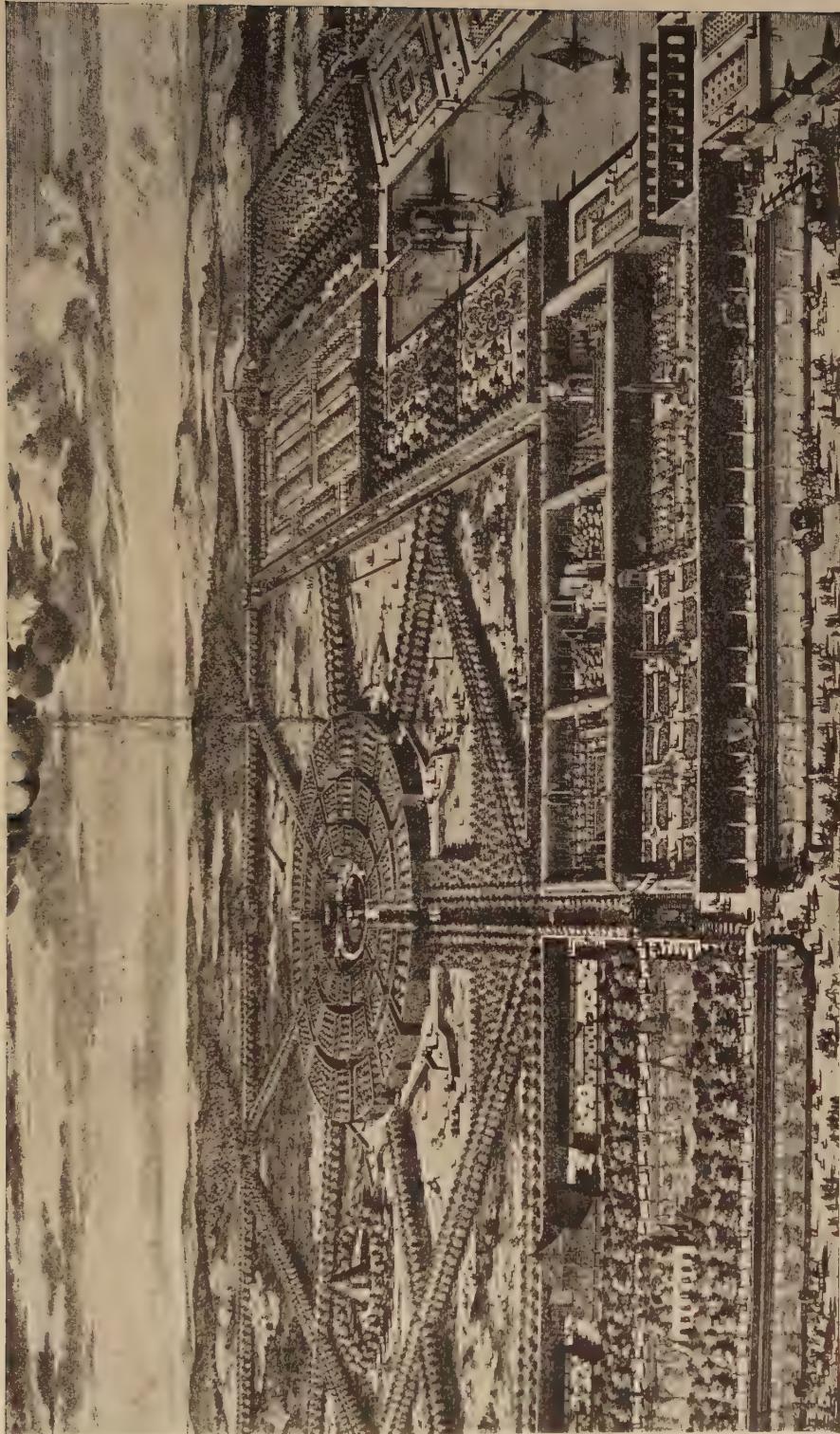


FIG. 337. ENGHEN, BELGIUM—THE CASTLE GARDEN

are still small and numerous, and are not controlled by one great plan. The canal, too, is made use of as an important central axis for a side garden. The bosquet arranged in great concentric circles is peculiar, and gives a fortress-like character. Long avenues proceed from it all through the park. But in Holland the nobility and the inhabitants of towns were so completely occupied with the weary war for their deliverance from the Spanish yoke during the later part of the sixteenth century (which was so important in the history of gardening) that they had neither the time nor the security needed for adorning their open country, in its perilous condition, with the gentle, peaceful arts of the garden.

At the close of the war came the great boom in trade, whereby Holland became one of the wealthiest and most flourishing countries in Europe. In this favourable time many things contributed to help the culture of all sorts of gardens. First and foremost stood the battle between sea and land, and the Dutch owe the security of their homes to the work they had done consistently ever since the twelfth century, in setting up barriers against the sea. When trade, which was constantly improving, had provided enough capital to make them feel strong and inclined for new undertakings, they began to consider how their growing population could get more room, and how they could win tracts of territory from the sea and reclaim the inland marshes. One part of the country lay below the level of the sea and was enclosed by high dams, but it needed wide canals to carry off the excess of water and to serve as conduits; for when the land is quite flat, with no descents, canals are absolutely necessary for regulating the flow. By a water-loving people the canal, as well as the rivers, had always been used for convenience in traffic. A great deal of particularly fertile land was acquired at the beginning of the seventeenth century by the reclamation of a number of these inland water-spaces.

A formal style was natural for Holland, a country which had from the first conceived the idea of conducting its farming operations by rule and reason; and not only were kitchen-gardens and fields subjected to such regulation, but so also were country houses and villas and their gardens, which often were happily established on the ground reclaimed in the neighbourhood of a large town. One example may here stand for many. In the years 1624 to 1658 the so-called Diemermeer was drained by the town of Amsterdam and a great part of the reclaimed land was given up to suburban houses. Each of these, none large, had a small piece of garden, reaching as far as the canal. The canal formed the end of the garden, and served as a connection, while together with a path on the opposite side it made a road for general traffic. Then when people got accustomed to thinking of water as a connection and not merely as a division, they were separated from their neighbours only by a narrow canal, so that most gardens were divided off on three sides in this way.

For the most part such gardens were no bigger than a simple parterre, generally with a fountain in the middle, and clung to the Dutch feeling for all that was thoroughly clean, neat, and pretty, being laid out in the fashion of that day with box and coloured clays, which made neat patterns round the flower-beds. The owner being rich and his space small, it often happened that there was an excessive amount of ornament, as much being crammed in as the place could possibly hold. Statues, small pavilions, much clipping of hedges, all made an attempt to satisfy the pressing requirement for variety in these little gardens. No one man or place could fulfil the demand for greater stretches of park and so common land was made use of at the side of the houses. Thus in a drawing

of the Diemermeer there is a large tennis-court behind the house with several avenues, and this is meant for the people who live there to use in common. This type of building for suburban houses and gardens is everywhere typical of Holland; it extended for miles, and even now is often to be met with.

The kind of flowers that were cultivated in Holland had another considerable effect on the extension of gardening. As already remarked, soon after the end of the sixteenth century the growing of bulbs was the first interest for botanists, and the trade of Holland was the centre of the flower market. Speculation grew to a mad frenzy and seized upon this trade in bulbs, especially tulips, but it scarcely deserves mention as a curious matter of history, and did not affect the world of botany, to say nothing of the art of gardening. All the same, the passion for flowering bulbs made a great difference in Dutch gardens. It certainly was a protection against the hostility to flowers that was prevalent for a time in England and in France, though it also caused a certain stiffness in the beds, and perhaps more than anything else an inclination towards excessive variety in colour. When the eye grew accustomed to the many brilliant colours of these perishable flowers, it also came to pass that Dutchmen demanded a substitute to serve in those long periods when they had to wait for their beloved flowers to bloom. To be sure, the many-coloured globes which mirrored the garden in all sorts of hues were not a Dutch invention, for in the Renaissance-gardens of every country this form of decoration was popular, and one has only to call to mind such a description as Bacon's; but it was first in Holland that this kind of ornament was conspicuous, together with little bells, coloured clays, and coloured statues—all in such a small space that taste became satiated, and somewhat later a great change was inevitable.

In the Holland of the seventeenth century statuary found a place in the garden, where it could make its way to extreme realism, as though it were one branch of the great art of painting. We saw in other countries how at the first beginning of a baroque style a naturalistic statuary of a *genre* kind found its way into gardens, and how even Alberti did not stand aloof from it. In Italy, later on, naturalistic modern statues took the place of the Muses among the great sculptures of the gardens. But what they achieved was always too little to hold its own against other objects of art; and in the lands on the other side of the Alps these carvings had to take their place with the purely ideal forms of gods and nymphs. In Holland, however, the naturalistic style proved more and more victorious, and became increasingly noticeable because of its variety in colouring, which was often conjoined with sound and movement produced mechanically. In order to get as much ornament as possible into the little gardens, these scenes were frequently expressed in miniature; and a conglomeration of grotesque figures in clipped trees was the last characteristic feature of the Dutch garden in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The effect was naturally most impressive as it appeared to the eyes of a traveller who passed along comfortably by the water-way, repeated as it was a hundred times, for "the love of a garden prevails everywhere, and much money is spent on it. Everybody who can possibly manage it, owns a garden nearer or farther from the town, where he lives with his family from Saturday to Monday."

Johanna Schopenhauer visited Holland in 1812, and looking at the gardens with very friendly eyes, saw to her sorrow that the English style was encroaching rapidly. But she gives a description of the gardens in the village of Broek which show, even in an exag-



FIG. 538. A SMALL GARDEN AT BROEK, HOLLAND

gerated way, complete specimens of Dutch taste pure and simple. "The gardens in front of their houses," she says, "are just as wonderful to look at. You find everything there except nature. There are trees, which no longer look like trees, so clipped are their tops, and whose very trunks are painted with white oil paint to make them ornamental. There are all kinds of possible and impossible animals from the known or unknown world cut out of box, and columns, pyramids, and grand gates, all carved out of yew-trees. In the middle of the garden stands the choicest decoration, perhaps a Dutchman sitting on a tub, and very highly coloured, or perhaps the figure of a Turk smoking his pipe, or an enormous flower-basket with the figure of a gardener looking out of it roguishly, painted white with gilt extremities. The ground is covered with countless scrolls and flourishes, as neat as though they were drawn with a pen; the spaces are filled in with coloured glass beads, shells, stones, and pots in all manner of colours; and in their perfect symmetry they resemble embroideries of colossal size and the very worst taste." And yet in this little remote village the prevailing modern style has had its destructive effect.

A specimen of this sort of little garden has been preserved here and there (Fig. 538), but a colourless photograph gives an incomplete idea, and makes the pretty but overladen erections look like cardboard boxes. The little temple at the side, clipped to an antique style and lacquered white, has in front of it a small musical box, painted in many colours and standing on a support like a table; there can be no doubt that it used to produce music by some mechanism. On similar supports there are little wooden figures variously painted. The centre piece is the shell fountain; there is a heart made out of different-coloured stones bearing the emblems of Faith, Hope, and Charity, with the figure of

Fame on the top, and all round it a parterre laid out with box and filled with flowers in many colours. As usual in the decoration of eighteenth-century gardens, the Indian or Chinese pagoda is to be found here.

Such were most of the private Dutch gardens of that period, but the latest efforts have only remained as curious survivals even in Holland—just as in the case of the garden called by Riat the *Jardin minéralogique*. That means that there was no trace of vegetation kept, the walls were decorated with coloured shells, and, in order to get still more decoration, with vases of faience, gilt birds, statues made in shells, men and animals, and waterfalls made of glass which fell into basins of tortoiseshell. Only a few beds with tulips were left.

It goes without saying that important and beautiful gardens, as well as these small ones, were made in Holland and the Netherlands generally in the seventeenth century, for the country was growing rich. But it must be clearly understood that France exercised the chief influence in the grand style; and that every effort to prove that Holland took a leading part in the garden history of Northern Europe, either before or after the time of Le Nôtre, is labour in vain. In 1668 there appeared the most important and the most widely read of Dutch works on gardening, Van der Groen's *Den nederlandischen Howenier*. This book was translated into French and German, and was very widely studied, because of its useful hints to gardeners. Its two hundred plans of parterres show plainly—compared with the earlier French ones by Mollet and Boyceau—how very strongly inclined the Dutch taste is towards what is simple and small, even petty. The debt to France is frankly



FIG. 539. THE HAUS NEUBERG, NEAR RYSWICK, HOLLAND—GROUND-PLAN



FIG. 540. HET LOO, HOLLAND—GENERAL VIEW

acknowledged. Groen was gardener to Prince William of Orange. The house called Neuberg (Fig. 539), which William II. built in the neighbourhood of Ryswick, may serve as an example of the famous gardens of the middle of the seventeenth century. The completely level ground made it far from easy to get the rhythm and variety which were so rigidly required by French taste. The whole middle axis was partitioned into four squares, which were parterres held together by fountains or statues of some kind. A semicircle made by *berceaux* formed the end of these. In France itself at that time the parterres in any typical garden would scarcely have been separated even by very low fences or corner pavilions. Here there were pairs of rectangular basins to right and left, placed quite symmetrically, and separated by a bosket, those in front adorned with pretty fountain groups, with narrow ones at the side bordering the whole garden in a charming fashion. The outside limits were defined by a canal and avenues of trees, which were carried round the whole estate. The special park groves were on the other side of the house, and on both sides there were *giardini secreti*.

William III., whose love of gardens we have heard about in England, had produced fine examples, fit for a prince, in Holland also, during the last third of the seventeenth century. At the command of Queen Mary, and inspired by her, Harris, the king's physician, helped her to give the good impression of Holland which she desired by writing a close

description of the country, ending with the statement that "the Dutch deserve from us much respect and kindly feeling." Through him we obtain a very distinct picture of the gardens of that day.

The chief home made by the royal pair, and the one they loved best in their old country, was Het Loo (Fig. 540). Mary laid the foundation stone herself, and they never forgot the place, even after they had settled down at Hampton Court. In Holland, Het Loo naturally got the name of a second Versailles. Some liveliness of contour was cleverly contrived, for the chief garden with its eight parterres was sunk, and it had a terrace surround, and behind was brought to an end by an avenue of oaks. The middle part was open. The view was not impeded over the upper garden, which was somewhat raised, and which ended in a semicircular gallery and a series of fine water-works. The idea of the sunk parterre, which originated in the Italian Renaissance, had been already taken up and frequently carried out with success in the French garden. Two large gardens, one on either side of the house, still keep the Renaissance character at Het Loo, and the whole place shows the same feeling in many other ways. There are groves on either side of the middle part, and in their form, which is partly baroque, they differ, far more than the show-gardens do, from the grand style at Versailles. The canal divides the halves of the garden with two arms, but has not here the important task of uniting garden and

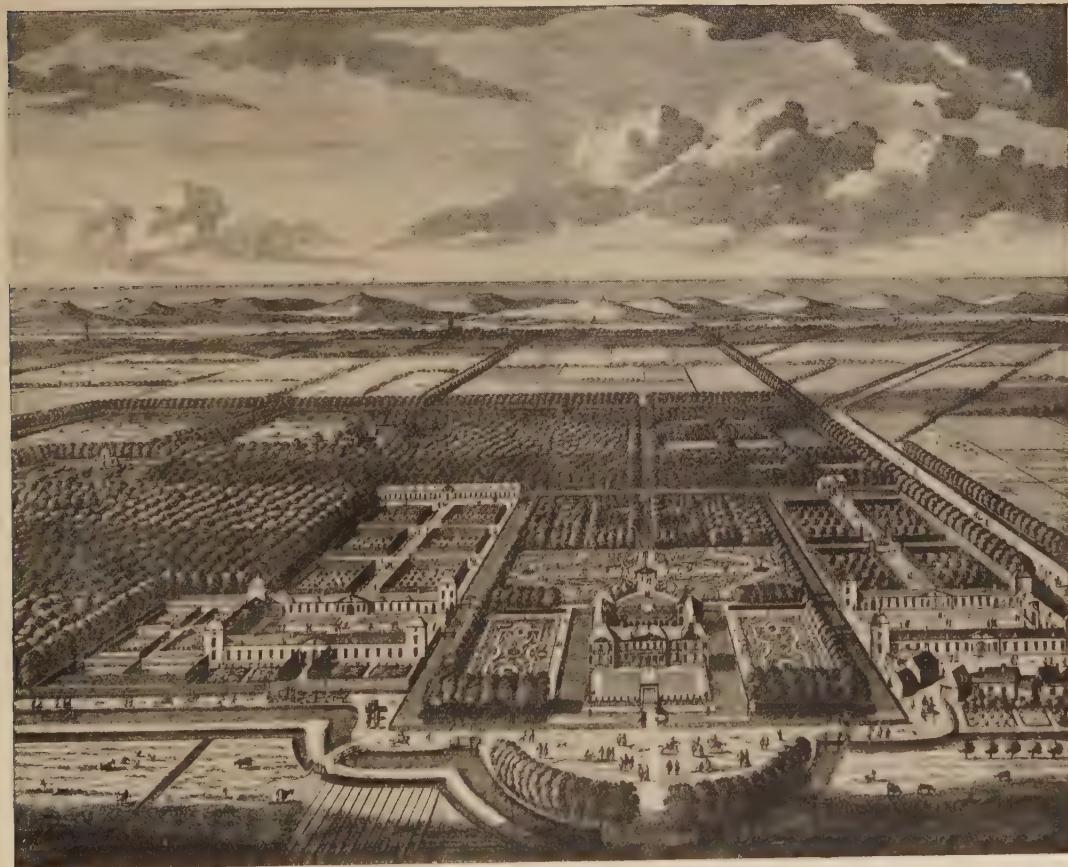


FIG. 541. HONSLAERDYK, HOLLAND—A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW

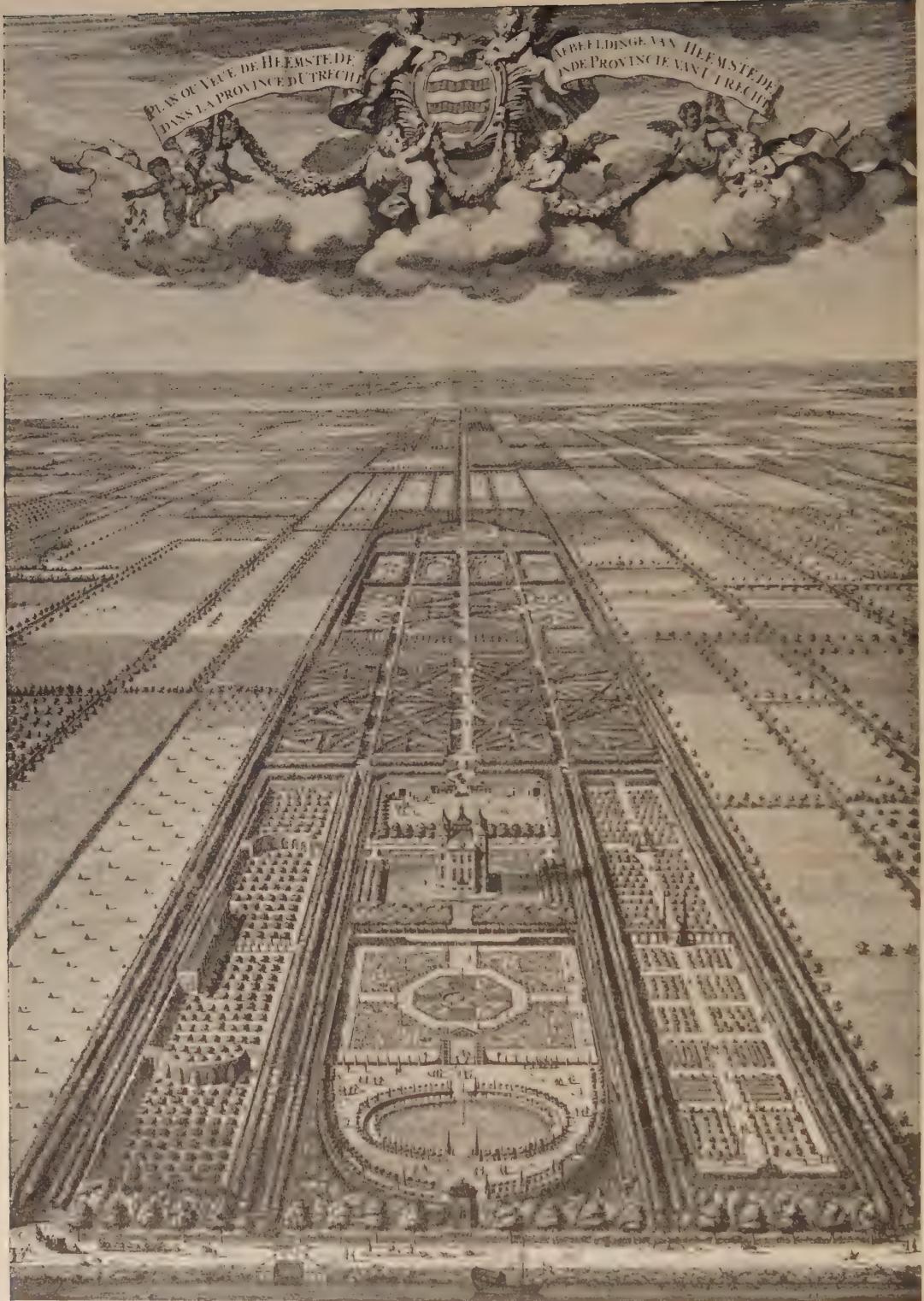


FIG. 542. HEEMSTED, Utrecht Province—GENERAL VIEW

park. It need scarcely be said, considering the small measurements of the house, that the total area is nothing like that of Versailles.

Very similar in plan to Het Loo is another pleasure-castle called Haus Honslaerdyk (Fig. 541), which William built not far from The Hague. The canal not only goes round the garden, which adjoins three sides of the house, but also round the house itself, thus giving it the character of a water-castle. The bosquets, in accordance with their smaller dimensions, are treated far more simply than at Het Loo. A good many other royal castles

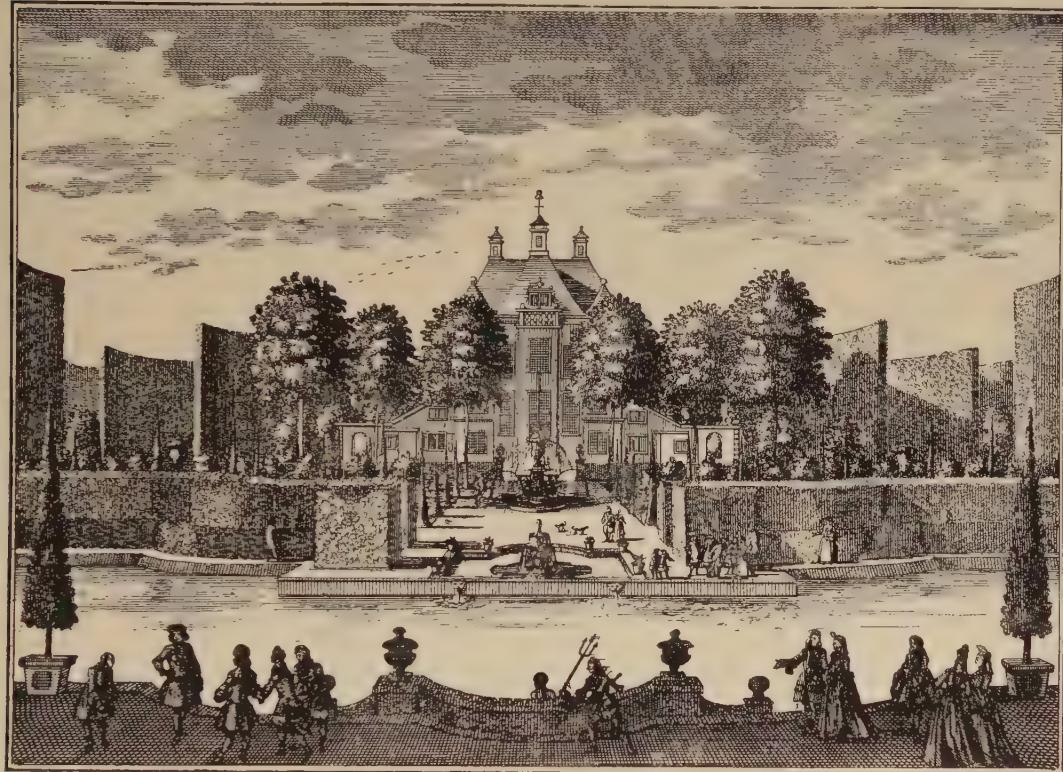


FIG. 543. THE HAUS PETERSBURG, HOLLAND—VIEW FROM THE GREAT BASIN

of the period are preserved for us in writings and engravings, but none of them are so large or so important in their decoration as Het Loo.

The beautiful garden of Heemstede in the province of Utrecht has a country road between it and the cross-canal used for traffic (Fig. 542). The drive up to the dwelling-house, a small one in the middle of a large garden and surrounded by a canal, is as usual on the land side, whence the house is reached by way of numerous shrubberies; beside it there is an open grass plot. The real flower-garden is alongside the canal; and next to the house there is a very fine parterre, and on it one of the oval basins so much beloved in Holland. About the beginning of the eighteenth century the passion for gardening, and also real skill, attained their highest point in Holland; indeed the form of the garden had a peculiar quality because of its unusual grouping, separate gardens being arranged within one encircling band of canal or river. This gave a local self-contained unity, so that each individual garden acted as one factor in the gigantic scheme. It is noticeable that the

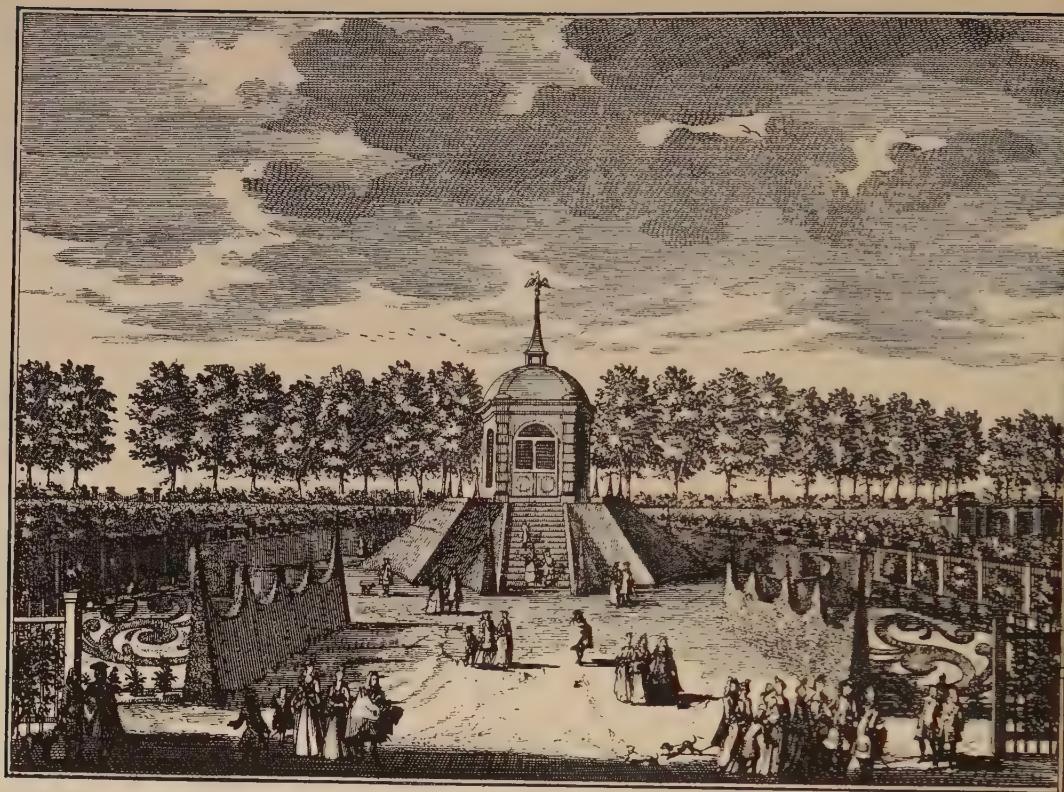


FIG. 544. THE HAUS PETERSBURG, HOLLAND—THE ARTIFICIAL MOUND

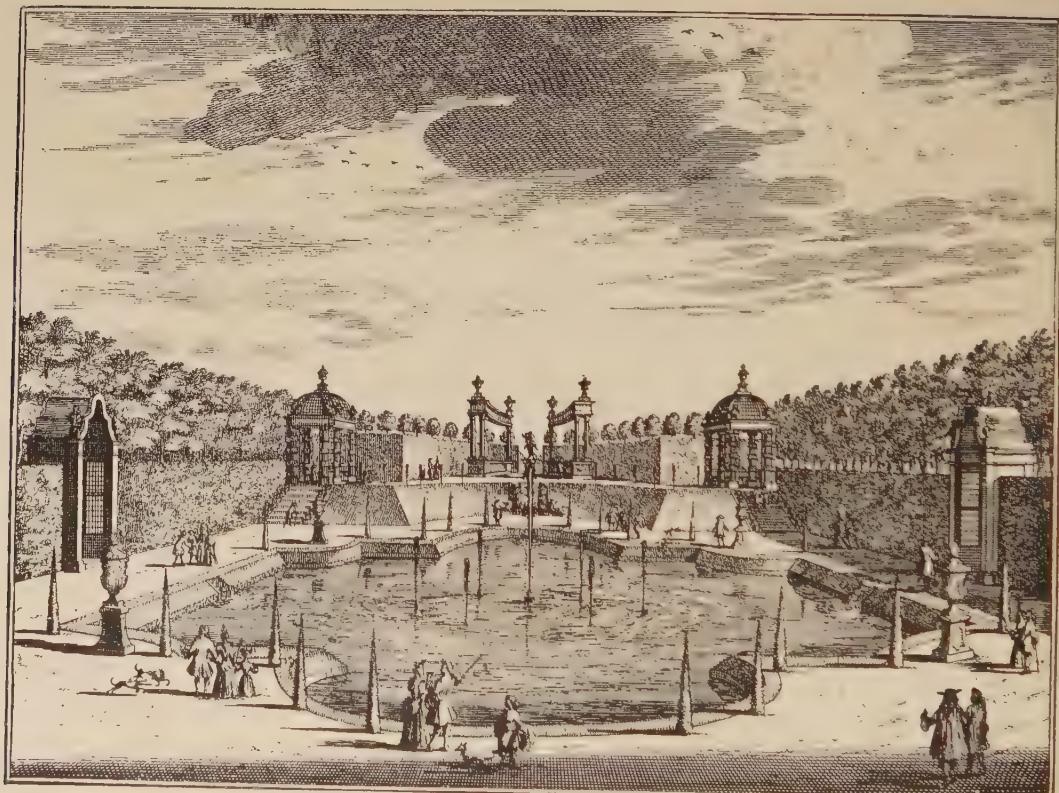


FIG. 545. A LARGE POOL IN A DUTCH GARDEN

issues of engravings recognise this. In the eighteenth century Dutch engravers were uncontestedly at the head of their art, and they not only supplied Holland with numerous pictures of its own gardens and houses, but also satisfied a great part of the demand in the rest of Europe, as we have seen, and especially in England. In Holland the chief complete sets are *Watergreefs of Diemermeer bij de Stadt Amsterdam*, *Het zegenprahlende Kennemerland*, and the *Zegenprahlende Vecht*; there were many others of the same sort.

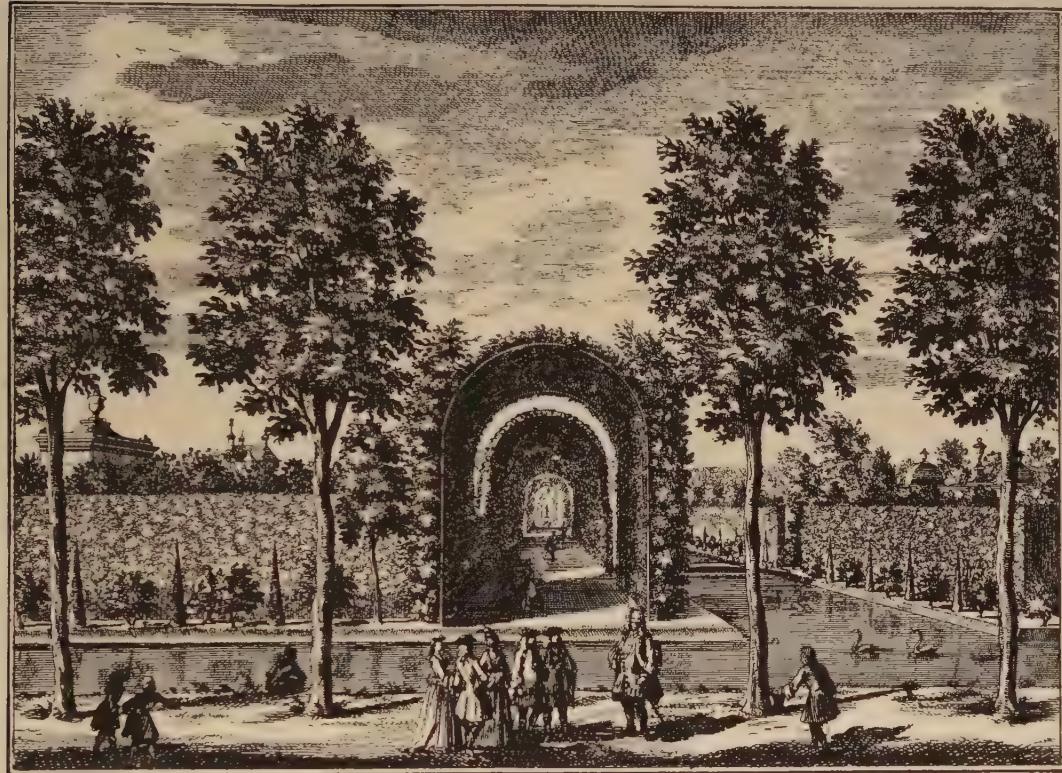


FIG. 546. THE HAUS PETERSBURG—CANAL AND ARBOUR

All the villas have an open parterre by the canal or river, and the travelling on water-roads like these cannot be too much praised, especially on the Vecht, which is one of the most beautiful. Hirschfeld has a description of what it was in his own time (1785).

The country houses and gardens [he says], on both sides, make travelling on this river and in such surroundings one of the greatest pleasures a human being can imagine. Every moment the view changes, first to a labyrinth in a garden, showing thousands of shapes cleverly cut out of lime-hedges, elms, or yews, then again avenues of lime-trees and chestnuts. Sometimes a canal cuts through, sometimes two gardens are separated by a little meadow; or another garden has thickly woven arbours and covered walks. Sometimes hard by the bank there is a pretty house built of brick, another time the gardens are enclosed with iron trellis-work. The traveller can see into gardens and paths, which are ornamented with statues, and along the banks there are long beds with flowers, the tulips making a splendid border. They are especially pleasing to the eye; and a traveller passes by so quickly that he does not feel wearied by the uniformity and regularity everywhere, because he sees such a constant change and succession.

Thus circumspectly speaks the traveller who is kindly disposed to the picturesque style.

At the greater estates the main garden is extended behind the house to the side away from the water-road, according to the style familiar to us in French gardens and in the instruction books. The houses, which are small according to French and German ideas of the period, are hardly ever raised on a terrace. It is only the real old castles that have still mostly kept their character as water-castles, and still present a more important appearance with their moats and drawbridges than the many villas of a later date that are mostly like pavilions (Fig. 543). In the gardens the actual ground is seldom tampered with, and if it is, it is only to get an artificial hill with a summer-house on the top (Fig. 544) or a sunk parterre—a *boulingrin*.

The demand for variety had to be satisfied, first and foremost, by water. But fine and multiform as its devices were—sometimes the great mirror-like basin (Fig. 545), which was often at the end of a large garden, sometimes the fountains in countless forms with shells and all sorts of figures, sometimes a canal enclosing either the whole garden or separate parts of it (Fig. 546)—there was always wanting what was naturally one of the greatest attractions, the cascade.

There can be no doubt that at the turn of the seventeenth century the standard in Dutch garden art was astonishingly high. We very often find Dutch gardeners in foreign service, where they were sought for to cultivate flowers. It must not be forgotten, too, that Peter the Great first studied in Holland the gardens that he afterwards copied in his own land. But in this connection the Dutch garden must be reckoned as of the French school, and must find its place as one member in the whole body of French development.



FIG. 547. A BASKET OF FLOWERS—EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (See page 169)

CHAPTER XIV
CHINA AND JAPAN

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CHINA AND JAPAN

WHEN we consider the far-reaching influence of the French garden style, we find that its highest point was reached in the middle of the eighteenth century. The new picturesque garden had done little in the way of propaganda outside England.

At one moment it seemed as if the great art which Le Nôtre had raised to its utmost glory was to get a strong foothold in the Far East. Letters came to France from French missionaries in China, saying that the emperor had commissioned the Jesuit Father Benoît to lay out in the French style a portion of his park at the Summer Palace, Yuen-ming-yuen. At the same time, Father Castiglione built the first European houses in the Chinese capital.

The first thing made by Father Benoît was a highly artistic cascade. There were two pyramids of water beside a semicircular place where the battles of fishes, birds, and wild beasts were represented in the mirror of the waters. As a special compliment to the Celestials, Benoît set up a skilfully-made clock; and the twelve hours of the day were represented in Chinese fashion by twelve animals, each spurting out water for one hour (Fig. 548). This work of art was erected in the second *pavillon à l'italien* like a large water-buffet. The writers show great pride in this site and similar ones in the Chinese Versailles.

The emperor liked to adorn gardens and buildings with treasures from Europe, of which he had a great number. He had copper-engravings made of his new "European" grounds, and sent them over to Europe. They could be compared with the boscets of Versailles. They are a mixture of Chinese ideas and exuberant Baroque (Fig. 549), showing a lively fancy among the Jesuits. The Chinese were amazed at the wonderful hydraulic machinery which the foreign missionaries, magician-like, had at their command. The natives learned to manage it quickly; but when they had mastered the supposed mysterious arts they lost interest in them. After Benoît's death the machines were never repaired, for the emperor, who was now an old man, seldom came into that part of the park: if those responsible heard that he was coming, men were sent to fill up the basins, so that the waters should play while he was passing by. Soon, however, nothing more was heard of the European works of art, and China was just as far as ever from being affected by the influence of the West.

As regards the effect of the East on the West, while the many tales sent to their homes in Europe by missionaries in the Far East, and the accounts brought by travellers on their return, had their influence, the Western mind could only grasp slowly the garden ideas of the East. It was the first time in history that an entirely new style had appeared with nothing in the least foreshadowing it—the style of the picturesque, opposed in fundamental principles to that garden art which all the rest of the world had adopted.

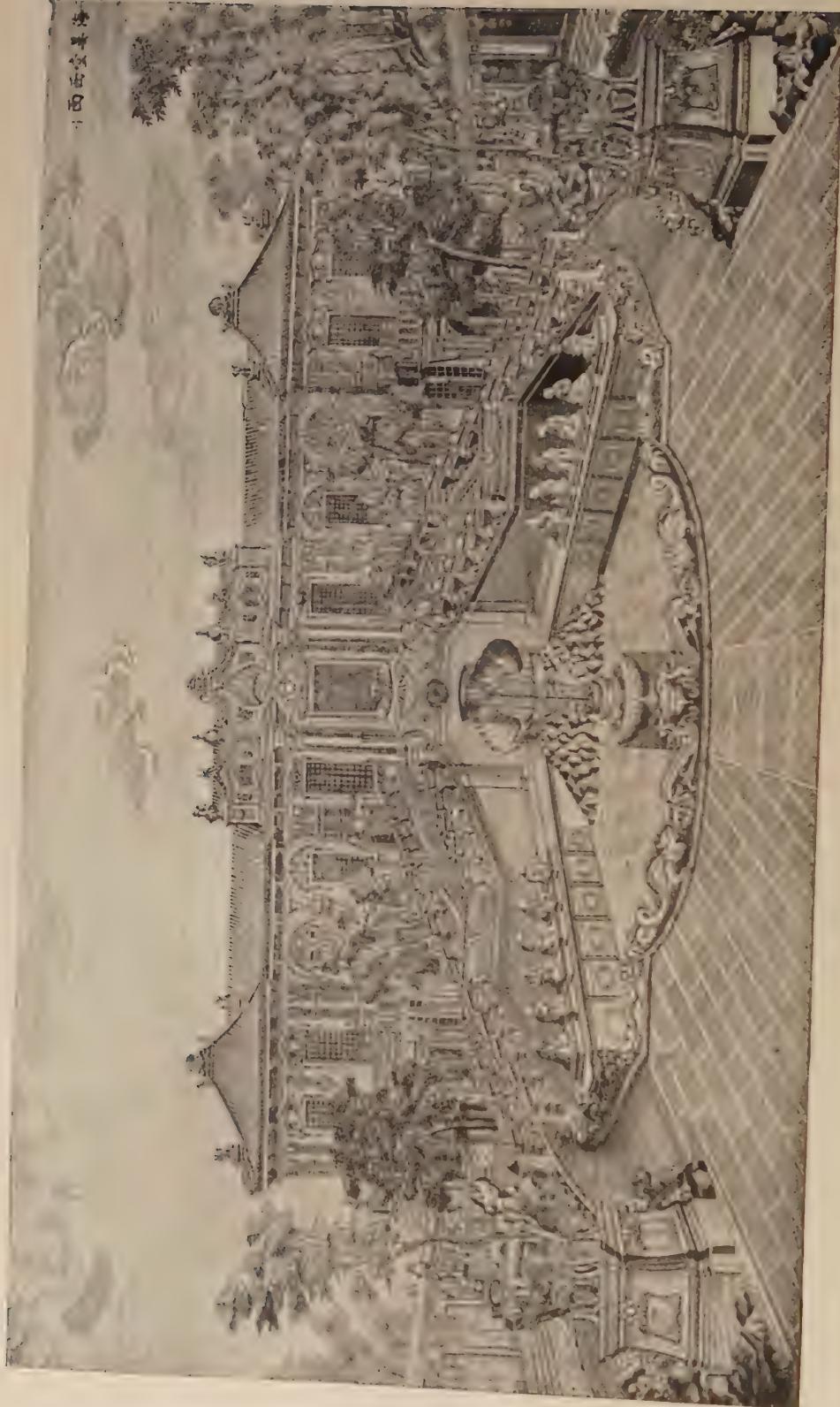


FIG. 548. EUROPEAN GARDEN AT YUEN-MING-YUEN, PEKING



FIG. 549. EUROPEAN GARDEN AT YUEN-MING-YUEN, PEKING

The first ample accounts of the gardens of China are given in the history of his travels by Marco Polo the Venetian, undertaken in the years 1272–93. When Marco arrived at the court of Kublai Khan, the great Mongol emperor, he saw the deer-park at the summer Residence at Xanadu, which one could only reach, as is the case in all Chinese gardens, by going through the palace, in the middle of a small wood with a summer-house supported on pillars. He also saw the palace of the Great Khan at Cambalu (Kambalu), and described its double row of encircling walls, between which there are animal parks. The footpaths were paved and somewhat raised, so that the rain ran off them; thus they were never dirty, and the vegetation through which they ran was always well watered. At the corner of the circumvallation, on the north-west, there was a fish-pond. A river ran through it, with gratings at each end to prevent the fish swimming through. In the garden proper Marco Polo especially admired an artificial mound, fully a hundred feet high, standing on a base of "about a mile" (perhaps a thousand feet?). This mound was made of earth dug out for the lake, and on it there were handsome evergreen trees. As soon as the emperor heard of a beautiful tree anywhere, he had it dug up with all its roots and a great deal

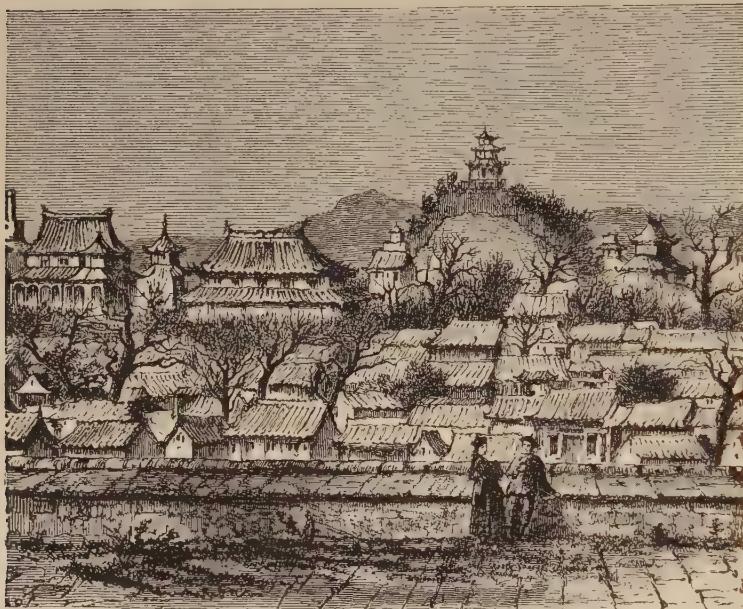


FIG. 550. PEKING—VIEW OF THE GREEN HILL

of earth, and conveyed to this mound by elephants, however heavy it might be: thus he acquired the finest collection of trees in the world. He had the mound itself covered with green earth, so that not only the trees but the place on which they stood were green; therefore the mound was called the Green Hill (Fig. 550). On the top a palace was set up, which was also entirely green inside and out. The whole conception, hill, trees, and building, produced an impression of wealth and splendour; moreover, the blending of shades of colour was wonderful. Between the Great Khan's own palace and that which he built for his son, lay a wide lake, over which a bridge passed, connecting the two.

The description of the capital of the conquered dynasty, Kin-sai, now Hang-chu, makes it even more wonderful and grand than Peking, which the Mongol princes first used as their Residence. To Marco Polo, and to all travellers of his time, it seemed the greatest and most beautiful town in the world. It was bounded on one side by the river Tsien-tang, and on the other by the Hsi-hu or Western Lake. This landscape has always been, and still is, considered by the Chinese as their very loveliest. It has been praised by artists and poets alike.



FIG. 551. PEKING—ISLAND PALACE IN THE PURPLE FORBIDDEN TOWN

On the borders of the lake [says Marco Polo] are many handsome and spacious edifices belonging to great magistrates and men of rank. There are likewise many idol temples. . . . Near the central part are two islands, upon each of which stands a superb building (Fig. 551). . . . When the inhabitants of the city have occasion . . . to give a sumptuous entertainment, they resort to one of these islands, where they find ready for their purpose every article that can be required, such as vessels, napkins, table-linen, and the like. . . . There are upon the lake a great number of pleasure vessels or barges . . . and truly the gratification afforded in this manner upon the water exceeds any that can be derived from the amusements of the land; for as the lake extends the whole length of the city on one side, you have a view, as you stand in the boat, at a certain distance from the shore, of all its grandeur and beauty—its palaces, temples, convents, and gardens, with trees of the largest size growing down to the water's edge.

Marco Polo's account was confirmed, and even added to, by later travellers, who admired the pavilions built on pillars. They stand either on paved terraces or artificial mounds, and are connected by arched and balustraded bridges (Fig. 552). In this town is the palace of the deposed emperor. Although it was half in ruins when Marco Polo saw it, he was able to give a good description of it from the accounts of his guide and from Chinese writings. He saw wonderful gardens between the walls, orchards, hunting-parks, groves, and lakes of fish. The women's quarters, now entirely gone, were on a lake, and the emperor laid aside the cares of his exalted station and held splendid fêtes on its lovely banks with his wives. He was to lose all these pleasures eventually at the hands of the usurper.

It is clear from later writers that Marco Polo's descriptions were accurate. The fact that they did not produce the effect they should have done in the West was partly due to their being taken for fairy-tales, partly to the absence of any standard of measurement or comparison; the great difference between Eastern and Western gardens was not understood. The other travellers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such as the monk Odoric, who attempted to convert the heathen in China in the years 1325 to 1327, bore out what Marco Polo had said. But Mandeville's fanciful stories of other lands at about the same date reacted on Marco Polo and brought him into discredit; thus, China was again lost so far as the West was concerned, and remained so until the Portuguese arrived in the country, or at any rate at its boundaries, in the middle of the sixteenth century. For more than a hundred years repeated attempts, for the most part in vain, were made to force a way into the interior of the country. One finds a few accounts, but they are very confused and inconsistent. At last, in 1644, the old Ming Dynasty was succeeded by the



FIG. 552. BRIDGE OVER A LAKE IN A CHINESE GARDEN

Manchu Dynasty and the position of the Jesuit missionaries was immediately changed. Ever since the death of Xavier, they had waited expectantly for this moment, and now proceeded as victors to the capital, where they were destined very soon to exercise their political skill and to play a great part at the court. For it was not only as men who taught the truths of salvation, but as engineers, mathematicians, and astronomers, that they gained influence and won the position which they sought. The Jesuit Adam Schall, an accomplished man from Cologne, became president of the Imperial Astronomical Tribunal in 1643 and filled the post till 1645. Other Jesuits held it, with only short interruptions, to the worst days of the persecution, and into the nineteenth century. In 1655 appeared the *Novus Atlas Sinensis*, by the Jesuit Martinus Martini. It was published at Amsterdam, and in 1663 was included in the magnificent work of Blaeus, the *Welt-Atlas*. It was compiled from Chinese authorities and maps, and supported by the author's own observations. The merchants followed the lead of the Fathers. The accounts of the first legations of the Dutch in the sixties received the authority of the Jesuit settlers, and were endorsed by them.

After the arrival of the five French Jesuits, when from 1688 regular news and letters came to Paris from the Fathers, it was supposed that the doors of China were to remain open for ever to the Christian mission; and the desire to press on into the intimate secrets of this marvellous civilisation grew in foreign countries beyond all bounds. (We shall see how the reaction in Europe affected garden art.) The original hopes very soon proved deceptive, for in the first quarter of the eighteenth century there began the persecutions

of the Christians, which were carried on with deliberate intention by the Emperor Kien-lung, whose long reign extended into the last two-thirds of the century. He kept at Peking the Jesuits who were so useful to him, got all the good he could out of their learning, gave them tasks of a lofty scientific character, paid great honour to the Italian painter Castiglione, and made European houses and gardens; but in respect to their own calling he left them severely alone. Thus it came about that China was completely closed to foreigners in the eighteenth century, for even the famous embassy of Lord Macartney was economically fruitless. All the same, there arrived an uninterrupted stream of news from the interior of China. Indeed, it was the eighteenth century that first brought about some real understanding and some sort of comparison with the West.

This short sketch indicates the sources from which the nature of garden art in the countries of Eastern Asia came to be known by Europeans. This art, with its own technique and its own sentiment, is perhaps easier for us moderns to understand, despite its marvellous foreign nature, because we are able to place it among other kinds of art in Eastern Asia. We have passed out of a period of the picturesque style in Europe, and we are able to compare it with a similar effort made in Asia, taking into account the great difference in the means at the disposal of the two, and in their aims. For Europeans in the seventeenth century both the name and the nature of "Landscape Gardens," about which travellers spoke, were something quite foreign and unfamiliar.

Sir William Temple writes of it with some surprise in his *Essay* in 1685, in which he collects with much discrimination the various tendencies of gardening art in his time.

What I have said of the best forms of gardens [he writes] is meant only of such as are in some sort regular; for there may be other forms wholly irregular, that may, for aught I know, have more beauty than any of the others. . . . Something of this I have seen in some places, but heard more of it from others who have lived much among the Chinese, a people whose way of thinking seems to lie as wide of ours in Europe, as their country does. Among us, the beauty of building and planting is placed chiefly in some certain proportions, symmetries, or uniformities; our walks and our trees ranged so as to answer one another, and at exact distances. The Chinese scorn this way of planting. . . . Their greatest reach of imagination is employed in contriving figures where the beauty shall be great, and strike the eye, but without any order or disposition of parts that shall be commonly or easily observed. . . . And whoever observes the work upon the best India gowns, or the painting upon their best skreens or purcellans, will find their beauty is all of this kind, (that is) without order.

A comprehension, however slight and imperfect, of the true Chinese feeling was a great help to the next generation, which brought the picturesque style to the front. People laughed at Sir William Temple's concern lest the difficult job should be attempted of imitating a Chinese garden, and nobody suspected how right he really was. His idea that people should study Chinese gardening by way of their paintings ought to have been a fruitful one, for the two are connected very closely.

This new and peculiar kind of art came into our circle of vision as a complete, perfected thing—a style built upon a distant tradition, which is disengaged from what we call garden architecture, and from any of those useful purposes that we found to be fundamental elsewhere. From one point of view Chinese art is the purest of all, and the questions of origin and history are most enticing. But there are difficulties which we cannot overcome, since there is no country that shows fewer traces of old historic gardens. The curious etiquette of Chinese emperors, and indeed in a great degree of other important men, forbids them to live in the home of their predecessor; moreover, each new dynasty is apt

to make a new capital. Then, since in China more than in any country the imperial court was the centre of art and culture, the earlier Residences fell into decay. Even till quite recent times there were continual complaints of the bad condition of the homes of the emperor and of the great men, when they were not being occupied as Residences. It was really a help to the country when the emperors were fond of travelling, as were most of the members of the Manchu Dynasty, who after 1644 took a great many journeys into their Tartar lands. For all the palaces which were visited had to be kept up and well cared for. But this can only have been for a short time, since complaints about decay always arose as soon as any emperor had grown old and given up travelling. Sums of money were often embezzled that had been earmarked for keeping up the estates. It was useless to hand over one or other of the imperial palaces to a rich man on condition that it should be kept up. The Emperor Kienlung entrusted the beautiful gardens at his palace at Ou-yen to a wealthy salt merchant, but this man was certain that as the emperor was old he would never come back, and so he did nothing for the place. Travellers from Europe found it in such a state of decay a few years later that they scarcely ventured to step on any bridge or wooden veranda.

On the other hand, there is an unexampled continuity about Chinese culture in every department, and not least in gardening, for the centralisation at the emperor's court was a great help. Etiquette at the Chinese court has always been an asset to the historian. To the Chinese nation the love of what is old is truly a passion. They were not wanting in historical research of every sort, though the unbroken development of centuries offered so little in the way of contrasts that the origins of an art which grew slowly were lost in the darkness of antiquity.

It is clear from the information that comes through about the doings of the Han Dynasty, members of which occupied the throne from 206 B.C. to A.D. 201, that it was under these emperors that the fancy first started of making great mounds and building palaces on them, and then linking them up by bridges. It is expressly said that the capital city was not built on formal lines like the earlier ones, but made a kind of "star-picture." The Chinese certainly tell of far older gardens; but they do not conceal the fact that there is something legendary about the miraculous gardens of Kuen-luen, though they also tell of grand show-gardens of the Emperor Chou, which go back to two thousand years B.C. Parks, which were laid out chiefly with a view to the chase, were always disliked by the people, who thought they wasted good land. And it is obvious that historians regard gardens and parks as an error and a snare for princes, whose life of pleasure in their gardens and consequent neglect of rule made it so easy for the greedy heir to deprive them of throne and life. But there is nothing to show how these gardens were laid out.

Wu-ti, an emperor of the Han Dynasty, appears to have been conspicuous in his love for extensive grounds. The historians say that the gardens were fifty miles in area, and that every valley between the mountains had palaces, pavilions (Fig. 554) and grottoes scattered over it. This emperor also made the state treasury and its surroundings. He built gardens and palaces for his beloved Fey-yen, about whose beauty writers such as the great lyrical poet Li-Tai-pe composed their inspired verses eight hundred years later. The summer palace of Chao-Yang is described by the poet as a sumptuous paradise of spring, where the emperor spent nights of love with Fey-yen.

All these descriptions are vague. Although the love felt by the Chinese for artificial



FIG. 553. OVERHANGING ROCKS—A CHINESE GARDEN SCENE

hills became famous in the Han Dynasty, we know that in the gardens of Western Asia the Assyrians and Babylonians also showed a liking for them. At the beginning of the great period of Chinese art, under the Tang Dynasty, we find in the lyrics, with their depth of tenderness and feeling, certain hints and allusions which prove without question that the art of gardening, together with that of painting, attained a very high standard. But just as in painting no original work of the period has come down to us, so there is no really intelligible picture of a garden earlier than the one which we get in a poem of the eleventh century, the noteworthy description of the garden of Hsi-Ma-Kuang in the year 1026. Hsi-Ma-Kuang was a great statesman, and (as a later emperor says of him) "he was a benefactor to his own age because of his wisdom, his philanthropy, and the mildness of his rule."

He has described his own estate in graphic language:

Other palaces may be built, wherein to escape from grief or to subdue the vanities of life. But I have built a hermitage, where at my leisure I may find repose and hold converse with my friends. Twenty acres are all the space I need. In the middle is a large summer-house [the word in the French translation is *salon*, but apparently it is one of the separate buildings] where I have brought together my five thousand books, so as to consult the wisdom therein, and to hold converse with antiquity. On the south side there is a pavilion in the middle of the water, by whose side runs a stream that flows down from the hill on the east. The waters make a deep pond, whence they part in five branches like a leopard's claws; numbers of

swans swim there and are always playing about. At the border of the first stream, which falls in cascades, there stands a steep rock with overhanging top like an elephant's trunk. At the summit stands a pleasant, open pavilion [Fig. 553] where people can rest, and where they can enjoy any morning the red sunrise. The second arm is divided after a few feet into two canals, which twist and turn about a gallery, bordered by a double terrace. The eastern arm turns backward toward the north, beside the arch of a pillared hall, which stands in an isolated position, and is thus made into an island. The shores of this island are covered with sand, shells, and pebbles of different colours. One part of it is planted with evergreen trees. There is also a hut made of straw and rush, just like a fisherman's hut. The two other arms seem alternately fleeing and pursuing, for they follow the turns of a flowery meadow, and keep it fresh. They often overflow their bed, and make little pools, which are edged with soft grass; then they escape into the meadow, and flow on in narrow canals, which disperse in a labyrinth of rocks that hinder their course, confine them, and break them. Hence they burst forth in foaming silver waves, and so pursue their proper course. There are several pavilions on the north of the large summer-house, scattered about here and there; some of them are on hills, one above the other, standing like a mother among her children, while others are built on the slope; several of them are in little gaps made by the hills, and only half of them can be seen. The whole region is overshadowed by a forest of bamboos, intersected by sandy footpaths, where the sun never penetrates. Towards the east there is a little level of irregular shape, protected from the cold north wind by a cedar wood. All the valleys are full of sweet-smelling plants, medicinal herbs, bushes and flowers. In this lovely place there is always spring. At the edge of the horizon there is a copse of pomegranates, citrons and oranges, always in flower and in fruit. In the middle there is a green pavilion to which one mounts by an imperceptible slope along several spiral paths, which become narrower as they get near the top. The paths on this hill are bordered by grass, and tempt one to sit down from time to time, so as to enjoy the view from every side. On the west one walk of weeping willows leads to the bank of the river, which comes down from the top of a rock covered with ivy and wild flowers of all kinds and colours. All round there are rocks piled anyhow, with an odd effect rather like that of an amphitheatre. Right on the ground there is a deep grotto, which gets wider the farther one goes, and makes a kind of irregularly-shaped room with an arched ceiling. The light comes in through a somewhat large opening hung round with wild vine and honeysuckle. Rocks serve as seats, and one gets protection in the blazing dog-days by going into the alcoves and sitting there. A small stream comes out on one side and fills the hollow of a great stone, and then drops out in little trickles to the floor, winding about in the cracks and fissures till it falls into a reservoir bath. This basin has more depth when it reaches an arch, where it makes a little turn and flows into a pond, which is down at the bottom of the grotto. This pond leaves only a little footpath between the shapeless rocks, which are oddly heaped together in piles all round. A whole family of rabbits is established among them, terrifying the fishes in the lake, and in turn terrified by them. What an enchanting spot this hermitage is! The second pond has little sedgy islands on it, the larger ones full of birds of every kind, and bird-houses. The way to get from one to the other is by the big stones that stick out of the water, or by the small wooden bridges that are scattered about, some of them arched, some in straight lines or zigzags, according to the space that has to be filled up. When the water-lilies near the bank are in full flower, the pond seems to be wreathed in purple and scarlet, like the edge of the southern sea when the sun rises. Pedestrians must make up their minds either to go back the same way they came, or to climb up the rocks that close in the place on every side. Nature intended that these rocks should be approachable from one end only of the pond. They seem to be fastened together where the waters have opened up a thoroughfare among the willows that stand between them, breaking through on the other side, and forcing their way with a roar. Old fir-trees conceal the dip, and nothing can be seen among their top branches but stones that have become imbedded in a groove or in some broken tree-trunk. Leading up to the summit of this rocky wall there is a steep, narrow stairway; and this has been chipped out with a hatchet; the mark of blows is still visible. The pavilion which is set up here as a resting-place is quite simple, but is remarkable for its view of a wide plain, where the River Kiang follows a serpentine course in the rice-fields.

The prose poem here quoted ends with a description of the writer's occupations in the country, the visits of friends, a laudation of solitude, and a farewell to his beloved garden, because his life was devoted to his fatherland, which summoned him into the town. Hsi-Ma-Kuang belongs to the Sing Dynasty, that is, to the period of Chinese history when every art reached its highest stage of development—to the classical age, in fact, which is comparable with the epoch of the Renaissance in Western Europe. Poetry and painting were both at their best. "A picture is a painted poem"; and paintings show the poetic

temperament in the same degree as poetry exhibits the spiritual elevation of the artist. Gardening, however, is only one branch of landscape painting. Nothing that concerns our art of gardening so surprises the Asiatic mind as our eagerness to hang landscapes on our walls, while yet we never arrive at making round our houses such pictures as are composed by the actual works of Nature.

Perhaps we ought to detect in the peculiar reverence which is shown by the Chinese for stones and mountains an early state of religion, and also the fundamental reason for the changes they wrought in the garden. Martini, in his *Chinese Atlas*, speaks of the peculiar Chinese superstition with regard to mountains: "They investigate the psychology of a mountain, its formation, its actual veins, just as astrologers examine the heavens,



FIG. 554. PAVILION IN A CHINESE IMPERIAL GARDEN

or chiromancers the hand of a man." If the Dragon (which means the flowing water, the bringer of all good fortune) is seeking the mountain for its dwelling-place, then it is indeed the bearer of good things, and there will they set the graves of their ancestors and their sacred shrines. In Eastern Asia mountain, rock, and stone enjoy the reverence which is given to trees in Western Asia and many parts of Europe. The first visible and practical sign of this reverence which we find in gardens is the creation of artificial mounds. Since certain natural hills were honoured as particularly propitious, it is easy to understand that people would make artificial hills where they lived, on their own lands. The garden might be small, and in that case the hill must have proportional dimensions. In the pictures there are examples of mountain shapes, in sixteen formal designs, and these portray the possibilities which tradition has accepted, in marks that to us are hardly intelligible when we look at mere pictures. It is probable that plans of a like kind were worked out when hills were artificially made in gardens. How strange some of these were is shown by the elephant's-trunk shape in an overhanging rock (Fig. 553) in the garden of Hsi-



FIG. 555. CHINESE GARDEN WITH SESSEL BLUE STONE

usually close to some building or in the foreground of a small garden, where their peculiar shape may serve as table or stool for the great ladies whose whole life is spent in the garden (Fig. 556). They are very often of light blue, made of a stone which is hewn in Southern China. The important towns have large shops where these stones are for sale, and the best of them fetch a high price.

Water acts as the veins and arteries of the mountain, and is essentially important, partly in itself, and partly in connection with the course it takes, the hollows it scoops out, and the lakes in which its streams are collected. When the Chinaman makes artificial hills and mounds in his garden, he is also making the bed of an artificial lake. Hsi-Ma-Kuang lets the overflow (in his chief garden) run down into the lake from the hills on the east, for the course from east to west is lucky; and probably the five streams "like a leopard's claws" have the same sort of significance. Martini says that any lake which is

Ma-Kuang, so frequently copied in Chinese gardens and also in Chinese pictures. Beside the mountains are stones, which form one important characteristic of Chinese gardens.

Delatour, who attempted to explore the very foundations of Chinese garden art at the beginning of the nineteenth century, tells us that he has in his cabinet a collection of several hundreds of drawings of stones, of all kinds and colours (Fig. 555). He says that they are mostly in one piece; but some of them are like pyramids and pieced together; some are like obelisks; and several are broken up in irregular shapes. When they are like rocks, water flows through the crevices, and they are all of different sizes. Frequently they are set on a wooden base, and then are



FIG. 556. CHINESE GARDEN WITH BLUE STONE TABLE

FIG. 557. A GARDEN WITH A LOTUS-POND, HONG-TSHU



fed from nine sources is considered to be lucky, and thus we have the lake of Kiu-Lung, the Lake of the Nine Dragons. The art of the Chinese, like their feeling for Nature, is at bottom a profound sentiment beyond anything which shows on the surface. Symbolism is essential to it; and however accurate the observation of natural features in individual objects may be, this symbolism is its sole inner significance. The cultivation among the Chinese of a religious tradition in matters of art is often hard for us to understand. Among a host of pictures by a famous Chinese artist, there is a drawing of flowers painted by



FIG. 558. THE GARDEN WITH THE THOUSAND SNOW TRACKS

the Emperor Kienlung, and on it the following words are written: "In a happy hour of summer there came into my hands the picture of Ku-Kaichih, and inspired by him I have sketched in black ink the spray of tree-orchid to express my admiration for the deep feeling and inner meaning of the picture."

This power of suggestion in Chinese art made it possible for garden artists to gratify that desire which was the main thing for the owner, i.e. to possess some copy of a famous landscape of his own country. Great admiration was felt for the Hsi-hu (Western Lake). To enjoy its beauty, nothing more was needed than a lake and one or two islands, with pavilions on them connected by bridges, and mountains by the shore with buildings on the top. Some kind of stone, native to the place; some kind of plant which would especially stir up memories (and before all others water-lilies, which are very plentiful at the Western Lake)

(Fig. 557)—these things are quite enough. Through them the spectator, on the veranda at his house or in some special pavilion, can summon to his sight the whole beloved view of the beautiful landscape. For the rest, the artist is allowed an entirely free hand, and he can fill in objects, great and small, according to his own fancy, with such means as he has.

Besides the imitations of well-known landscapes, original pictures were painted, in which was an attempt to express some mystical or imaginative fancy that was in the mind of the artist. The French engraver found on his Chinese original, which he carefully copied, the words "Garden of the Thousand Snow Tracks" (Fig. 558), and the grouping of artificial mound, numerous pavilions, zigzag steps, stream with waterfall and bridge, trees and stones, really expresses this idea in a definite landscape. For traditional feeling acted as a help, or even as compulsion, prescribing the three main elements, viz. hill and stones for the first, lake and stream for the second, pavilions and other erections for the third. The overhanging rock, with its pavilion at the top from which Hsi-Ma-Kuang admires the red hues of the rising sun, has its appointed task to perform in a Chinese garden. We shall see later how in Japan too, where literature on the subject is instructive and convincing, tradition and original art were closely connected.

The Chinaman is not familiar with the idea of going for a walk. Well-born ladies were incapable of walking very far, because of their compressed feet, which were never allowed to grow. They spent their lives largely in the garden. Chinese women are so fond of flowers that they wear them in their hair even after they have grown old and grey, and this applies to the lowest class; but as they never walk in the fields, interest in wild flowers does not exist. In the gardens the flowers are not set all together in beds, but arranged in groups like flowering shrubs, especially lilies of various kinds, and peonies. The little picture (Fig. 559) shows a rose climbing on a trellis, but we ought perhaps to see European influence in this, though the pine-tree on one side is really Chinese, and so are the foliage plants on the other side and the finely decorated vessel with a stone standing up in it shaped like a flower. All this, combined with trees in flower, which are very highly thought of in Eastern Asia, gives to their gardens an appearance of wonderful colour; and when the season no longer allows of it outdoors, the effect is helped by plants in pots.

The Chinese enjoy their gardens sitting down, and hence the many pavilions—a

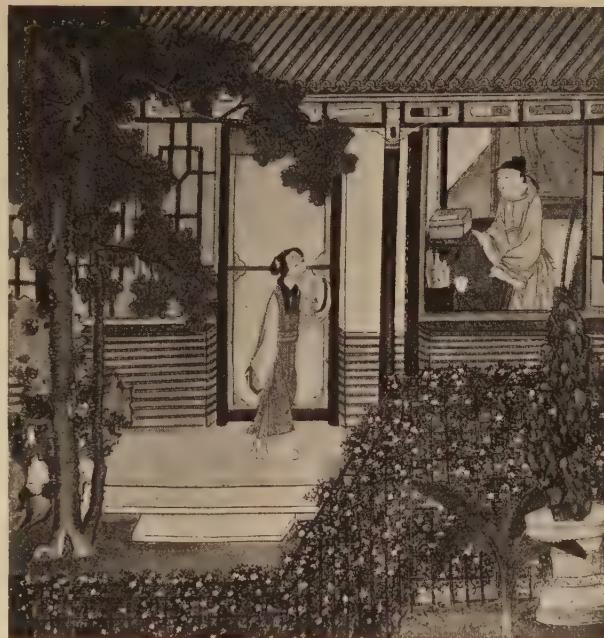


FIG. 559. ROSE LATTICE AND PINES BEFORE A HOUSE

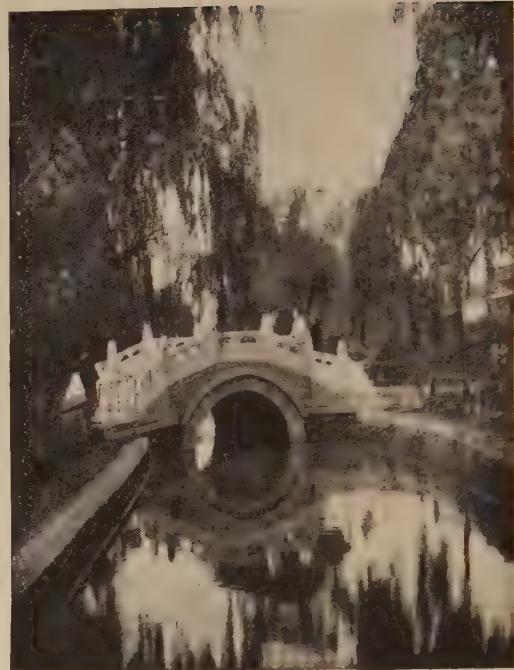


FIG. 560. PAVILION AND BRIDGE IN THE GARDEN OF LI-CHING-MAI, PEKING

feature which always strikes the European first. They approach these places of rest by winding paths paved with coloured mosaic tiles. Every pavilion has its fixed purpose of enlivening a particular scene, or providing a rest at some special view-point, or showing the garden in the varying light of different times of day, like the one turned to the morning sun at Hsi-Ma-Kuang's garden. Pavilions play a prominent part in lyrical poetry as meeting-places for all social parties (Fig. 560). To feel the whole charm of Chinese garden life we should read the little poem *The Porcelain Pavilion*, by Li-Tai-pe:

In the middle of the lake we made
Is a porcelain house all green and white.
Thither we walk on a bridge of jade
Arched like the back of a tiger.
In this pavilion sit our friends,
In garments light, and drink their wine,
With merry talk, or writing verse,
Their heavy headgear they discard,
And turn their sleeves a little up.

And in the lake the little bridge appears,
A crescent moon of jade, turned upside-down;
So standing on their heads our friends are seen
In lightest garments clad, and drink their wine,
In a porcelain house.

The writing of verses is an essential part of Chinese hospitality. They have a favourite game, which was afterwards transported to Japan, in which a wine goblet is made to float on a stream, and anybody whom it passes must either compose a verse or drink a great draught of wine. There are two pictures dating from the Ming Dynasty which show

garden fêtes of this sort in the second half of the fourteenth century. The first depicts the garden of Villa Kin-Kou at Honan, founded by Shi-Tsung between the third and fourth centuries in the Tsin Dynasty. Shi-Tsung was a high official in the family of the emperor. He is seen in the picture at the side of his beloved lady, for whose sake he ruined his career, in the company of pleasure-seekers and wine-bibbers. The second picture shows a garden fête given by the poet Li-Tai-pe himself, who is holding a festival, together with his three brothers, in the garden of Villa Tau-li, which was famous at the Tang capital, Tsi-Nan-Fu. This work was an illustration of a poem by Li-Tai-pe: "Any night," he says, "when lovely flowers smell sweet and a light breeze blows cool, is a gift from Heaven for our delight. Nothing better can we do than be happy, light the candles, lift the wine-glass, and write poems. But he who is no poet must drink three glasses, as once of old was done in the garden feast at Kin-Kou." Both pictures give only the foreground of the garden beside the house; we have also bridges, and flowering trees, and pine-trees with tables set out below them.

Hsi-Ma-Kuang also mentions the number of pavilions that were scattered about his grounds. All the ambassadors who later on gained admittance into the imperial gardens relate that they were entertained first in one pavilion, then in another, as the emperor might happen to be dining in this or that. Every large garden in China comprised the most diverse arrangements, and each place was designed for the enjoyment of its own peculiarities as a place of rest. The first view was as a rule to be seen from the house, or might open out to the visitor as he approached, like that described by Hsi-Ma-Kuang: a larger or smaller lake, according to the size of the estate, always provided the centre-point of the open, smiling valley. If large enough, it had one or more islands, all decked with small summer-houses. It was approached either by a path of flat stones or by a bridge. According to its length, the bridge is either constructed of flat rectangular stones, or is of wood with a balustrade to it, and in that case it takes a zigzag course. If the lake is large and deep enough for the owner to indulge his love of boating, the bridges have arches, made of all sorts of different materials, under which the boats can pass (Fig. 560). But, however varied lake or bridge might be, the Chinese were always mindful of the original pattern for every Chinese lake, the Western Lake (Hsi-hu). There they found bridges, between the roads that led across the lake, which house-boats could get under. These boats were hired by the day for whole families. Very often there is a pavilion in the middle of a bridge, or a "Gate of Triumph" at each end. There were gates of this sort at both ends of the bridge leading across to the imperial palace at Cambalu, told of by Marco Polo.

The garden of Hsi-Ma-Kuang, which in its simplicity seemed to mirror the taste of that quiet man of learning, had its library as the central feature. The chief part of the garden was treated very simply. There is nothing said about an island in the lake, but there was a stream flowing down from the eastern hills to form the cascade, which in the east part of the chief garden was quite indispensable. Also, to north and west, hills encompassed the banks, falling back a little in the middle and so making the view more open. The eye was attracted onward to half-hidden ravines and bamboo groves, and farther still to the horizon and the little woods of flowering pomegranate trees, citrons, and oranges. From the middle of these rose the spiral hill with its green pavilion.

In Chinese scenery smiling landscape must contrast with something terrible, such as overhanging threatening rocks, deformed trees apparently broken by the force of a

storm, dark hollows, foaming waterfalls, or buildings which look partly like ruins and partly as though they have been destroyed by fire. With these accessories the effect of the terrible is produced. The hermitage of Hsi-Ma-Kuang has a gentler look, due to its quiet lake with encircling rocks. In some of its features it partakes of the romantic and idyllic, which comes out strongly in the little island with the fisherman's hut. The poet conducts us to the hermitage by way of dark cool caves. In the artificial hills and rocks of all gardens of any size, there were hollows and even actual rooms, often made at great expense. Martini also speaks of this: "In the beautiful gardens of China I have seen artificial hills in which have been cut most skilfully hollowed recesses, rooms, and stairs, even ponds, trees and other objects, where art really was a rival to nature. This is done

to get rid of the heat of summer in the cool of such caves, when men want a place for study or for a fête. Still more beautiful is the place where the labyrinth is made, for although the area is not extensive, you can walk about there for two or three hours." The chief aim, however, of Chinese architects was to find some central point where all these minor pictures, which were enjoyed separately, could be seen in one comprehensive view. Hsi-Ma-Kuang does not emphasise this point particularly, but probably for him the view on the top of the hill, whence he could also look down on the level of his own river, the Kiang, was the chief attraction.



FIG. 561. CHINESE GARDEN WITH PINES

both in size and in splendour. In all cases, whether the estate was large or small, the chief effort in a Chinese garden was to make the picture in the right proportion for the given space. Although it was practically never possible to repeat in its own dimensions the natural scene that was imitated, there was a constant endeavour to have the place appear more important than it was by a clever management of the perspective. It is said by Staunton, who was in the retinue of the English Embassy, that in one garden which he noticed there was a slight wall, which, looked at from a certain distance through the branches of a thicket, gave the impression of a magnificent house. The Chinaman, even in his own large garden, had to make a miniature copy of his model, and Staunton writes of the imperial palace at Peking:

It stands as the middle point of the Tartar town, which lies unregarded in the dusty plain; yet the walls of the palace coincide with every winding or contour which nature in her most capricious mood had imposed on the surface of the ground, but always in less degree. Hills, valleys, lakes, rivers, the bold precipice and the gentle slope, all are here, and not where nature placed them; but in their relative sizes

they are so exact and in such perfect harmony, that (if the whole aspect of the surrounding country did not give the lie to this deception) any spectator would feel a doubt whether this was a natural site, or only a felicitous imitation of the beauty of nature. This world in little has been brought into being at the command of man and at his pleasure, but through the bitter toil of thousands.

Seeing that even a place of importance, like an imperial garden, must have its proportions reduced, the artists had to accommodate their work to really tiny places; and this was the reason why they imposed a limit on the growth of trees, but even dwarf trees, however small they were, had to keep every peculiarity of those that had grown to their full natural size. The native of Eastern Asia particularly admired the diversity of form, the queer irregularity, of trees in the open landscape, where he likes old willows, pines and firs, also cherry-trees; and these are commonly shown in the pictures (Fig. 561). It almost looks as though the trees, if left to themselves, have a more varied form and significance in China than with us, just as his mountains are full of weird and curiously formed overhanging rocks. These landscape pictures, taken as a whole, are often scarcely to be distinguished from some particular large garden, for which they have doubtless served frequently as models (Fig. 562).

The trees are of all sizes, from fully-grown specimens in the large gardens to dwarfish ones found with the little hills, valleys, and rocks of a tiny plot of ground; and to produce the miniature trees was the main occupation of Chinese gardeners. After the art of regulating the growth of trees was learned they went so far as to use dwarf trees in vases to decorate indoor rooms (Fig. 563). Father Cibot says in his Essay that he saw trees, such as pines and cedars, only a few inches high; and to match the little trees there would be a miniature landscape in a vase, with everything set out in the right proportions. For a Chinaman a tiny landscape of this kind presents all the beauty of nature. Lord Macartney,

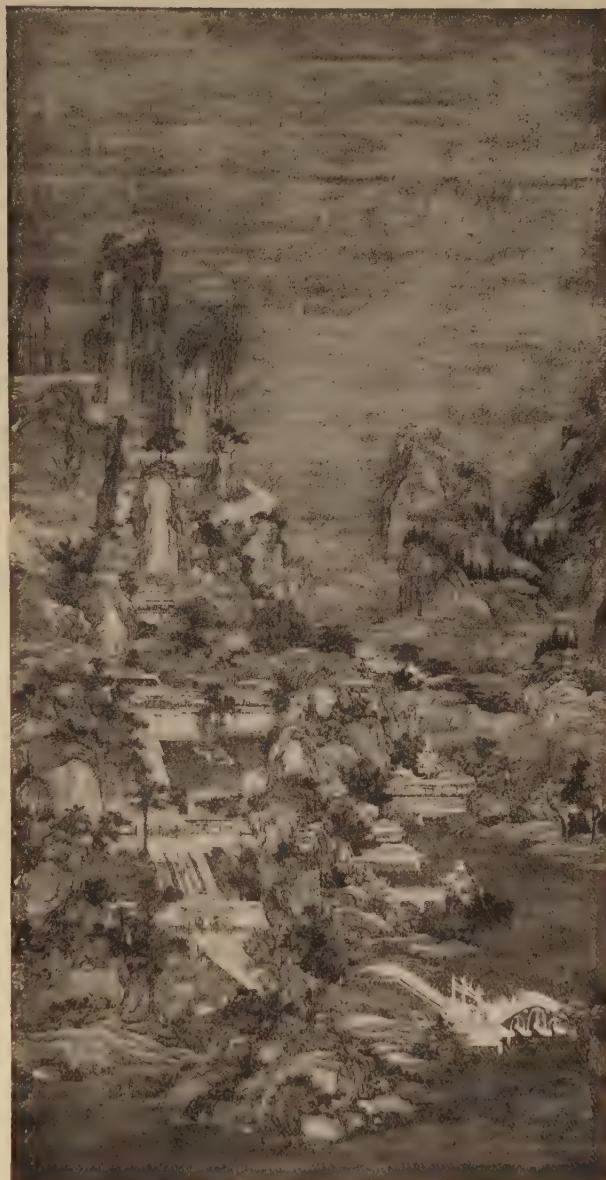


FIG. 562. A CHINESE LANDSCAPE GARDEN



FIG. 563. VERANDA WITH PLANTS IN POTS AND DWARF TREES

the English Ambassador, says that the understanding of dwarf tree culture was a secret, and was very highly esteemed. One of the Chinese poets sings the praises of the art thus: "It makes our nature cheerful, and fills the heart with love; it destroys ennui and evil passions; it teaches us how to change flowers and trees, and brings distant landscapes to our view: we need no journeying to behold the wave-beaten shores, and mountains, caves, and cool grottoes; we behold the course of the ages, but not their decay." All this experience the Eastern Asiatic gets out of a little landscape which is only a few feet in area.

The peculiarities of trees are also brought out in the kind of avenues used, both as a grand approach to some temple and to form a straight line which guides the eye to some particular point, as does the avenue of willows in the garden of Hsi-Ma-Kuang. Houses in China, as elsewhere in Eastern countries, are adjacent to greater or smaller courts; and these, even in the humblest homes, give character to the garden by containing flowering trees and shrubs, or pot plants, which are liked still more. One passes through these courts before coming to the real garden, which is seen from the veranda at the house. Close to the house the pool often adopts the form of a regular basin; and here also the decoration is prettier and better arranged, with perhaps a lattice border and climbing roses, which remind us of the gardens of small European houses, or again with covered leafy walks, concealing the garden walls; these things are known and beloved by the Chinese as well as by us; but informality still persists, and groups of trees and stones accompany the road till we are close up to the terrace of the house.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the house the ever-present symbolism plays a

great part in determining the decorations. In every plant and in every tree there is a meaning applicable to human life, and so everyone chooses the flowers for his own house to suit his private wishes. As in the building of a house, the laying out of a garden is subject to fixed laws, so as to propitiate the kindly deities, and keep away the bad ones. These laws are called *Feng-shui* by the Chinese, and by their guidance they attribute valuable powers to certain trees and plants according to their kinds. All men like to find a peach-tree before the door, because it is the symbol of immortality. Since the stork was said to promise a great age, this bird was naturally set there as a companion picture; and human forms, to represent genii, were made of the green wood, exactly as they were made in European gardens.

Of all the imperial gardens the best known to Europeans are those of the eighteenth century. At that period news was coming in from every side, and there were continual fresh accounts either of complete gardens or of particular beautiful things in them. The Manchu emperors had laid them out to the west of the capital, but in the Ming Dynasty, which began in 1368, and to which the Chinese ascribe the highest development of their garden art, the summer palaces and gardens were on the south side. Yuen-ming-yuen, the Round Bright Garden or Garden of Heaven, the summer palace of the emperors, is on a large, rather steeply ascending plain, which would make the construction of a garden less difficult. Father Attiret, who gives a specially detailed description of this garden, says that the artificial hills put up there reach a height of twenty to sixty feet, and that there are an immense number of little valleys between the hills. The bottom is filled with clear water in canals which make pools and lakes in all directions. Highly decorated boats float on the water, and some of them have little houses on the top. Paths paved with pebbles wind about the place; they lead close up to the water, and then turn off again and go still farther. Every valley has its own house, of one story only, and with small surroundings, but considerable enough for the accommodation of the emperor and his suite. They seem to stand on the rocks like fairy dwellings; and fairy steps lead up to them, looking quite natural. Some of the houses are made of cedar-wood, others stand on pillars, and are finely painted. "Astonishment increases when one is told that within this magnificent territory there are actually two hundred such palaces."

The different buildings are invariably separated by water or by artificial mounds. Many sorts of bridges, frequently winding, and often supplied with white marble railings, beautifully divided and carved, lead across the waters. On those bridges which command a specially fine view there are pavilions; others have triumphal arches. One of the largest ponds measures almost half a mile across, and in the middle lies a real treasure, an island that might be called a rock, rough and very steep. A palace is built on it, and small though it is, it actually contains no fewer than a hundred rooms. The architect selected this particular spot so that the eye might cover at a glance all the beauties of the park, which on a walk could only be revealed one after the other. From this point there were visible all the mountains that closed in here, all the canals that poured their waters here, all the bridges near and far, all the pavilions, and the arches of triumph; all the little groves that show green either between the palaces or in front of them. The banks of canals and lakes were most varied in kind; some had stone quays, and galleries, in some cases the paths were covered with shells. Here and there were pretty terraces with steps leading up to the palaces. Above there were higher terraces with buildings like an amphitheatre.

theatre, surrounded by groves of flowering trees. Between the rocks flowers bloomed everywhere; and beyond there were thickets of wild trees which will only grow on quite uncultivated mountains, very tall, and the abiding-place of shadows. At Yuen-ming-yuen there was also the European part, with water-devices hitherto unknown in China, and living but a short life there. Round about the walls of this princely seat there were a great number of dwellings made by the artist and architect, and work was going on continually for the garden and the palace. And near this imperial summer-house there were a great many others.

The monarch had a great affection for "the Hill of the Wide View," which was quite near; he would have liked to make his residence there, but etiquette forbade him to live in the home of his predecessor. According to the descriptions we have, this garden was laid out in a simpler style, and deserved its name; for the buildings were set up in terrace form on a high hill, whose base ended in a great lake scattered over with innumerable small structures. In the case of other places, their very names stir our imagination, as, for example, Shang-chuen-yuen, "Garden of Everlasting Spring," and Tsing-ming-yuen, "Garden of Lordly Peace." As we have said before, the Manchu emperor was fond of travelling; and every year he went on a seven days' journey to the fine hunting-seat—Jehol. At each stage there was a palace, provided with everything necessary, and surrounded by a garden. Lord Macartney visited him at Jehol, and found its gardens incomparable. He praises a green valley full of huge ancient willow-trees, which reached down to the bank of the great lake. They crossed over it, between the water-lilies, to the small palaces on the shore, until their way was checked by a bridge that their boat could not pass under; behind the bridge the lake appeared to lose itself in the blue distance. The palaces each contained a large room with a throne, and were adorned with European works of art. The ambassador especially observed that the valleys could be planted with northern oaks and with the most tender plants of the south, although this palace was in a wild, inhospitable part of the country.

The Chinese had public gardens also. We have already spoken of the house for entertainment on the island of Hsi-hu. The rich salt merchants had presented the emperor with an exceedingly handsome Summer Palace at the town of Yang-Shou, between the rivers of Kiang and Hoang-ho, and this was a highly decorative addition to the town, and made a public promenade. Although it took three-quarters of an hour to walk through it, everything was open to the public. A person going in stood on the bank of the great lake at the particular central point which gave him a view of the whole. He could sit down in one of the little tea-pavilions which were on the shore in great numbers, and gaze at the spectacle of pleasure-boats on the lake, or look right across over the heads of merry groups to the hills covered with buildings. The top was brightened by the emperor's palace, and from here the best view of all was obtained.

The gardens at the temples were also open to the public, but their importance for garden art in Eastern Asia was first clearly recognised not in China but in Japan. Still, in the surroundings of Chinese temples we sometimes find to-day very old and very beautiful trees, which in many cases were planted at the time of the foundation of the temples. The fantastic style of architecture and the gay colouring in the temples fit well into garden surroundings. The pagodas with their irregular wavy roofs almost look like trees frozen rigid. The important pagoda of Lung-hua at Shanghai (Fig. 564) is in



FIG. 564. THE LUNG-HUA PAGODA, SHANGHAI



FIG. 565. PAGODA AT FATSHAN, SOUTHERN CHINA

the midst of ancient trees, and the wonderful building of the pagoda at Fatshan (Fig. 565) shows the corner of the temple behind which it stands. The trees by the temples are just as inviolable as those which the Chinaman plants about the graves of his fathers, for the Oriental trait of reverence is particularly widespread and very deeply rooted. Every Chinese family, except the very poorest, has its family grave, which is sacred to it; and the surrounding of trees has often grown to be a park. In a country so thickly built over, where every foot of open land is used for cultivation, these sacred groves are almost the only preserves for trees.

JAPAN

The civilisation of Japan is modern compared with that of China, but it is of the Chinese school, as is unreservedly recognised. The relationship is made very clear by the fact that the Japanese first obtained a notion of literature when they accepted Buddhism, which happened with astonishing quickness in the fifth century A.D., and it was from China that this religion overflowed into Japan. The Japanese authors, who had to invent a written speech, adopted the single-syllable language of the Chinese, by means of which they wrote their own language phonetically. The Japanese are a surprisingly receptive as well as a very zealous and diligent people. They absorbed the results of Western civilisation in a single generation. In the domain of art the Japanese have originality, but in all else they appear only as an offshoot from the great Chinese tree, and only began to exist when that tree was independent and full-grown. This is especially true in the case of painting, and in the garden art which is so intimately connected therewith. China offers riddle after riddle to an inquiring student, in spite of the fact that in her life and art there is such remarkable continuity and coherence, and problems occur all through her history; Japan, on the contrary, has all her cards on the table and allows a greedy inquirer to make investigations into the innermost recesses of her spiritual history.

At the present time the garden art of Japan is known and admired in Europe. It is examined and imitated as few others are. This is not simply the result of unrestricted trade between the nations and the incomparable advantage that the Japanese have themselves seen European gardens, but is also and perhaps still more due to their philosophical type of mind. In life, thought, and action the Japanese have always been in complete harmony with their environment and history, and the greater part of their literature consists of works that are meant to be instructive. Many of the national characteristics that incline the Japanese towards gardening are shared by the Chinese, or indeed by most of the people of Asia; but we are particularly well informed as to the love felt by the Japanese for nature and the garden. It is not a mere æsthetic exhibition made by the aristocracy, although we are dealing with a people so aristocratic that all culture so called was for a long time confined exclusively to the one class. Delight in the beauty of nature is expressed in great festivals shared by all classes, and in this particularly festive nation flower fêtes take the first place.

It was a fortunate circumstance in ancient Japanese civilisation that its calendar was a lunar one and made New Year's Day fall in February, so that the day and the month of the new year combined to create a feast of welcome. On this happy day the first plum-blossom, *prunus mume*, so dear to the Japanese heart, was greeted with great rejoicings.

The tree itself, dark and gnarled, and in old age often quaint-looking, is a great contrast to its delicate flowers, with their snow-white or blood-red bloom, appearing before the leaves. The people come in crowds, and though some are noisy, others gaze with silent rapture. Poets of all times have taken this tree for their theme, and it seems to embody hopes for the coming year in the endless allegories and legends that are bound up with it. Royal princes and great men alike planted parts of their parks with the mume, after-



FIG. 566. UENO PARK, TOKIO—CHERRY-TREES IN BLOOM

wards admitting the common people, and receiving the nobility on certain special days marked for ceremonial fêtes. Rejoicings are still more vehement when the Japanese cherry, *Prunus pseudo-cerasus*, is in flower in April. Both these trees are grown for the sake of their flowers, not for their fruit, which is of little use. The year has come to its chief beauty, and now even the very poorest person brings out a gay dress, to share with friends and children a humble picnic under the flowering trees (Fig. 566).

The double cherry, with its large white and pale pink flowers, is exceedingly beautiful. In the old garden, the Fukiage, which once belonged to the Shogun, and is now the property of the Mikado, are held the annual ceremonial feasts of the Cherry-blossoms. There is a saying, "If anyone asks where is the heart of a true Japanese, point to the wild

cherry blossom, where it glows upon the tree." Thus the Japanese people, like the Chinese, have a complete flower-calendar according to their favourite blossoms; and every month is indicated by its own most beautiful flower. Flowering trees are cultivated in both countries entirely for the sake of the beauty of the blossom (Fig. 567). Between plum and cherry comes peach, in the month of March. In May appear the flowers of the fuji, the wistaria, after which the Japanese have named the most beautiful of their hills, the Fujiyama. The most distinguished of Japanese families, which, like the Mikado himself, traces back its origin to the gods, bears the name of Fuji-wara, i.e. wistaria-field. All the



FIG. 567. FLOWERING PEAR-TREES IN A PEKING GARDEN

arbours are covered with this tree, in fact the verandas are only there at all so that they may show from below the great beauty of the bunches of flowers (Fig. 568).

In June the iris follows; and in the fields of iris herons are to be seen, slender birds, tame, and fond of company. In July there is the lotus, changing every pond as with a magician's wand into a charming garden of flowers. In the days of Li-Tai-pe the Chinese also used to go out to the rivers and lakes which were so famous for water-lilies. They went in hosts, to admire and to pluck the flowers, as is told in the tender poem, *On the Banks of the Yo-Yeh*. June brings peonies, which are also much delighted in by poets. August and September are the months when the many kinds of hibiscus are in flower. In October the chrysanthemums bloom, and again people come together, to see the exhibitions of these flowers. Once more the nobility hold festivals, which are really one mass of tradition, in the imperial gardens. The chrysanthemum appears in the emperor's coat of arms. Now also the fine foliage of the maple takes colour, and is the pride of many places. November and December produce a particular sort of camellia, and also the flowers of the

Chinese tea-plant. Last of all, in January, we have gardens full of the more common kinds of camellias.

Japan has not a very large number of different kinds of flowers, and the attempt to cultivate a greater variety only began with the influence of the West. But we can add to the list of the popular flowers already named both azaleas and orchids. Such Western methods of training as they could not actually see were quite unknown to the Japanese. Even in their imperial flower, the chrysanthemum, they were surpassed by gardeners of the West. Yet Europe has had no notion of the innate, profound, and highly developed love for flowers that is felt by the Japanese, and which is remarkably exhibited in one branch of art, viz. the way that flowers are arranged. This they call *Ike-bana*, or living flowers (Fig. 569). The notion is to find for a flower, which is taken out of the earth,

some place wherein it is as far as possible in its natural atmosphere. Because it has been moved and placed in a vessel it has to be under special protection and care. The stalk or the branch must keep its own particular form. The vase must above all be suitable for the flower, and must, so to speak, counterbalance it as did its native earth before, while at the same time it must add something to its beauty, and set it in the right light. It is easily understood that the trained eye of the Japanese detects the idiosyncrasy of any plant; and as Nature does not often give these forms in their perfection, art must be summoned to her aid.

The art of arranging flowers is closely connected with the underlying symbolism that we shall find in Japanese gardening.

There is faithful observation at work, together with delicate æsthetic sensibility, both for line and for symbolic meanings. This is always present with the Japanese; and out of it there arises some form which is sanctified by their tradition, and has been elaborated in many volumes of theoretical treatises. Thus the very curves which the plant is to take are prescribed, and also the little branches with three, five, or seven blossoms or leaves. All the details are systematically worked out, and each has its definite symbolic importance. Moreover, care has to be taken about the surroundings in the room, and where the vase is to be placed. Seeing that the room looks out upon a garden, it really belongs in a sense to that; and so this garden must not be neglected in the scheme.

It follows from the relation of the Japanese both to Nature as a whole and to trees and flowers in particular, that theirs are not flower-gardens in the same sense as ours are. The fundamental principle of Chinese art is so to bring Nature before the eyes that only selected beauties are seen, and this is the end and sum of Japanese art also. This art, as indeed were all the arts, was at its height in the military epoch of Japanese history. But the Japanese received their style as such ready-made, for it was delivered over to them from China at the same time that the country was penetrated by Buddhism. At any rate,



FIG. 568. THE WISTARIA ARBOUR

it was then that attention was first directed towards the building of temples, and Buddhist monks have from the beginning been wont to take the utmost care of the surroundings of their temples and monasteries. Japanese writers do indeed talk of a primitive style, existing before the Chinese influence came in, and we read of a lake with island, bridge, and plum- and orange-trees; but as there was no written literature at the time they would have been made and planted, this tradition is too vague.

It was not till the warlike period of Heian, about 800 to 1150, that the court nobility began to build palaces in Kyoto, the capital, and that gardens were laid out in the front of the strange collection of houses, which were joined to each other by corridors. At that



FIG. 569. ARRANGEMENT OF FLOWERS IN JAPAN

period there existed only one typical style, imported from China, which brought into a single picture the view of lake, island, bridge, water falling from an artificial hill in the background, and different sorts of trees and stone-work oddly shaped and twisted. There would be a grotto at one corner, and some sort of hermitage or hut to enliven the scene. People were wont to come to a place like this on fine summer evenings. There were covered walks leading from the house to the garden, which also served as walls for the whole enclosure. In the ninth century the famous artist Kanaoka was busy, drawing such houses and gardens. His death was followed by the closing years of the Heian epoch, a period of much revelling and licence, when the nobles took to all kinds of extravagances; but famous gardens were laid out at Kyoto.

The greatest admiration was excited by the house of a chieftain of the Minamota clan. This house was encased in brick—a style which at that time was positively unique. The owner made a park round his house which copied in miniature a landscape that was

famous in Japan—the salt coast (*shiwo-mama*) of the province of Mutsu. It is characteristic of the nobility of that day that they had hundreds of tons of salt water evaporated there, so as to give the fresh-water lake the proper taste of the sea. In the same spirit of exaggerated æstheticism, they would cover tall trees with artificial cherry- and plum-blossom, in order to recall the spring, or would hang garlands of wistaria on pine-trees in the autumn, or would pile up great masses of snow, so that they might still see traces of it under the sunny skies of spring. The mixture of snow and flowers is, of course, one of the things that the Japanese have delighted in at all times.

The art of gardening shows what seems to be an entirely new feature in the next, the so-called Kamakura, epoch, lasting from about 1150 to 1310. The Buddhist monks, as we have said, were the chief cultivators of the garden and also the chief teachers. Even



FIG. 570a. SUIZENJI PARK, KUMAMOTO, JAPAN—
ARTIFICIAL FUJIYAMA IN THE BACKGROUND



FIG. 570b. FUJIYAMA, JAPAN

to this day we find, as in China, the best old gardens round the temples and monasteries; and these look very fine against the dark-green background with the complementary red colour so universally used in religious buildings.

We have already noticed the importance of stones in the Chinese garden. It is probable that the monks took from China into Japan the custom of naming the most important stones, which had special places assigned to them, after certain Buddhist divinities. In the garden of the Abbot of Tokuwamou Lafcadio Hearn saw represented the legend of the Buddha, before whom the stones bow down. And even in the latest times stones bearing the names of gods are to be seen in monastic gardens: they are mostly nine in number, five standing, four lying down. Each had to have a fixed place, and they were to serve as protectors against evil. Probably these temple gardens had predecessors in China that were equally or more important. Hills are sacred to the Japanese as well as to the Chinese. Nearly all are dedicated to a particular deity, and have temples to which pilgrimages are made. The highest hill, and the most perfect the gods have ever made, is the Fujiyama; and to have a copy of it in one's own garden is the best thing possible (Fig. 570a).

A legend says that Fujiyama (Fig. 570b) rose in one night, together with the Biwa Lake, for the gods piled it up with the earth obtained from the lake basin. This hill forms a lofty example for the enduring work of a gardener; lake and hill serve one another.

The first Japanese treatise on the art of gardening appeared at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and was a kind of moral or philosophical essay. The art is founded, according to Yoshitsune Gokyogoku, on the first principle of the prevailing philosophy of Laotse, viz. that everything in nature is split up into two corresponding parts, the male and the female, the active and the passive, the ruling and the ruled. In accordance with this principle, we must proceed in gardening as in every other form of art. Thus in a picture there is produced the effect of contrast and proportion; if there is a stone that has in it the male element, and is of a tall upright shape, there has to be a female stone as a complement, flat and lying down. Again, if on an island there is a tall spreading tree, there should be a slender lamp-post set up near it; and beside a hill of some particular shape there should be another hill of different shape. But this is not all: answering to the suggestive fancy that was adopted from China, and to the Chinese delight in symbolism, the Japanese supplied some positive meaning and definition for every single thing, all held together and controlled by regular fixed rules. In this way there came about a kind of grammar, a formal instruction in garden art, which was eagerly seized upon by the followers of Gokyogoku, and carried out in as accurate and detailed a way as possible.

The monk Soseki, a leading member of the Zen sect, and the artist-priest Soami, rank as the most important teachers and supporters of garden art in the fifteenth century. Soami makes a division of landscapes and sea-scapes into twelve principal kinds. When a garden is to be laid out, the designer must first have certain main points fixed in his mind, and these are generally marked by stones, which are therefore spoken of as the skeleton of the garden. And here we must concede to the dwellers in Eastern Asia that they have a fellow-feeling with Nature, and especially with inanimate Nature, which is unknown to Europeans. Lafcadio Hearn says that if we cannot feel with conviction that stones have a character of their own, as well as colours and values, the artistic idea of a Japanese garden will never be revealed to us. Soami classifies separately lake-stones and river-stones, stones that glide along, stones that float on the waves, stones that interrupt a river and stones that the river avoids, stones on which the water breaks and stones that stand apart from it, stones that stand up and stones that lie down, stones where water-fowl dry their feathers, stones for mandarin ducks, and Sutra stones, to enumerate only some of the most important. But later on 138 kinds, and even more, were classified as necessary for a perfect garden, though in smaller places they could be reduced to five, which must be regulated as to size and position by the area of the ground. By the scheme of male and female—and some of the stones and other natural objects seemed to partake of both—a happy proportion was kept. There were, moreover, as many helpful stones as were needed to characterise a landscape of river, lake, or rock. Stones were often brought from a distance when they were required to elucidate some particular landscape. If the blocks of rock intended for a large place were too heavy for transport, they were broken up on the spot, and set up again with cement in the park, of exactly the same size and shape.

The garden artist had to take into account the suitability of the ground and the inclination of the oven before he chose between the two chief kinds of garden, the mountain,

In large places, belonging to one of the Daimios, or terri-



FIG. 571. DESIGN FOR A HILL-GARDEN IN JAPAN

torial nobles, the first of these styles was as a rule used for the principal view, which could be seen from the chief reception-rooms of the castle. But there was plenty of choice as to whether the landscape should be a combination of land or of lake features. (In the latter case the Seiko—the Chinese Hsi-hu or Western Lake—was always the ideal in Japan.) A number of subdivisions were ready for selection. The style of sea and rock demands a great waterfall, firs beaten by the storm, rocks, and the stones of a beach. The style of the wide river, on the other hand, demands a smaller waterfall, stones such as are found in rivers, and an actual river widening out into a lake. The style of the natural stream demands a mountain brook and a small pool; whereas the style of waves must have no island, but many water-plants and only a few stones. The style of the marshy grass calls for hills that are round, like dunes, with flat stones. On one side of the sea there must be heath-land or moor, and beside the water either willows or gnarled plum-trees.

It must be borne in mind that in Japan all forms of art, including that of gardening, show three grades in execution. There is the perfect and completed style, the intermediate, and that which is merely sketchy. For every sort of garden a particular plan has to be made. Thus for the completed style of the mountain garden there must be at least five hills (Fig. 571). The middle part of it is occupied by a broad hill declining on both sides (1), of which the original model is Fujiyama; 2 is its complementary picture, lower and quite near to it; 3 is on the side that faces 1, and stands in the foreground with a valley between, thickly planted, and either actually containing, or at least suggesting a hidden stream; 4 is entirely in front, and emphasises the hill-landscape.

there is a fifth hill in the background, so as to give the necessary impression of depth, between the two chief hills.

In a garden of this kind there have to be ten principal stones with their proper functions and names. The largest, 1, is the Watchman Stone; 2, its feminine counterpart, is on the other side of the waterfall. The Stone of Adoration is generally situated on an island, and the Stone of the Complete View is either in front or on one side, and shows by its position where the finest outlook can be obtained over the garden. In the same way all the rest of the stones have their places and names, which are thoroughly understood.

Correspondingly, the chief trees are easily recognised by Japanese eyes; 1 is a stately oak or some other leafy tree set in the middle, and has to be perfect in growth and beauty, so as to attract men's gaze to it first; 2 is the favourite pine-tree, which stands on an island; 3 is the Tree of Loneliness. There is also the Tree of the Cascade, and so on. A maple is generally selected for the Tree of the Setting Sun (5), and is placed so far to the west that as the sun sinks it shines through the red leaves. Every perfect garden must have seven special trees such as these.

There must always be water also, whatever kind it may happen to be. A lake must take the form of a tortoise, or of a crane, or some other definite shape. The main picture must always be brightened by a waterfall. Running water must take the direction of east to west and should flow swiftly. The water-basins and the waterfalls are mostly placed near the house, so that they can be used for people to wash their hands. When water does not



FIG. 572. A JAPANESE DESIGN FOR A LEVEL GARDEN

arise from the lake, there must be a spring; but if that is not forthcoming, there has to be a path which loses itself, and so suggests that the source is a long way off. Where no water at all can be got, it can at any rate be suggested symbolically by overhanging trees, and by river stones, or by a bed of firm sand. Lafcadio Hearn describes a certain garden which was almost entirely sand and stones. He says that the effect the artist intended was an approach to the sea over a chain of sand dunes.

The other inevitable ornament of every garden of this kind is the bridge, which is no less common in Japan than it is in China, but here there is more restriction about its treatment and situation. The bridge is always to be found, when there is an island, with trees and lamps. As to the lamp, it appears in its special garden form because of tradition.

It really seems to have been of purely Japanese origin, and is not found in Chinese gardens. It has been imported into the gardens of the laity from Buddhist temple-gardens, where lamps are often arranged in rows as votive offerings. These lamps are not used for lighting as a rule; indeed, they are very seldom lighted. By their ornamentation and symbolic signs they are apparently meant to stand for something sacred, for some sort of religious feeling.

In the older Japanese gardens there are no grass lawns, and the ground in front up to the lake is only firmly trodden earth, kept damp, or else strewn with fine white sand, often marked out in ornamental shapes. In neither case may it be trodden on, so there are stepping-stones made of irregular blocks in winding patterns, which lead from the veranda to the bridge or to

some other particular spot. The footpaths themselves are made either of stones or firm sand. Ornamental bars and gates are of more importance in the two other grades of gardens, which are content with fewer cardinal points in their lay-out (Fig. 572). Charming bamboo screens are nearly always used as an ornament close to the veranda, and here there have to be washing-basins, which are decorated and placed among trees, stones, and lamps (Fig. 573). Another ornament, also found in China in a somewhat different form, is the so-called Torii. These are wooden posts with two cross-beams, of which the upper one is curved. Like the lamps, they serve no useful purpose, and are often set up in long rows. At one time they were probably intended to ornament the ends of bridges. They came into gardens out of the Shinto temples, but their religious meaning has never been explained, and they have never been used as gates. In the gardens they may perhaps serve as a reminder of something that had a religious nature, such as a temple.



FIG. 573. A WASHING-BASIN BESIDE THE VERANDA

The gardens of the less exalted grades, those of the middle and the sketchy styles, differ in that they have, as mentioned above, a smaller number of fixed cardinal points to serve the artist when he has to make a garden of smaller size, or of a simpler kind, to suit the rooms in the house. Aiming at this change, he has at his disposal the second group of the so-called level gardens, for which, moreover, a threefold expression is ready to his hand. However simple the place might be, every garden had to reckon with the meanings of hills, stones, and trees; and with the necessity of exciting the imagination of the owner in a language of suggestive symbolism. For "it is the most striking gift of the Japanese that they can seize upon the fundamental characteristic objects in Nature and reproduce them in those smaller writings and pictures which serve the ends of decorative art." It is the artist's business also, bound as he is by the limitations of an obviously rigid rule, not only to realise all the possibilities of imitating actual landscape, but always to create some special meaning that suits the taste, the station, or the profession of the owner, and to impress this meaning on his whole picture. It is stated of the gardens which are famous in history that they have represented Calm Retirement, Happiness, Age, Wedded Love, The Book of Change, and many other things.

The Japanese liked to look on purely poetic or historical scenes with imaginative eyes, even when he was in his own garden. To behold Elysian isles, for example, he had only to make a lake, with water-lilies on an island to which his own bridge would take him; and with the addition perhaps of an old fountain the scene would be complete.

A garden monument, shaded by a group of firs, would suggest to his mind some specially sacred temple. Thus his garden is not a mere picture to him, but he is also able to converse with it in the language of the poets. In every larger garden there is a series of pictures, a series of views such as there are in China, and they have to express their general unity by way of contrasts. It was a favourite custom to connect eight different scenes, answering to the *Hak-kei* or eight views, which made particular points in Japan so famous. Other gardens would often show far more than eight. In one famous park at Tokio, which was destroyed in 1867, there were the thirty-six views which took the travellers so greatly by surprise on the way there from Kyoto. So faithfully were these copies made that "a tour through the park was just like a journey from one capital city to another."

The miniature gardens, which had come about, as in China, through the cultivation of dwarf plants, became by degrees objects of extreme luxury and value. Like dwarf trees in pots (Fig. 574), the tiny landscapes became almost priceless, according to our ideas. Early visitors to Japan spoke of them: Kämpfer saw growing together in one box four inches long, one and a half inches wide, and six inches high, a bamboo cane, a pine-tree, and a



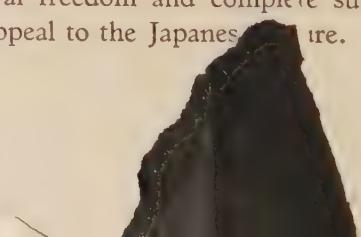
FIG. 574. JAPANESE DWARF TREES

flowering plum-tree, which together were valued at two thousand marks, and this was not an exceptional price. In 1910 the Japanese Government presented to the City of London two transportable miniature gardens as a most precious gift, one of them a hill-garden, the other a tea-garden. According to an inscription the trees varied in age from thirty to a hundred and fifty years; the rocks and stones had been brought from different parts of Japan, and so had all the distinctive marks of a place remarkable for its beauty. The palaces and shrines had been modelled in exact conformity to the ancient style, which went back two hundred or even five hundred years. This was read by the London public on the inscription, and they gazed with astonishment on these apparent playthings.

A perfectly new style made its appearance in the fifteenth century. This was the so-called Tea-Cult, which was a reaction against the luxury then spreading in the palaces of the rich and great, and was connected with a ceremonial partly æsthetic and partly moral. The word *Cha-no-yu* means literally "tea-with-water," and is meant to express in a veiled way the fundamental idea of this ceremonial, that is, an education in simplicity of life. To attain this end there was a ceremonial that went beyond all European ideas, a Tabulature, the study of which might be the task of a lifetime. Its full signification is for ever the secret of the Eastern-Asiatic mind. In this case also the germ, the essential element in the ceremonial, was imported from China, together with the tea. Not that tea-plants and the use of them were altogether unknown to the Japanese, for as early as the twelfth century the choice kinds of tea had been brought over by a Buddhist monk belonging to the Zen sect. But cultivation went on so slowly in Japan at first that the finest present one could give to great warriors was a chest of Chinese tea.

To bring the ceremonial into relation with European ideas, it has been compared with freemasonry, and in both cases the point is to educate people in certain virtues by wrapping these up in a covering of quaint ceremonial. The Japanese consider the cardinal virtues to be politeness, kindness, purity, and equanimity. It was towards the end of the fifteenth century that the ways of the feudal nobility in the country began to approach the more refined manners of the court nobility, which had been centuries ahead of them. These ceremonial tea-meetings, to which, as in freemasonry, only men were admitted, supplied a ground on which the two classes could meet. The warrior class, who, as following the severe and simple customs of the preaching sect of the Zen, had so far only respected such virtues as ascetic practices, were readily inclined to exercise them in connection with a ceremonial which was on the lines of extreme refinement. The court nobility, who on their side were accustomed to ceremonial, were prepared to bring within their sphere of influence something that was lofty and moral, having up to this time worn ceremonial only as a cloak for extravagance and dissolute living. Allied with all this, and arising from the aristocratic side, there was an æsthetic sort of education coming from the numerous objects required for ceremonial purposes.

The tea-meetings were originally very simple. Special and rare kinds of tea were put before a friendly group, who were expected to use their delicate, aristocratic sense of taste to classify the different kinds. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, this had grown into a highly complicated ritual. The combination of severe simplicity with æsthetic refinement of taste, of an outward conformity to ceremony (which ruled every smallest movement) with an education in moral freedom and complete submersion in Buddhism—all this must have made a special appeal to the Japanese.



Like the Chinese, the Japanese is fond of setting some particular task at his parties. At one time it was the fashion to write verses, and this became almost a mania. Before tea-tasting came in there was a fancy for distinguishing between different kinds of agreeable scents. But there had been nothing so famous as the tea ceremonial became. In its long history there appear the names of all the well-known artists, who were also the instructors; and of the heroes of war, who were pupils and furthered the movement. Even at the present day, though much has been simplified and reorganised, the cult is a great force. The house or pavilion, where the host received his guests, was strictly regulated. The size of the two rooms included in the pavilion varied according to the importance of the



FIG. 575. A TEA-HOUSE GARDEN FOR THE CEREMONIES

different teachers, who were really the rivals of the great artists and warriors; and everything was fixed and arranged, from the size of the rooms down to the thickness of the window-bars and the number of nails in the doors. Then the garden had to correspond to the house, which in its simplicity was only meant to be a kind of symbol of a dwelling-house (Fig. 575).

We have observed already how the garden had to accommodate itself to the places from which it was overlooked, the picture being made to suit the sort of rooms and their arrangement, according as this was simple or grand. The garden at the tea-house was generally divided into an outer and an inner garden. The outer one contained a little hall, where the guests had to wait and to change their clothes. In this place there were only the most necessary objects, such as washing-basins. There was a path of stepping-stones leading past a few bushes into the inner garden. Here the Japanese could indulge themselves with their signs and symbols. Here they might express such ideas as Feeling



FIG. 576. A JAPANESE TEA-HOUSE GARDEN

for the Country, Humility, Simplicity, even Gloom—and all these must be conjoined with an immaculate purity. The fencing of the garden must be of a very slight and delicate kind, unless it was desired to produce the impression of melancholy and sadness, and in that case walls of earth were thrown up.

The plan of imitating famous landscapes was not given up in these places. The Tama-gawa tea-garden is so called after one of the six great rivers of Japan, but it sufficed to have a clear stream that was winding, and was spanned by several bridges. Provided the chief stone, the Watchman Stone, was there, also a good lamp, a vessel for water, and a few trees and bushes, the landscape was complete. To represent a mountain moor, only a bank of stones, some grass and a few moorland plants were required; for the mind of the spectator at once grasped the scene that the artist intended to convey. Conder gives an account of a garden at a tea-house (Fig. 576), which presents a scene near Fujisan; its river is the Fujikawa, and the pines on the far side of the hedge indicate the Miopine forest. Another river is hinted at by flowers that grow near it; and so on.

The first person who offered a site for the tea ceremonial at his own house and garden was Yoshimasa, one of the Shoguns of the Ashikaga, under whose patronage the arts of Japan (again influenced by China) attained to their highest glory. He was the patron of Soami, the painter and garden artist, whom he commissioned to design the famous Silver Pavilion after he had himself retired from the cares of state in 1472. This place was the wonder of its age, and traces of its beauty remain to the present day. Soami made a whole

series of different scenes, which he called by names that give a good idea of the aims of his art. Some of these are: The Law of the Waters, The Roar of the Storm, The Soul of Scent, The Gate of the Dragon, The Bridge of the Mountain Spirits, The Valley of Golden Sand, and The Hill that beholds the Moon. The last is the name of a view-point that is still excellent for observing the effect of the moon upon the landscape.

Soami drew the attention of his patron to the priest of the Zen sect, Shukô, who was the most distinguished teacher and professor of Cha-no-yu, and who saw in this cult an occasion and opportunity that would lead to complete absorption in religion. Yoshimasa seized on the new teaching with all eagerness, and had the first tea-house and its proper garden set up in his park under the direction of the master. He decided on the name Shukô-an, and wrote it with his own hand on the shield fixed above the pavilion. At one stroke he hereby brought to his side the whole of the aristocratic class, and it is obvious from Japanese history that these curious ceremonies had the power of inspiring and stirring to action men of all conditions. It is very easy to see how favourable to garden art the feudal system would be, and this was continually growing stronger in the centuries which followed. It is also very clear that the surprising adaptability of Japanese gardening to the size of the place and the means of its owner was greatly assisted by an organisation so strict and so regulated.

In the epoch of Tugugawa the peaceful art of gardening had been able to extend



FIG. 577. A DAIMYO GARDEN IN JAPAN

widely, ever since at the beginning of the seventeenth century the important Shogun Iyeyasu had completed the feudal constitution of the Japanese kingdom, a matter of great moment, after a long period of warfare bringing in a time of peace. It was not that any special ideas came to the front, but the general regulation of home life that was established under the military feudalism offered a fine opportunity for further development. Every Japanese baron, or Daimio, had his Joka, his residence, surrounded by moats. The Shiro, his palace, was generally on a hill, with a large garden adjoining it. Even now a great number of these Daimio gardens are in existence (Fig. 577), although unfortunately such of the land as was left after the earthquake in 1867 is constantly subsiding. There was a high wall round the castle estate, and the houses of the Samurai (knights) were next to it, each of them with a well-kept garden of its own. The whole of the Yashiki (upper town) adjoined the Machi (lower town) with the homes of hand-workers and tradesmen. In this part the poor people had to be content with one court, in which there was probably nothing but a couple of dwarfed fan-palms; but the richer persons even there had houses with gardens, and in a merchant's home the so-called flat garden style was preferred as a rule. The same arrangements were repeated at the capital, Yedo (Tokio).

In making his plans Iyeyasu had had the ingenious idea of obliging the Daimios to stay for a while every other year at Yedo, attending upon the Shogun at the same time. Politically this meant no less than the informal supervision of the restless country magnates, and the suppression of every personal desire for independence. When a Daimio lived at Yedo, his relationship to the Shogun was exactly the same as that of the Samurai to himself when he was in the country; and this was apparent in the actual method of living. For the residence of the Shogun throned it in the middle. Within its walls there was no want of park lands. Indeed, even the huge earth embankments with their deep trenches, which excite the surprise and amazement of modern spectators, were planted with dark pine-trees by the Japanese, who cannot forgo their pleasure in Nature; and these trees make a good contrast with the light green of the Korea grass that covers the slopes. Round this castle the Daimios set up their temporary residences, which often embraced wide stretches of land in parks and buildings, and changed the capital into a beautiful city of gardens; the owners vied with one another in adorning their houses with choice works of art.

In Lafcadio Hearn's sympathetic fashion he has given a description of a garden of the Samurai, where he lived for a time at Tokio, and we are thus shown the private home life in its natural beauty. As always in dwellings of this kind, a simple garden gate leads in from the street, and the house is only separated from the castle by a wall. It is airy, and has only one story. At the entrance to almost every Samurai house stands a tree, called Tegastriva, having a small trunk but large leaves, and this has its own symbolic meaning and legend, bringing the house security and blessing. "Gardens are on three sides of the house, and wide verandas overshadow them; from one particular corner of a veranda two gardens can be seen at the same time. Bamboo hedges and interwoven bushes form the boundary of the three different parts; the wide openings have no gates." One of these gardens, which has a great many curious stones in it, hollowed on the top so as to hold water, contains miniature hills and old dwarfed trees. There must of course be water in a landscape of this sort, but it is only suggested by overhanging green trees and a winding river of fine, pale-yellow sand. On the sand one may not tread, but must

make use of the stepping-stones provided. There are trees to protect the garden from anything destructive, and among them are five pines, which not only form the fixed centre of all this greenery, but with their inner virtue drive off evil spirits.

On the northern side is the favourite garden of Lafcadio Hearn, where there is a miniature pond round a miniature island full of curious plants, such as dwarf peach-trees, maples, and azaleas, many about a hundred years old, but none more than a foot high. We are told that from a certain part of the guest-room this garden does not look like a miniature, but like a real landscape—the bank of a lake with an island, only a very long way off. The third garden has now been allowed to grow wild. It was originally a grove of bamboos, with a spring that provided the household with ice-cold water, a small sanctuary in front, and close by a plantation of chrysanthemums supported on bamboo canes; these are still to be found there. This quiet little property is in the heart of the capital; and, like everything else, it will soon be swallowed up.

The appearance of the towns, with these seats of the mighty and their gardens, was further improved by temple gardens and the open places round the public tea-houses. Round all the towns there was an endless number of both temples and tea-houses, mostly on the hilly parts just outside. Even at the present day the chief ornaments of Tokio are really the temple gardens of Uyeno, Shiba, and Nikkō, all three the burial-places of the great Shoguns of the Tujagawa period. The remains of their founder Iyeyasu lie at Nikkō, where stone steps amid gigantic ancient trees lead up to the handsome tomb. His son founded Uyeno to the north of the town, and Shiba to the south; and six of his successors were laid to rest in each of the temples. People liked to have avenues to make a dignified approach to the tombs and the temple gates, and gradually these have grown up to be magnificent trees. In the same way they liked to put up long rows of Torii, votive lamps, and pictures of Buddha—rows so long that the eye could not reach to the end; it was one of the religious duties of the devout to count them. Belonging to the Japanese temples, and outside the shrines, there were a great many other houses, with gardens round them; these differed in no way from the gardens of the laity, and were a great ornament to the town near which they lay.

The public tea-houses rivalled the temples in their garden surroundings, and as a fact there is scarcely any difference in Japan between a temple and a tea-house. People fly to either, if they want a pleasant refuge from the noise and bustle of the town. In both are to be enjoyed the loveliest arbours, the choicest dishes, and the sweetest music. The neighbourhood of Nagasaki was described by one of Lord Elgin's suite, who says: "It has been computed that on the hills around there are 62 temples, great and small, and 750 tea-houses, all of which provide good tea and a fine view to a man who wants a rest: moss-grown steps lead up to the hill, and going by wide stairs and through grand gates you come to a place like fairyland, on a projecting point, with gardens and shady groves behind, leading to the grottoes, where the gleaming waters fall down from the hill." The enthusiastic Englishman who wrote about this place left it open to doubt whether in his account he was describing a temple or a tea-house.

It is in these public gardens that at the present day most of the beauty of the past is preserved. It is to be hoped that the Japanese will not only preserve the old glories, so far as they exist, but will guard their art from the influence of Western lands.

CHAPTER XV
THE ENGLISH LANDSCAPE GARDEN

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IN considering the rise of the English landscape garden, we cannot ignore Chinese influences on the art of gardening in England and in Europe generally.

This influence has often been met with before, but at the beginning it did not affect essentials in the least, only ornamental details.

After Louis XIV. had set up his Porcelain Trianon, the signal was given to erect Chinese buildings of every sort and kind in gardens. As knowledge of Chinese architecture increased, certain pleasing features were adopted, but these were carelessly mingled with native work. In the early porcelain pavilions people had in mind that wonder of the world, the porcelain tower at Nanking, even if they were only putting up a baroque pavilion with Dutch tiles, and setting in the garden vases of a colour to match.

Later on we even find slated roofs, as at Pillnitz, laid without a qualm of conscience over a baroque house! Then there came into fashion the Chinese parasols, later on Chinese bridges, and though such things had very little to do with genuine Chinese art, they served to remind Europeans of the eighteenth century of the wondrous land in the East. The pleasure taken in the Chinese parts of the park was so universal that it is impossible to mention any one of the larger French or German gardens of the period that had not at least a Chinese pavilion. But often, as in the case of the Swedish country estate of Drottningholm, and at Wilhelmshöhe, we find complete little Chinese villages, or (as at the Rheinsberg of Frederick the Great) a Chinese fisherman's hut near the Chinese pleasure-house, and also a Chinese winged court.

It is difficult to say whether the number of buildings in Chinese gardens had a direct influence on the increasing number in parks, but at any rate it is a fact that the desire felt at all times to put up in a garden buildings of an unusual character did grow in the eighteenth century to an excessive height. The chief reason must be looked for in the spirit of the time, which was opposed to the pompous publicity of Louis XIV. and his age. People now only cared to find peace, and relief from their boredom, and they sought this in circles that were small and intimate; they showed more and more markedly their longing for solitude. In spite of all this, boredom was lurking in the background; indeed it is evident that the wish for variety had grown up before now, but that it was no longer sought for in showy plantations, but rather in the restful seclusion of a pavilion or some other small place. Thus Chinese art was snatched at as one sort of variety; for every type of art was welcomed, and the more the better.

This accumulation of buildings in a park had intrinsically nothing to do with the great change of style in gardening on whose threshold we now stand. We find these buildings in both styles, side by side, in the eighteenth century; and we cannot even say that the garden of the painter adopted them from the garden of the architect: there

is a parallel development equally strong in both, although, as we shall see, it arose from different causes.

The straight-lined, architectural or "formal" garden style which, except in England, held undisputed sway over the whole of Europe in the first half of the eighteenth century, contributed no essentially new ideas (in earlier chapters this theme has been sufficiently laboured) although it was by no means fixed and rigid. It was able to adapt itself to the needs of the time, and especially to the conditions of German life. It was even flexible enough to adopt, after a time, all sorts of influences from the artist's garden, as for example the serpentine curve, provided that these innovations did not disturb the firm unalterable outlines of the main design, and also satisfied the desire for variety.

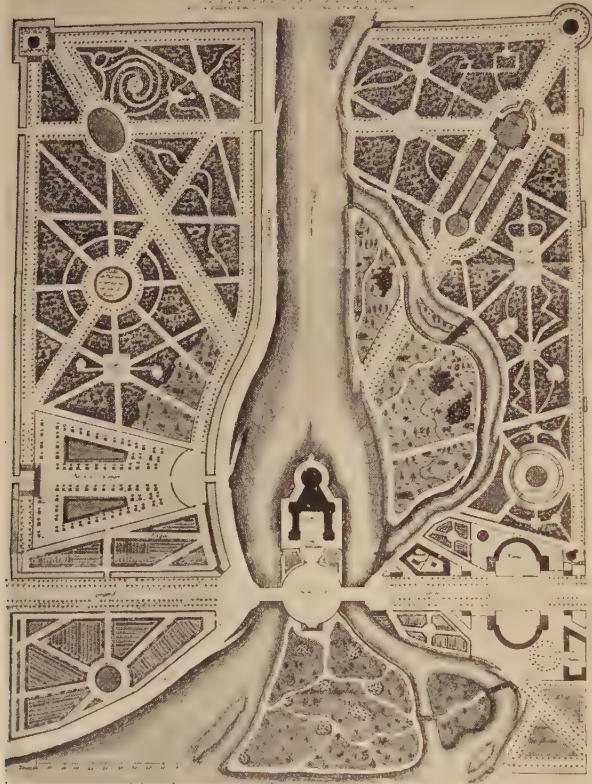


FIG. 578. SUPPOSED ENGLISH PARTERRE IN TRANSITION STYLE

And now how do matters stand as to the influence of China on this new style? It is clear enough that there is a connection between the two when we consider their common enemy, the architectural garden. We have seen that information had reached Europe in 1685 about a new style of garden without straight lines, and Sir William Temple's tentative glance had been directed towards China, and not without sympathy; but it had been at once diverted, as from a task which, though not lacking in charm, was far too difficult. And Sir William was perfectly right; for never could a really living style have developed by way of vague imitation of the art of some utterly foreign race: it must have remained a changeling here, as indeed it was with many other Chinese imitations, architectural and artistic. True, the revolt against the old style did at first get helped by the news from

China; but the revolt actually started entirely from within, and that is why it is so very important. It is also a proud boast for England, much as people are nowadays disposed to look down on the whole movement. For in its true beginnings it was an intellectual movement; around its cradle stood poets, painters, philosophers, and critics. It was the first child of that new love for Nature which was setting itself in conscious opposition to barriers and forms.

The strange fact (overwhelming at a superficial glance) is that this movement occurred in the very heart of English classicism—that its leaders were the very same men who upheld and carried out the classical ideals in literature. To understand it properly one must grasp the essential character of English classicism, and realise how, for this nation, one influence never quite supplanted the other.

The rationalistic spirit of English society in that day had certainly come in contact with those rigid laws of form that ruled supreme in France; but Addison's admiration for Boileau by no means prevented him from being the first man to gaze with enthusiasm upon the wild lawless beauty of the folk-song. And Shaftesbury was able to pass on from his optimistic theism to the deification of untouched Nature, which, he said, is in itself good, so long as no outside hand checks or destroys it. This "extravagant love" of nature he graced with the fundamental axiom, that all healthy love and admiration is Enthusiasm; and this thought leads by a logical process to his admiration of open landscape as opposed to the formal gardens of his day. No more will he resist the love of Nature,

where neither Art, nor the Conceit or Caprice of man has spoiled their genuine order, by breaking in upon that primitive state. Even the rude Rocks, the mossy Caverns, the irregular unwrought Grottoes, and broken Falls of Waters, with all the horrid Graces of the Wilderness itself, as representing Nature more, will be the more engaging, and appear with a Magnificence beyond the formal Mockery of princely Gardens.

Here for the first time we find untouched Nature set in opposition to the formal garden. It is true that people in the seventeenth century were very well acquainted with the so-called open landscape; but it was the scenery of pastoral poetry, bound by con-

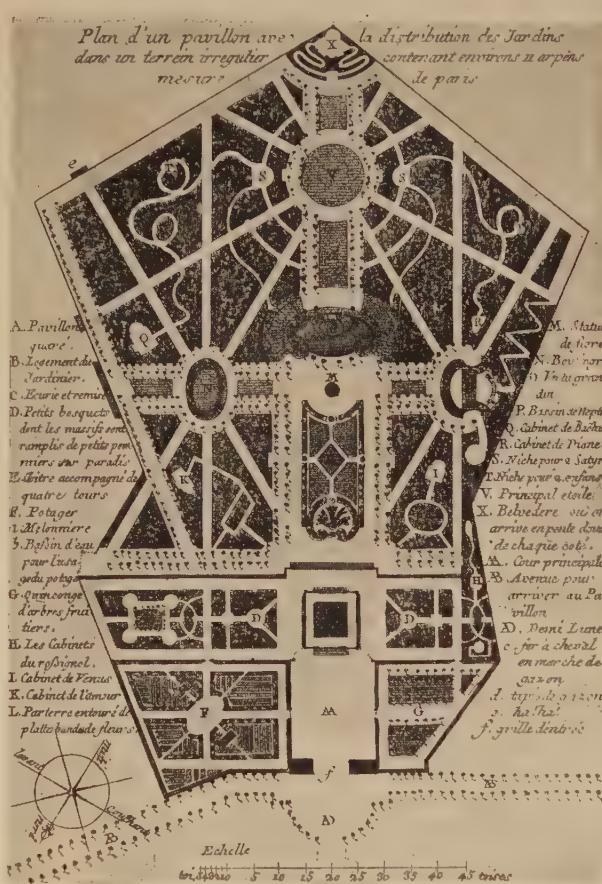


FIG. 579. PLAN OF A GARDEN IN THE TRANSITION STYLE

ventions, and by tradition attached to the theatre of love-romances handed down from antiquity and the Middle Ages. This romantic landscape was best pictured as a garden, and could often take its place there without any change in sentiment; for what the hand of man did in a garden was the same as that which "Nature with her wondrous art" had accomplished in open country. Aye, and we shall learn to prize still more the striking merit of Shaftesbury and his like-minded English friends when we see how, decades later, everywhere outside England the feeling for Nature was inspired in the main by the artistic beauties of the garden. As we have said before, one pet idea is the identification of Nature or even God with the gardener. In the same year that Shaftesbury confesses his faith, a German poetaster sings:

Willst du die Gartenlust des grossen Schöpfers schauen,
So sieh den grünen Strich, der schönsten Bäume Pracht.
Betrachte die Alleen, die bunt bemalten Auen,
Die Grotten, die Er selbst mit eigener Hand gemacht.

[Wouldst thou behold the great Creator's joy in His garden, then look upon the stretch of green, and pride of fairest trees; gaze on the avenues, the many-coloured meadows; and look upon the grottoes that His own hand has made.]

Even travellers in foreign lands are not without their garden thoughts and fancies. In Guinea a traveller comes upon woods which, he says, "are just as flat at the top as if they had been levelled down and cut with shears." Another traveller standing on the Brocken says, "At the top of the hill are set trees in a circle, just as if they had been carefully planted, not one of them out of the proper order." And yet another in the Black Forest in 1760 sees everywhere in Nature a pattern for the ideal garden of that day. "The wood," he says, "is incomparable; in it one can see how a forest looks if left to itself for hundreds of years. There are no imaginable beautifications, fancy clumps, avenues, arbours, that one cannot find here in their untouched beauty. I was immensely delighted with the groups of firs that grew here and there in endless variety, each tree a magnificent pyramid from its base to its lofty top."

Shaftesbury's words, however, were not to die away unheard in England. A few years later Addison published in *The Spectator* of 25 June, 1712, an essay which—following Shaftesbury—purported to explain the differences between open wild nature (the landscape) and art (the garden) in their effect on the mind. In the whole essay Addison is less extreme than Shaftesbury. Though he sees in Nature more grandeur and sublimity than art can ever attain, still he says that "we find the works of Nature all the more agreeable, the nearer they approximate to the works of art," and we may feel just as sure that works of art derive their chief merit from a similarity to Nature. Addison in this his first thesis is quite on the side of Nature in combination with art, and he is able so to draw together his art and his nature that he can take the combination of the two as a ground for his campaign against the British garden, which, instead of helping Nature, has done everything it can, he says, to banish her altogether. He complains that the "trees are made to look like ninepins, like spheres, or like pyramids: we find the trace of the scissors on every bush and on every plant."

Addison travelled a great deal on the Continent. Italian gardens were often greatly neglected at that time, but this very fact gave the tall southern vegetation such a luxuriance that an eye wearied with the stiff formalities of well-kept northern gardens could only

rejoice therein. Moreover, England had never seen much of the working of French art, and the Dutch soberness, prettiness, and actual limitations (partly perhaps because of the alliance between the two nations) were very much in favour. Addison set Italian and French gardens against English; in them he found something more worthy. Travellers' tales declared that the Chinese laugh at the plantations of our Europeans, which are laid out by the rule and line; because, they say, anyone may place trees in equal rows and uniform figures. They choose rather to discover the genius in trees and in Nature, and therefore always conceal their Art.

In spite of this notion, however, Addison was far from understanding the real nature of Chinese gardening art, for in a second essay, published a couple of months later in *The Spectator*, he shows what his ideal really is. A foreigner, he says, who had lost his way here, would fancy he was in a natural wilderness, a medley of kitchen-garden and parterre, of fruit-trees and flowers—the flowers growing in all sorts of places. So little does the owner value these flowers on account of their rarity, that he often likes to bring wild flowers home and plant them in his garden; and he feels it is delightful not to know, when he is taking a walk, whether the next tree he comes to will be an apple, an oak, an elm, or a pear; and he has carefully guided the little wandering stream so that it runs exactly as it would in a field between “banks of violets and primroses, plats of willow or other plant.”

Addison had exclaimed at the end of his first essay:

I do not know whether I am singular in my opinion, but for my own part, I would rather look upon a tree in all its abundance and diffusions of boughs and branches, than when it is cut and trimmed into a mathematical figure; and cannot but fancy that an orchard in flower looks infinitely more delightful than all the little labyrinths of the most finished parterre.

Addison well knew that he would not long be alone in his ideas, though he might be the earliest to venture to stir public opinion by his writings, and later to dominate it.

The first man who came to his aid was Pope. He too adopted Shaftesbury's thoughts, and Addison's also in a modified form: “I believe it to be a true observation, that men of Genius, the most gifted artists, love Nature the most; for they feel very strongly, that all Art is really nothing else than an imitation of Nature.”

Here again we have a sort of solution of the problem of Romance, Genius, and Nature, attempted by a classicist. Indeed the import of these words must have been something new, as they gave a fresh impulse even to poetry. Pope, however, went in search of Nature chiefly because of his opposition to the tricks of art. He pours out his witty sarcasms upon the “garden tailor” who compels tree and bush to take the shapes of beasts and men. He tells of a certain cook, who decorated his country place with a coronation feast spread over the grass; and adds a most amusing catalogue of his stock of wares: among others he finds recommended the following:

Adam and Eve in yew, Adam a little shattered by the fall of the tree of Knowledge in the great storm; Eve and the serpent very flourishing; St. George in box, his arm scarce long enough, but will be in condition to stick the Dragon by next April; a green Dragon for the same, with a tail of ground ivy for the present. (N.B. These two not to be sold separately.) Divers eminent poets in bays, somewhat blighted, to be disposed of a pennyworth. A quick-set sow, shot up into a porcupine, by its being forgot in rainy weather. . . .

Pope was determined, however, to effect more than mere jesting. He wanted to give an example; and when a few years later (1719) he moved into his villa at Twickenham on

the Thames, he resolved to copy "Nature unadorned" in his own garden. Now although the Muses' seat is often to the fore in his letters and his poems, the whole place was much too small to exhibit more than a negation of the old style: no more clipping of trees, no more symmetry, that was the first command, and Pope proudly declared that two weeping willows beside the house, with a lawn in front leading down to the river, were the finest in the kingdom. His favourite of all was the grotto so often mentioned, a kind of subterranean tunnel leading from the front garden under the main road to the back garden. With touching childlike enjoyment the poet toils during the summer months at this darling work; his friends send him specimens of rare minerals for the walls and ceiling; he cannot find words enough to praise the many light-effects and river-views. The descriptions he gives his friends sound like the scenery in a fairy-tale, and yet it was only a grotto such as you could see in endless variety in all the earlier gardens.

Pope's gardener kept a picture of the place, grotto and all, just as it was when the master died. At the garden entrance to the grotto there are stones heaped up to imitate an ancient ruin. Very likely Pope with his sense of humour would have laughed at this some other time, just as he made merry over the minuteness of his garden, saying that "when Nebuchadnezzar was turned into an ox he could have finished the grass in one day." Certainly Pope was no practical genius, and Twickenham is only interesting as a first experiment, begun at a time when people, in spite of their appreciation of the ideas of the protagonists of the new style, could not for some decades venture to desert the old, because of the lack of examples to follow.

England also had her transition period; but whereas other countries clung to the ground-plan of the old gardens and only yielded concessions within its borders, in England the new ideas made a curious but more important attack upon the ground-plan, while the details remained much the same for a long period, again because there were no patterns to copy. In a description of the garden at Stowe in 1724, which was much admired by Pope, we are told: "Nothing is more irregular in the whole, nothing more regular in the parts, which totally differ the one from the other," and finally: "What adds to the beauty of this garden is, that it is not bounded by walls, but by a Ha-ha, which leaves you the sight of a beautiful woody country, and makes you ignorant how far the high-planted walks extend."

This new method of enclosure was due to the landscape gardener Bridgeman, who designed Stowe: it was simply a ditch which one could not see till one was quite close to it. The popular but erroneous explanation is that the name Ha-ha was given owing to an exclamation of surprise by a visitor. Sometimes there was a hedge sunk in a trench, which answered the same purpose of concealing the boundary between garden and open country.

Horace Walpole, who half a century later wrote the history of the great revolution in the garden, saw rightly in this invention a leading factor towards the victory of the new movement. The walls of an architectural garden had been its peculiar characteristic support; they shut it out from the surrounding country, so that it was alone and free in a world of its own; in French gardens also this was a leading principle, so highly esteemed was a fine prospect seen from the end of an avenue. But now it came about that there was no border-line before the eye, and the garden was just a foreground for the wide landscape beyond.

England had discovered by way of poetry, so to speak, the northern lands that were her home. By the second half of the seventeenth century there was already a species of poetry which later on Dr. Johnson called "local." This was descriptive verse, which aimed at inspiring the reader with love for an individual landscape locally limited: Waller, Denham, and Cowley had made such attempts before Pope wrote his *Windsor Forest* in 1712. Although they show very little of the "Romantic" feeling for nature, the writers know how to observe, and to depict, the characteristic features of a given landscape. In Thomson's *Seasons* we have a giant's stride in the same direction.

These poems were received with enthusiasm, which proves that the Scotchman Thomson was not the only man who went for walks, and with open eyes enjoyed the beauties of nature. He is sensitive to the peculiar northern character, and it is no doubt typical that he begins with Winter, a season which only in the North can express its whole strength and beauty. Englishmen had before now been lovers of long walks, and this was why at the end of the seventeenth century the garden paths were laid specially with a view to this fancy for walking about, and it is worth noticing that the garden itself was intended and designed to be a place for walks: now, however, when the boundaries had gone that cut it off from the surrounding country, people felt with increasing impatience the contrast between the artificial "artistry" inside and the natural landscape. There they saw meadows enclosed by bushes following the natural curves of river and brook, or the magnificently grown single trees, or again a picturesque group, and on these they gazed with happy eyes and loving hearts. Pope, who was always ready to do battle for the new creed, gave expression to the feeling of oppressiveness associated with the enclosed garden in his epistle to Lord Burlington (1730), in which he lashes at "Timon's Villa," the showy, tasteless, conventionally regular garden, in lines that soon, like winged words, were in the mouths of all men:

On every side you look, behold the wall.
Grove nods on grove, each alley has a brother,
And half the platform just reflects the other.
The suffering eye inverted nature sees,
Trees cut to statues, statues thick as trees. . . .
Here Amphitrite strays through myrtle bowers,
There gladiators fight or die in flowers.

And elsewhere he says that all the rules of the art may be reduced to three, viz. Contrast (including picturesque effects of light and shade), Surprise, and Concealment of Boundary.

Lord Burlington, perhaps moved by the sarcasms of Pope, was one of the first to make all sorts of experiments in his own garden; and these are evidence of the unsettled state of things. The plan (Fig. 580) shows, as Stowe showed, no regularity of outlines, but it fails to avoid in its details the crazy serpentine twists and turns. It was out of the enemy camp that auxiliary troops had to come, to straighten the wavy lines and to furnish a model.

A little later (1732) Joseph Spence began his *Polymetis*, an attempt to remove the barriers between the arts, especially emphasising the close connection between painting and poetry. Spence was an enthusiastic gardener himself, spending all his spare time in the garden, where he was actually working at the time of his sudden death. To him horticulture seemed a natural branch of painting, and thus the garden artist was a garden poet as well.



FIG. 580. AN OLD GARDEN AT CHISWICK, NEAR LONDON

The ever-increasing dislike which was felt by men of that time for regular forms, and still more for symmetry, is singularly marked in art criticism, which makes use of the dogmas that were fashionable, and declares war on regularity of every kind. In 1745 Hogarth drew (on the palette he is holding in a portrait of himself) an undulating line, which later in his theoretical work, *The Analysis of Beauty*, became the famous "Line of Beauty." Hogarth tried to prove that beauty is not a *je ne sais quoi*, but a clear and positive quality in things. The formula for the highest beauty is a waving line, which at no two points is the same; it shows the utmost variety, and has an advantage over the line of the circle, in that it stimulates the imagination by disappearing from sight and again reappearing.

Edmund Burke soon took up this idea of Hogarth's, and whereas Hogarth had only refused to accept the earlier view that regularity and symmetry were in the essence of beauty, Burke declared war on symmetry altogether, which no more than regularity had any relation to beauty as such. They are not to be found in nature; it is only man who has had the unlucky inclination to confine his view within them. The best example Burke can find is the old style of horticulture.

Having observed that their dwellings were most commodious and firm when they were thrown into regular figures, with parts answerable to each other, they transferred these ideas to their gardens; they turned their trees into pillars, pyramids, and obelisks; they formed their hedges into so many green walls, and fashioned their walks into squares, triangles, and other mathematical figures, with exactness and symmetry; and they thought if they were not imitating, they were at least improving nature, and teaching her to know her business. But nature has at last escaped from their discipline and their fetters; and our gardens, if nothing else, declare, we begin to feel, that mathematical ideas are not the true measures of beauty.

In place of incongruities like these, Burke holds that smoothness is the determining

character of beauty—so much so that he knows of nothing beautiful that is not also smooth. Burke did not appeal in vain to horticulture, which from this school of thought was to encounter an influence by which it was stimulated at first, but alas, too soon devitalised.

In consequence of all these theories and tendencies of the age, the Landscape Garden came into being. The first man who in practice attempted to “pluck the ripe fruit” was William Kent; and little as he was able to accomplish in this form of art, he saw how to imitate those models which were required by the new style, if it was to be freed from its fetters by landscape gardening. England, to be sure, was by no means opposed to the imitation in pictures of the kind of landscape that the poets had revealed; but the Continent was well ahead with its great landscape painters: Claude Lorraine, Salvator Rosa and Poussin for the South; Everdingen, Ruysdael, and other Dutchmen for the North, though the English were beginning to study the work of these men with enthusiasm. If at first Claude and Poussin were preferred to the Northerners, it was because their fine, well-kept, formal landscapes were more suited to the sentiment of an age which approved Addison’s dictum, that Nature was at her happiest when she came nearest to Art.

Kent himself, who was only a coach-painter before his patron, the Earl of Burlington, noticed him and sent him to Italy, learned in the South, if not actually to paint pictures, at any rate to see things, and compare them. It occurred to him, as it had done before to Addison, that the style of Italian gardens was not nearly so out of character with the landscape as was that of the North. He saw how the painters of the South had often taken an actual garden as subject for a picture because they admired it; and the merit of Kent is that he did not, full of this idea, rush on to a further imitation of the same things; but when, after his return, he had acquired an authoritative position in matters of taste, he was the first man to lay out a garden in an unfettered artistic manner, taking his ideas from the surrounding landscape. His motto was, “Nature abhors straight lines.” It is easy to see how hereby he was making war on the old style, not only in regard to the ground-plan but in every detail. Straight paths were to be carefully avoided, all water-works, even fountains, were tabooed; only a lake with irregular banks, or a river that flowed like a snake through the grounds, might remain. The artist’s scheme of light and shade was expressed in trees and bushes: they were allowed to grow freely, but were planted according to Pope’s rule of contrast, and gardens were like pictures in this respect also, that perspective had to be taken into account, so that one way led on to a second view, or even to a third. The lawn, which always played an important part in the English garden, often spreading out close in front of the windows of the house in a square of dark green with no path through it, is required by Bacon and even by the theorists of the early eighteenth century to serve as a carpet contrasting in colour with groups of bushes and trees.

Contemporary with Kent and living after him was another garden artist, Lancelot Brown—a great name in the middle years of the century. Brown was inspired with a veritable passion for rooting out the “unnatural bad taste” of the old style, which in the previous forty years had captivated a people so very conservative and sedate. The old pretty gardens, whose features are preserved in the collections of Kip, Atkyns, and others, were in the next thirty or forty years completely transformed; and to-day it is all

but impossible to find any trace of them, especially in the Midlands and the South. Brown was the original advocate of Hogarth's wavy "line of beauty," which he must have in every part of the garden. Even the ground must have its gently-waving contours; terraces are abolished as unnatural. The paths leading to special views are real examples of the line of beauty. In particular, the path which went right round the whole park and was spoken of as "The Belt," was meant to give to the estate an effect of greater size because of its countless windings.

The laying-out of the later gardens at Stowe (Fig. 581), chiefly the work of Brown, is a masterpiece of this kind. But his chief strength was in the water plans: he was the first to give movement to a lake (later this was greatly exaggerated) by cutting up its banks into creeks and curves; rivers he treated in the same way. Once Brown was so enchanted with his river banks, which he thought surpassed the Thames in beauty, that he is said to have exclaimed, "Oh Thames, Thames, never will you forgive me." Certain scoffers nicknamed him "Capability Brown," because he was for ever talking about the "capabilities" of his garden grounds; but his vanity seems to have taken kindly to the epithet.

Flowers found no place to speak of in this type of pleasure-ground, especially in the earlier days. They took their place in the background, as they had done before in England, i.e. in the kitchen-gardens, which, in spite of the mania for destruction, had been allowed to keep to their own enclosures, with high brick walls round the regular beds. And so we still find them.

In such a state of things the boundary-lines between the pleasure-grounds and the open park-lands tended to disappear. The garden writers and critics have, it is true, spoken of an ornamental plot close beside the house; but as there were no barriers, and a change was bound to come, though gradually, gardens of this type were felt to be less permanent and therefore less attractive.

On the other hand, in this style of garden the individual tree found for the first time its proper place and full development. It is well worth noticing how, simultaneously with the advance of the artistic school, there was a sudden and steady influx of different sorts of American wood. Botanical science did not as yet exercise a directing influence, and it was not till the nineteenth century that it became a real guide. But the acclimatisation of these foreign shrubs and trees, with their beautiful foliage, their noble growth, their elaborate ramification, was an immediate consequence of the change in fashion, as is shown by their universal popularity. This acclimatisation was confined to England until the middle of the century, and then, when the picturesque style reached the Continent, acclimatisation suddenly made its appearance there also.

In the course of the eighteenth century the English garden took on still more the character which we now call park-like. The so-called "enclosures," fenced-in fields and meadow-land, which had been little by little reclaimed from common land and had become private property, were for the most part separated from their neighbours by hedges and ditches: instead of very small enclosed bits of woodland, trees were planted as landmarks, standing separately, but growing well in the moist climate. True, during the whole of the eighteenth century, the English were a farming folk, but the individual farms were mostly small ones, with a few fields. Because of the closer approach of garden to park, and of park to open nature, there arose the idea of beautifying



FIG. 581. STOWE—PLAN OF THE GARDENS

a whole property, an estate, and of subjecting it to the rules of a regular garden scheme, yet without making any sacrifice of its usefulness.

At this stage of English landscape gardening the poet William Shenstone played an important part. In the year 1745 he laid out his paternal estate, The Leasowes—the name means pasture-land—in the new style. Dr. Johnson calls this the life-work of Shenstone, a poet who was a forerunner of the Romantic movement. Shenstone at once began, says Dr. Johnson, “to point his prospects, to diversify his surface, to entangle his walks, and to wind his waters; which he did with such judgment and such fancy as made his little domain the envy of the great and the admiration of the skilful; a place to be visited by travellers, and copied by designers.”

There is hardly any garden tract (for so we have to call the place) of which we have such full descriptions as of The Leasowes. The poet, who invested the greater part of his fortune in this place, discusses the principles of his art in an essay called *Random Thoughts on the Art of Gardening*, only published after his death in 1764. Shenstone seems to have been the first person to use the term “landscape-gardener,” and he certainly expressed hereby a close relationship with the artist. “I have used the term ‘landscape-gardener,’ ” he says, “because in accordance with our present-day taste, every good landscape painter is the proper designer of gardens.” If we put this beside Shenstone’s other dictum, “Man must never venture to tread in Nature’s domain,” and add to that the words of the German writer Hirschfeld, “The garden artist works at his best when he discards all that the architect reveres,” we shall see how utterly opposed are the ideals of the picturesque garden and the architectural.

The importance of The Leasowes lies in the fact that here Shenstone has materialised the idea that “the garden is no longer limited to the place from which it takes its name, but makes subject to its own laws both the laying-out of a place and the embellishment of the park, the farm, and the cart-track.” The descriptions take us by dark woody valleys to open heights with lovely views, over pastures and cornfields to a hidden boat-house and rushing waterfall, or by the winding banks of lake or river. Close beside the dwelling-house are these scenes with contrast and change as their leading motives.

Thomas Whately, one of the chief critics, blames the farm for venturing so close to the house, because the landlords have to be too near to the tenants. But he admires greatly the invention of the so-called “ornamented farm,” which beautifies even the fields devoted to kitchen produce with the gay attire of the garden. He gives a description of Wobury Farm in Surrey: everywhere there are seats to be found on the walks, and buildings of many kinds; round the cornfields there are rose hedges, with little clumps of all sorts of flowers at the corners. And though the different parts are so gay and garden-like, they are all open for farm use: the cattle are grazing, the sheep are bleating, the fields are tilled and the crops harvested. With some hesitation Whately has to admit that with all this beauty and charm the simple country-like character of the farm is lost.

The English of those days were well aware that for the first time they had done something original in the province of gardening, and had also advanced in the art of painting.

The writer Henry Home, Lord Kames, says that his countrymen “are still far from perfection in the fine arts, but are on the right way, though making very slow progress except in gardening.” Whately ascribes a wonderful importance to gardening among the

pictorial arts, and even sets it above painting in so far as he rates all reality higher than imitation.

The poet Gray writes:

The only proof of our original talent in matter of pleasure is our skill in gardening and the laying-out of grounds. And this is no small honour to us, since neither Italy nor France has ever had the least notion of it, nor yet do the least comprehend it when they see it. It is very certain, we copied nothing from them, nor had anything but nature for our model. [It is not forty years since] the art was born among us; and it is sure that there was nothing in Europe like it, and as sure, we then had no information on this head from China at all.

The history of the movement, as we have already seen, fully justifies these words of Gray. It was the offspring of the sentiment of the earlier half of the eighteenth century, and England was fully alive to its existence before Père Attiret sent his report to France in 1747, with the description of Yuen-ming-yuen, the Chinese emperor's marvellous pleasure-castle. The fashion for China, with its various effects on the art of the eighteenth century, was perhaps less marked in England than in other countries, but in garden art it is clearly traceable. From Sir William Temple we discover that the news about the unsymmetrical gardens of China had not escaped notice; but when Addison enlists this vague information as an auxiliary force in his campaign against the old style, it is not with the desire to imitate China. So also in the descriptions of the transition style, as seen in the early gardens of Kent and Brown, there is no mention of Chinese pavilions, though there is a great deal said about other kinds of summer-houses. If therefore after the middle of the century the cry is everywhere heard, "the English-Chinese garden," this must needs be explained by what happened in France.

France had so far been quietly adapting the baroque gardens of her country to the requirements of a rococo style, and meanwhile was exercising an effective influence upon Europe generally. The few voices that were raised against Versailles, Saint-Simon's for example, were really only objections to the king, Louis XIV. The first who showed a decidedly hostile feeling to the conventional style was Langier in his *Essay on Architecture*, which was published in 1753. Père Attiret's account, which appeared in France in 1747, was first translated into English about 1752. It had had time to work its effects in France, and to be compared with the ideas that came flooding in from England. French people were astonished by the similarity of the leading thoughts, and it was no wonder that they (who were in the very centre of the Chinese fashion) assumed that England had taken the whole novel idea about horticulture from this much-belauded China. So France began to adopt the new style under the name of Anglo-Chinese. This term was not altogether without justification in the second half of the century, for one important current of the picturesque style began to make a delicate approach to the Chinese, and no wonder, for Père Attiret's verbal descriptions were now reinforced by pictorial evidence. The Emperor of China had engravings made of his gardens, and sent the pictures to the French court. Moreover, travellers brought other pictures to Europe, and these were engraved by skilled Belgians and Frenchmen who had a marvellous feeling for style, and then were sent out into the world as models.

A French publication, *Le Jardin Anglo-Chinois*, which was published 1770-87, gives (among illustrations of many European gardens) over a hundred striking drawings of the gardens of the Chinese emperor. Some of the originals were the property of the French

king, but for the most part they were brought over by the Swedish Ambassador Cheffer (Fig. 582). The work is explicitly intended for the furtherance of horticultural art, because "everyone knows that English gardens are only imitations of the Chinese."

The engravers had at any rate a more sympathetic feeling for their own subject-matter than the editors of the whole series had; for in the sixteen parts one finds a miscellaneous collection of every style, bearing witness to the instability of French art and its experimental nature. In one thing all seem alike, that is, in their love for piling up buildings

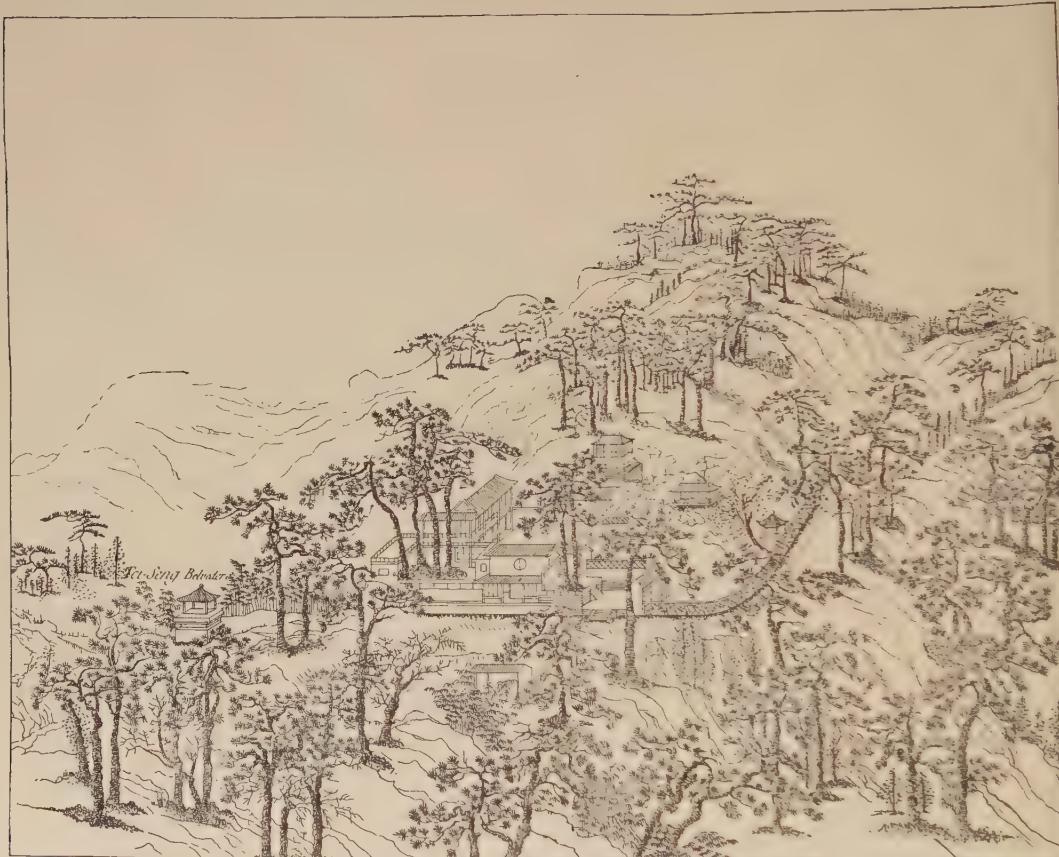


FIG. 582. A CHINESE GARDEN IN EUROPE

in the garden. There is a little book, called *Livre des Trophées Chinoises*, with illustrations of the newest fashion in gardens, full of scrolls and flourishes that people were pleased to call Chinese. Similar publications appeared in England, where the two brothers Halfpenny, who called themselves "architectural joiners," became well known. If one looks at these pages, one clearly perceives that the two styles were combined because there was a very poor understanding of either. The fancy for Gothic architecture, which for hundreds of years had been the last word in bad taste, appeared in England rather early, and in 1747 an anonymous book came out called *Gothic Architecture*, with sixty-two illustrations but wanting text. But the "shelters, porches, and pavilions, which complete the view" are hopelessly like Halfpenny's Chinese objects (Fig. 583). In both we get the twirls and flourishes that were used for decorating roofs, balconies, and window-frames. Goethe,

moreover, in his *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit* gives the name of "Chinese-Gothic" to the picturesque grottoes of the English garden.

The real influence on English landscape gardening that came from China is connected with the name of Sir William Chambers. In his early life he was in the service of the Swedish East India Company in China. There he made a series of sketches of Chinese buildings, costumes, etc., which he published in 1757, with the intention of showing the real thing as opposed to the pseudo-Chinese. After his return to Europe he travelled a long time in Italy to prepare for an architectural career, and like Addison and Kent, he could not resist the charm of the Italian gardens.

As an Englishman, Chambers was too much captivated by the new ideas not to be fundamentally opposed to the old style; but he compared the wealth shown on the one hand by the southern continental gardens, and on the other hand by the real or only pictured beauties of the gardens in China, with the ever-increasing uniformity in the new style at home. Much had been done in various ways to make the new gardens look empty, one difficulty being that the thickly planted groups of trees were still very young, and the places appeared bare, since the chief effect of the whole picture depended on the beauty of these plantations; again there were not nearly enough men trained to the difficult work of laying out a garden picturesquely. The helpful architectural and plastic ornamentation was now confined to summer-houses, bridges, and the like.

At that time the garden in England was so far opposed to the Chinese habit of overcrowding its buildings, that Chambers wrote his famous essay, *On Oriental Gardening*, as a direct protest against the devastation and emptiness in the gardens of the Homeland. He urges that artists and connoisseurs both lay too much stress on Nature and Simplicity; and that this is the cry of half-educated chatterers, a sort of refrain lulling them into a lazy condition and complete want of taste. He goes so far as to say that if likeness to Nature is to be adopted as the measure of perfection, we must confess that the wax figures in Fleet Street are superior to the divine works of Buonarotti.

In spite of this Chambers would not say a good word for the old style, and especially jeers at Dutch gardens, calling them "cities of verdure." What is needed, he thinks, is the example of a land like China. The Chinese also take Nature as their model, and copy her lovely irregularity, but the main reason of their success lies in the fact that they demand a long training for their garden artists, so that the effect of their taste is

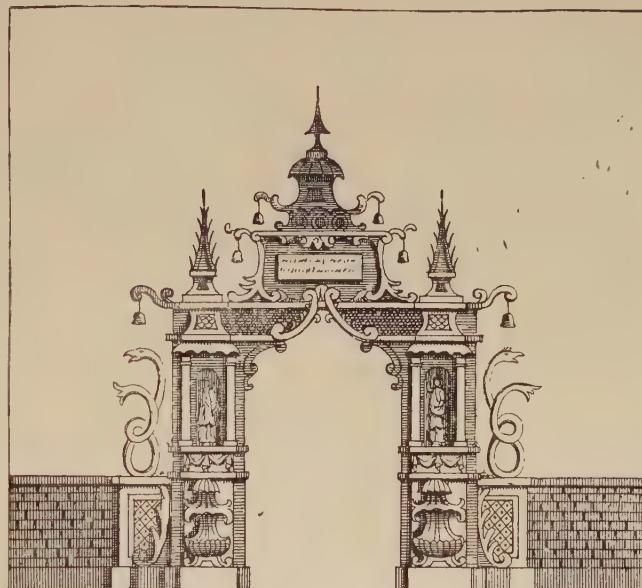


FIG. 583. A GARDEN DECORATION IN THE GOTHIC-CHINESE STYLE

was now confined to summer-houses, bridges, and the like.



FIG. 584. THE PAGODA IN THE ROYAL GARDENS, KEW

visible in the whole scheme ; whereas on the continent of Europe horticulture is a secondary affair for the architect, and in England is even relegated to the kitchen-gardener. But the Chinese have collected every charming thing for their gardens, lavishly bestowing the beauties that love or money can buy, though they still remain the humble servants of Nature. This Chambers demands for the English gardens, especially emphasising the need for contrast. He declares that the spectator must be amused all the time, and his powers of observation kept awake ; his curiosity must be aroused, and his whole soul stirred by a great variety of conflicting emotions.

Chambers had used Attiret's letters as the chief authority for his descriptions, but he now enriches them with a lively and purposeful fancy. It was due to him (though the movement was transitory) that in England the garden landscape was enlivened with buildings. He was himself, in 1758-9, the leading architect for Kew Gardens. The Crown Princess Augusta, George the Third's mother, had built a villa at Kew, and looked about for an architect to provide the proper accessories for her garden, which she wished to have laid out in the picturesque style ; and Chambers wanted to show what he could do. Hirschfeld criticises Kew Gardens as being laid out in too narrow a space, for being concentrated upon the lake in the middle, and for making no use of the lovely surrounding country of the Thames. But Chambers relies, as excuse, on his lofty eight-storied pagoda, which affords a very wide view (Fig. 584). In this "wilderness" you see at a glance the Pagoda, a Mosque, and a Moorish building called Alhambra. There was a row of Greek temples (and their particular style gave great joy to Chambers, who was a scholar), there was a Roman ruin (Fig. 585), and there were other lesser monuments ; these objects prevented the place from being "boring," which Chambers so greatly dreaded. Kew has often had to bear the reproach of being too full of buildings, yet the excess is not nearly so great

as we find it in many a continental garden. The importance of this place, which from the first was richly provided with foreign plants, especially American climbers and conifers, became extraordinarily conspicuous in the nineteenth century, when it was the leading botanical garden in Europe.

Chambers always overlooked one unbridgeable difference between English and Chinese requirements. The Englishman likes to stroll about; he likes to be tempted to seek view after view, by paths that are as winding as possible; and the little, necessarily restricted views which the Chinaman can enjoy sitting down, would of course be unattractive to him. What wonder that a lively protest greeted the writings of Chambers! It happened, moreover, that the *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (1772) appeared after the fashion for China had declined on the Continent.

In England there arose at once contradictory voices, and in the forefront of the battle stood the poet William Mason. He had begun a poem in 1772 about the garden, and this he published in several volumes during the next decade. He felt himself to be the herald and poet of the new style, a warrior fighting for the rights of Nature, who laughs at her fetters, and allows no beauties that are foreign to the soil which she bestows on us.

It is true, says Mason, that the gardener must learn from the painter; and he adds that design is indeed a wide province, but gardening is only one of its districts. With this thought he begins an essay (of the same date) on *Design in Gardening*. The garden artist, he maintains, has robbed Nature of her fairest and best, and we must learn to restore into flowing curves all that is now straight, angular, or parallel; or, otherwise put, the serpentine line uniting grace and beauty is the true line of Nature. He also



FIG. 585. RUINS IN THE ROYAL GARDENS, KEW

demands variety, which was the everlasting cry of the French garden of the old style; but the crowding in of images and ornaments, as advocated in Chambers's essay, seemed to him an affectation, and a danger to the ideal of Nature.

In full sympathy with Walpole, Mason answered Chambers in a sarcastic epistle worthy of Pope, and his work went through numerous editions. Thus did the first quarrel break out. It took different forms in England, and lasted till the beginning of the new century. The principles underlying the movement were many-sided, and it might be that the differences were only differences of direction in that imitation of Nature to which all the parties aspired.

The situation was acute when in 1794 an essay by Sir Uvedale Price appeared, *On the Picturesque as compared with the Sublime and Beautiful*, followed by a *Dialogue on the distinct Characters of the Picturesque and the Beautiful*. The former was specially directed against Burke to whom in chief is ascribed the folly which is known as "improvement"; for it was he who so seductively put forward smoothness and perpetual change as the attributes of beauty. Brown was no better with his monotonous cry of clumps, belts, → and artificial lakes. So Price now turns seriously to the idea of copying painters like Claude and Salvator Rosa. Every feature of Claude's work he would have repeated in the garden, especially his vague and partial concealment of the chief objects, buildings, and the varied arrangement of water, saying that for the sake of contrast not only may wild things but even ugly things be brought into the picture. His friend Richard Payne Knight, to whom he confided his plans, resolved to help him with a poem.

Practical men like Repton, then a busy garden architect, answered these attacks. Without extolling or defending the poverty of many of the new pleasure-grounds, he was → the first man to free himself from the exaggerated idea of a similarity between painting and landscape gardening. He laid his finger on the difference between them, caused by the constant alteration in the spectator's point of view, and by the changes of light in a garden. To his mind what is much more to the point is concord between the architect and the gardener, for a house is presupposed for every garden.

→ There is no doubt that in the last years of the eighteenth century Repton exercised a most important influence in England. He was unwearied in his study of the essential nature of a given landscape, so that he might suit his improvements to the particular place. In his numerous books he appealed to the eye, schoolmaster fashion, for he first gave a picture of nature unadorned or of an old garden, and then another picture of his improvements drawn on the same scale. He used what he called his "red books" for all his creations, and later on published a collection of them.

While these quarrels were agitating people in England, the whole movement had overflowed its banks. In France the "Anglo-Chinese Garden" was only one of the causes why the new style won the day. Far mightier, because its workings lay deeper, was the influence of Rousseau, who by his gospel of the sacredness of Nature in her purest, most abstract form, had expressed the feeling of England. The famous garden, to which Julie in the *Nouvelle Héloïse* takes her future lover Saint-Preux, is a wilderness, wherein, by means of the highest art, all human work and every trace of it is concealed. The flowers grow as though in their natural home in the meadow, or beside the edge of a brook that meanders along or falls foaming over the stones. The winding unconfin'd paths are shaded with climbing plants; the birds are not prisoners, but are tempted thither by

food and by bird-houses; and there they build their nests, singing their songs to the delight of every visitor.

Addison had already asked for these things in his "wilderness," and Rousseau's picture is no doubt partly indebted to him. Rousseau was forced, out of consistency, to turn away from the Chinese garden; for if one were endeavouring with every art to conceal art—a condition which he thinks essential to good taste—there would be far too many costly objects in a Chinese garden to produce a natural effect. Rousseau will tolerate no building at all in his nature garden, nothing shall betray the hand of man. But though his attitude aroused deep interest, his demand could not be complied with in practice.

Far more widespread was the feeling mentioned by Shenstone, that no country



FIG. 586. ERMENONVILLE—LA TOUR DE GABRIELLE

scene can be thought of without some building. Moreover, the park which Rousseau's friend and last patron, the Marquis de Girardin, laid out at Ermenonville, though it was to have been made exactly after Rousseau's ideas—one of the scenes in the park shows Julie's famous Elysium at Clarens—was not without buildings. There was even a temple sacred to the philosophers, and in the wilderness which professes to be a copy of Saint-Preux's place at Meillerie, there is a little hut perched on the top of a high rock with a lovely lake at its foot. Inscribed on the rocks every here and there one finds the names of the lovers. Farther on is the tower of the fair Gabrielle (Fig. 586), the beloved of Henry IV., in the depths of the wood, "quite in the old taste, a little winding stairway leading to different rooms. . . . The walks in this garden are not only charming to the eye but also to the ear. For the marquis entertained a number of clever musicians, who might be heard sometimes on the banks of the lake, sometimes actually on the water, either performing alone or in concert." But the crowning glory of the place was the tomb of Rousseau, a sarcophagus enclosed with poplars, rising on an island of the

lake. And the thought, "Here lies Rousseau," is all we need to complete the touching loveliness of the scene (Fig. 587). Hirschfeld, who repeats Girardin's own description of this park, gives in "this perfect example of improved Nature" the picture of a real masterpiece of the sentimental park of the period.

Another French park, which won an even greater reputation, was that laid out by Louis Philippe's father, Philippe of Orleans, at that time Duke of Chartres, about the year 1780. The "Parc Monceau" (Fig. 588) gets its name from a little village south of Paris. Carmontelle, who was an artist, designed the plan. The chief pavilion, where the duke

held gay festivities and also open-air assemblies, is surrounded by a tract of land with parterre and plantation. The ground itself was cleverly made undulating, and the picturesque park exemplified all the variety that the age demanded: close beside country-like meadows, vineyards and brooks, stood kiosks and spiral hills, and side by side with Gothic ruins was the marvellous affair in the north-west corner, the "Naumachia." This was a large oval marble tank with Greek ruins round it in artistic confusion (Fig. 589), and it was dominated by a lofty column. The most noteworthy feature is the colour-garden, a round space enclosed by small regularly laid-out flower-gardens—blue, red, and yellow patches right in the middle of the park.

It need not be repeated here that it was not the sentimental park which created the love of separate little erections, nor did it particularly encourage this love, since an outspoken hostile opinion was constantly reasserting itself; but the meaning of this

FIG. 587. ERMENONVILLE—THE ISLAND OF POPLARS AND ROUSSEAU'S GRAVE

particular adornment, which had been adopted from the old style, became a completely different thing under the new regime. In the old style the erections were no more nor less than rendezvous, or shelters against sun or bad weather, but now it was not the visitor, it was the spectator, whose interests had to be considered. The building had become an accessory to the landscape, a principal factor for bringing about a desired Mood, which the picture had to express. The Mood, or frame of mind, gave to life at that time its interest and charm; it was the leading feature of sentimentalism, a peculiar mixture of reason and feeling.

From the union of Rationalism and Emotionalism there had naturally sprung Sentimentality. Every impression was to be clothed in feeling, but man must always have an explanation and a sort of justification of the feeling, and this was most easily to be found in the so-called "animated nature" form. It was understood by people of the late eighteenth century that they must feel melancholy at the sight of a ruin, that a hermit's retreat incited



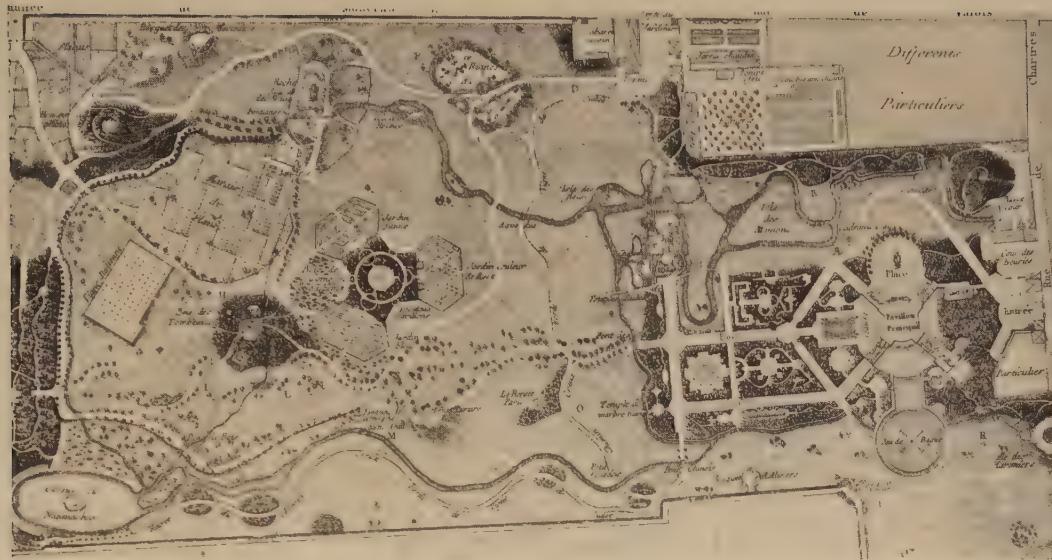


FIG. 588. THE PARC MONCEAU, PARIS—GENERAL PLAN

to silence and solitude, that a Greek temple stimulated the *joie de vivre*. And if this was not enough, surely the Mood would be helped by a suitable inscription! The oddest part about it was that they never needed to be alone, but were sure to be seized upon by this Mood (which was produced by external things) when they were in a large company of people.

The accessories are found also in very small rococo gardens, especially ruins: these were intended to "cheat the reason," e.g. the beautiful antique temple at Schönbrunn.



FIG. 589. THE PARC MONCEAU, PARIS—THE RUINS

But true Sentimentality will have nothing to do with effects such as this, and it is interesting to see the two parallel streams that never meet and blend.

Home is perhaps the first writer to accentuate Feeling strongly. The garden as a work of art excites in him sentiments of greatness, charm, mirth, melancholy, wildness, even surprise and wonder. In order to keep each of these feelings clear and strong, he desires that scenes which are next to one another shall be different in kind; and it is a good plan to mix rough uncultivated places with wide open views: these are not attractive in themselves, but in the long run they increase the sentimental charm. And so he excuses



FIG. 590. THE LITTLE TRIANON—THE HAMLET

Kent for introducing here and there into a landscape withered trees or broken trunks—a plan that the other side repudiated with scorn.

But Home also requires Simplicity as the leading principle of garden art, saying that only an artist who had no genius at all could be inclined to put up triumphal arches in his garden, or Chinese houses, temples, obelisks, cascades, and endless fountains.

One cannot urge against those who were endeavouring to guide with their pens the art of gardening, that they encouraged the fast-growing inclination to overload the park with buildings. They almost all fought against it; and so did Horace Walpole, who, when approaching his seventieth year, in his elegant *Essay on Modern Gardening*, treated the subject historically, and opposed the excessive decoration of Chinese gardens, which to him seemed quite as unnatural as the decorated formality of the old style. Walpole had

long postponed the publication of his essay, and it appeared first in 1785 both in French and in English, dated from his house, Strawberry Hill. Walpole was very proud of the first Gothic erection which he built at Strawberry Hill—in the “pure style,” as he hoped; we must say, however, that it was only in connection with pseudo-Gothic, and not pure Gothic, that he exercised his real influence on the development of the new style in England. In the matter of taste there is no doubt that Walpole was one of the most influential men of his age. His essay, which had remained for more than ten years in manuscript, had a great effect, and especially in France, for it showed much enthusiasm and learning.



FIG. 591. THE LITTLE TRIANON—THE DAIRY

We saw before how France was drawn to the picturesque by Rousseau's introduction of English ideas. And yet she remained half-hearted; for there was always the inner voice, the romantic, deep-rooted love of formality, which restrained the French from that complete destruction of the old state of things which took place in England. It is true that they turned away from the larger designs, and made parks where they could enjoy sentimental pleasures. But Versailles was still there, and they could restrict themselves to the Little Trianon. Here with the *hameau* (Fig. 591), the mill, and the dairy (Fig. 591) they had a background for their games and their fashionable dresses. Here Marie Antoinette trifled away the last years of her glory with her ladies and cavaliers. No threatening voice of the coming revolution penetrated to that rippling lake, where they played blind-man's-buff on the banks; or to the beautiful round temple, whence the little god of love looked down on their happy games. The noble groups of trees that were set round the lake were calmly

growing higher and higher; men who were used to this pretty little place shuddered to think of the long broad avenues at Versailles, where one was lost and felt so small. Versailles slept the sleep of the giant, slept through every danger that threatened, until the day of its awakening came.

There are similar grounds in the park at Chantilly and at many castles on the Loire. Hirschfeld tells of a whole array of gardens in and near Paris, all laid out in the new fashion. But seldom did they venture to put the dwelling-house right in the middle of the landscape garden, as in England, where a lawn, the "lawn-carpet," with side-walks of regularly planted trees was usually found until the beginning of the nineteenth century;

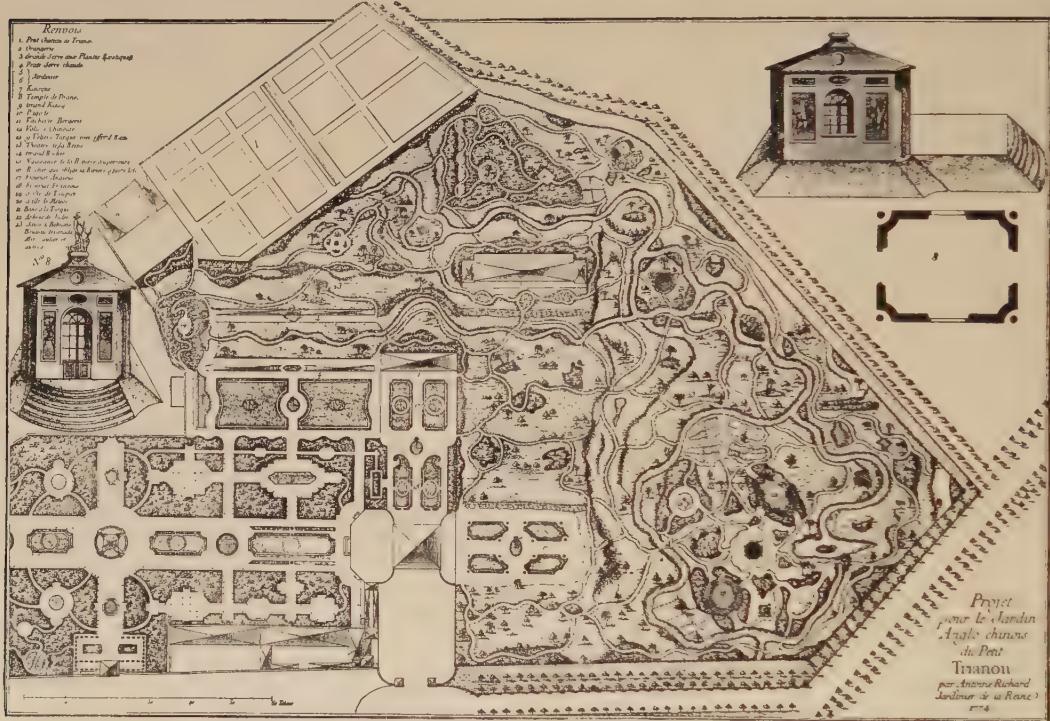


FIG. 592. THE LITTLE TRIANON—THE FIRST PLAN FOR THE ENGLISH PARK

this was the first view to be seen in a picturesque garden, and the lawn reached close up to the house. Even at the Little Trianon there were still formal gardens about the tiny castle (Fig. 592), when in 1774 the plan for an English garden was designed by Richard; at any rate, important alterations in these formal parts had been intended in the final execution of the plan.

As in England, so in France, a singer was found to extol the new movement; and in France it was the Abbé Delille. In many respects he sides with Mason, although when he is trying to get the better of Rapin, he himself derives his authority from Virgil. But whereas Mason, though he is poet enough to see with pain and regret the fall of aged trees, yet pulls himself together with a determined "It must be," the whole soul of Delille trembles at the thought that Versailles, "the masterpiece of a great king, of Le Nôtre, of the age," may fall. Nothing of Rapin's could have described more pathetically and more movingly the beauties of the old garden than the verses wherein Delille tells

of his fears for their ruin. But in spite of this he sees in their monotony no subject worthy of a poem, for the old gardens were the offspring of architects, the new of philosophers, painters, and poets. The programme he sets out has no single original feature; its leading thought is for picturesque Contrast. "Imitate Poussin," he cries, "for he paints the merry dance of shepherds, and beside it sets a grave with the inscription, 'I too was a shepherd in Arcady.'"

Somewhat later, Germany also experienced a change, no doubt under the influence of England, and it brought about her own characteristic flowering. In her attitude towards the new style she filled a far more important rôle than France. The circle of Swiss poets around Bodmer had eagerly seized upon Spence's first principle, *ut pictura poesis*, but had also accepted Shaftesbury's and Thomson's gospel of the greatness and ennobling effect of untouched Nature, and had developed the idea at the same time as their compatriot at Geneva, if not perhaps so violently. And so we find in the poets of this school, Kleist and Gessner, the first expression of ill-will and actual revolt against the "cleverly laid-out gardens with their green walls, and labyrinths, and obelisks of yew rising in stiff ranks, and gravel paths, so laid that no plant may annoy the foot of the stroller." "Too bold man," Gessner cried, "why strive to adorn Nature by using imitative arts? What I love is the country meadow and the wild hedgerow." But in his pictures (which this poet-artist paints in the utmost sympathy with his idylls) he seems quite happy with lattices and bowers; and in the graceful idyll, *My Wish*, he depicts the garden behind the house, "where simple Art assists the lovely fantasies of Nature with helpful obedience, not endeavouring to make her the material for its own grotesque transformations"—though all the same this garden is enclosed by walls of nut-bushes, and in each corner stands a little bower of wild-currant.

Kleist, who borrows from English sources the inimical feeling towards the old style, hails the tulip, afterwards so much despised as stiff and formal, as the "Princess among Flowers."

This group, which is like the coterie around Gleim in North Germany, is still at the stage of the first plan of Stowe, the pre-Kent period. Gleim gave to his "Hüttchen" with its little garden a touch of the antique, by arranging that he was to be buried there, surrounded by memorial stones put up to his friends, who had so often gathered round him in this garden. Thus in Germany too we see that poets started the movement; and there they reappear, though some decades later, as critics and theorists. Sulzer in his *Theory of the Fine Arts*, dated at the beginning of his seventieth year, adheres closely to Home's first principle, that Nature is the supreme gardener, but that horticulture, like every other art, is an imitation of Nature, to be classed with the arts of drawing and design. Mason, with his insistence on design, was immediately ahead of him. And then, as Chambers had meanwhile come forward with his glorification of Chinese gardens, Sulzer cut himself adrift, especially from the Chinese style, which he disliked and opposed.

A little later began the activity of a man who, because of the popularity of his style as a painter, was of immense importance in Germany, the Professor of Philosophy at Kiel, Christian Hirschfeld. As early as 1773 he wrote his first paper, *Observations on Garden Art*, which was followed two years later by a short *Theory of Horticulture*; and from 1779 his great work in five volumes, *History and Theory of Horticulture*, began to come out. Hirschfeld wrote at a favourable moment for Germany. Before him in

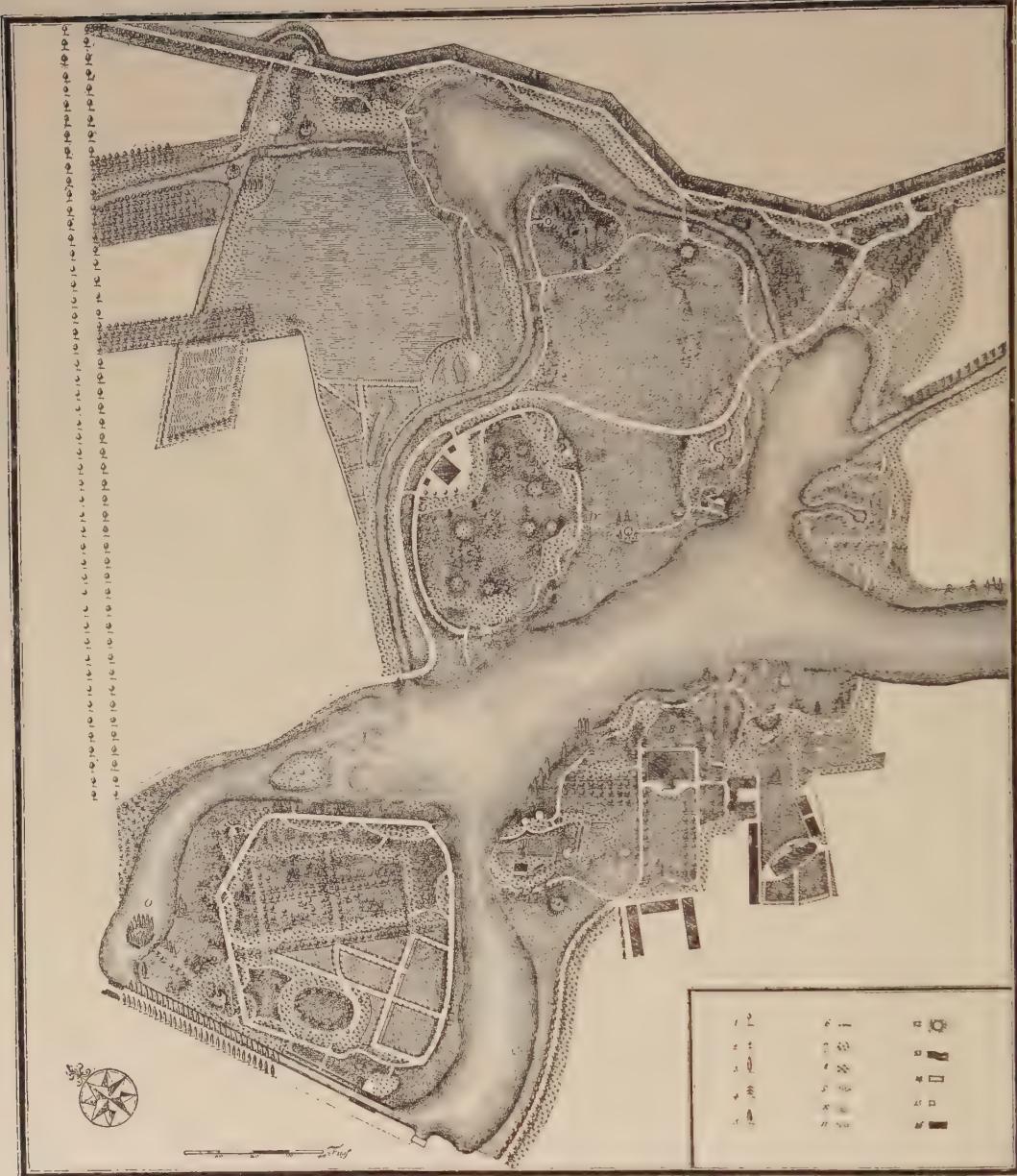


FIG. 593. WÖRLITZ—GROUND-PLAN

England there was not only a great literature of gardening, but a goodly number of examples. He had steeped himself in the new ideas, and felt that he was the representative of good taste, and its champion in the fatherland. So, as Goethe says, he lighted with his own fire the emulation and enthusiasm of the rest. In his five volumes he embraces all the essentials of the garden: theoretical, æsthetic, and historical. He tries to inspire the artist, the amateur, the gardener, by giving many examples, by his treatment of individual cases, by criticism and instruction. His most valuable gifts are a series of pictures illustrative of English, French and German gardens.

Walpole had in his high and mighty way indicated that he did not believe the new style of garden would meet with much approval on the Continent, and especially that "the little German princes, who set out their Palaces and Country-Houses so extravagantly, will not be able to imitate us." When Walpole published his essay, this prophecy had been put to the test of truth; and the German princes who had been making their gardens with ever fresh and capricious fancy in the French fashion, were prompt enough to procure for themselves, one after another in quick succession, anything new that came from England.

In 1769-73 Duke Francis of Dessau built a summer home close to his residence at Wörlitz (Fig. 593). Goethe (in his *Dichtung und Wahrheit*) dates it farther back, to before Winckelmann's death in 1768; but that was because he wanted to extol the greatness of the prince, as shown in his friendship and admiration for Winckelmann as well as in his park, which at that time was unique. But, however this may be, Wörlitz is one of the first remarkable examples of the new art. The prince found a beautiful lake of a good shape; he cut fresh creeks and inlets, and united these with small streams passing through canals, so that each island thus formed was a complete picture, with one or more buildings as accessories. In this way the prince attained the first essentials: variety and contrast.

The Prince de Ligne, who composed one of his witty and eloquent descriptive pieces about Wörlitz, attempts to divide the whole place into five acts with seven scenes each. The first, which he calls *Champs Elysées*, is an island garden on the north-west of the castle, laid out as a private winter-garden, and enclosed by an evergreen hedge. In



FIG. 594. WÖRLITZ—VIEW OF THE GOTHIC HOUSE

the middle of it there is a maze adorned with busts of Lavater and Gellert, which you approach by complicated paths, sometimes underground. On one side this garden opens on the wide lake with two islands in it, one of them copied from the Rousseau island at Ermenonville and bearing his name. On the other side of the broad basin of the lake is the garden of the Gothic house (Fig. 594), which is the most prominent feature of the view from the castle.

From a small gardener's cottage this house has been enlarged gradually, and is to-day the Art Museum. Very wisely the prince had always provided a surrounding for his numerous erections—generally a small straight-clipped hedge—and in this way the houses, temples, and grottoes are isolated and seem more important. The subterranean paths offered an opportunity—welcome in that sentimental age—for an awesome sense of solitude. But one cannot deny that an impression of grandeur is given by the Louisa Rock at the east end of the lake, rising as it does from an underground labyrinth of rocks in steep, bold outline—the more so because of the calm smooth surface of the lake, which adjoins this scene and most of the others. The many bridges are considered to give the finest points of view, and from them one can always get a new picture with some building as its centre. Variety is still farther increased by the inclusion, in the wider parts, of large meadows, even cornfields, and so the park is gradually converted into a farm estate.

With still more surprise, in the so-called new part, one walks straight into the most marvellous building in the whole park, one that pays its tribute to the freakish spirit of the age, which only too easily degenerated into childish folly. This construction is the notorious fire-spitting mountain, called Vulcan by the Prince de Ligne: on the outside it is uncommonly like a baker's oven, but inside there is a Temple of Night with light-effects made by coloured glass, which to-day would not produce the desired illusion even for children. Men of that day, however, had a great fancy for such toys, and nothing in the garden was more popular with visitors.

The prince describes a similar grotto in the castle of Schönau, with a waterfall tumbling over it, inside of which one could, with the aid of torches, decipher the profound meanings of inscriptions and emblems, until one arrived at the throne of the veiled Goddess of Night, seated on a chariot by a triangular table, on which the "bird of Minerva" presents—the Visitor's Book! The picture of this park, imposing even now, must not be prejudiced by these little tricks of the moment; and the happy use made of the lake contributed fresh beauty even to those new sites which were visited and studied by Goethe in his early years at Weimar.

Goethe confesses that his interest in horticulture was due to Hirschfeld's work and the Wörlitz park. The park at Weimar and the book, *Selective Affinities*, are the culled fruits that came to maturity in his all-embracing mind. In a charming little essay, *Das Luisenfest*, which was destined to find a place in the autobiography he had already planned, the poet describes the origin of the park. At an improvised fête on the princess's name-day a hermitage had been set up beside an alder clump on the bank of the Ilm. Friends wearing monks' cowls received the court, and prepared a successful surprise for the company. To this little idyll all the other parts of the park were adapted under the immediate supervision of the poet. It had before consisted of gardens in the old style, which at the beginning of the eighteenth century were not exactly poor, but rather broken

up, and these adjoined the old castle, which still kept its mediaeval style. The pleasure-garden proper was in great part destroyed through the burning of the castle in 1774.

There was no more talk in Goethe's time of the park and the fertile canal gardens alongside; but in the park there was now the so-called "Stern (star)," then a public walk, a well-known spot, a space full of trees and shrubs—ancient trees planted in straight lines, trees which rose high into the air; also many avenues and broad plots for meetings and entertainments. Besides all this, there was a high place, the Schneckenberg (Fig. 595), with winding paths up to a castle—still standing even in the nineteenth century—in whose green-clad walls were windows and little turrets; this was always the special sign of an old park. Quite near here Charles Augustus in 1776 had built a summer-house to give to his friend,



FIG. 595. THE PARK AT WEIMAR—THE SCHNECKENBERG

with a terrace-garden adjoining. The fire at the castle and the destruction of the old gardens had not only made a bare space, but "the lordliest persons, robbed of a home suited to their comfort and their station, betook themselves to the open."

Directly after Goethe had composed his little idyll about the Luisenkloster, as the hermitage (Fig. 596) was called, "people loved to go back to the place. The young prince liked to spend the night there, and for his pleasure they erected the ruin and a sham campanile." What looked like a ruin was an old shooting-stand, built out of the stones of the burnt castle. And now that the paths were also transformed to suit a romantic necessity; "they wound about (Fig. 597), now over rocks, now under arches, now passing out into the light; with their empty, wild aspect, and here and there a hollow place or a seat, they gave some idea of the famous rock-paths of Chinese gardens."

Here we find the first picture of the kind of garden which Goethe so happily called "æsthetic," to indicate the sentiment of his time. Thus out of a romantic necessity came into existence one picture after another, mostly started as a setting for some

merry fête: there was the house of the Knights Templars (originally a Gothic tea-house), the Roman house, another ruin, a temple, monuments with inscriptions, and so on. All the separate scenes were united into one by great field views ringed with trees and bushes, brooks with bridges, paths that lost themselves in the distance, vistas with far-away church towers. The complete want of connection with a house—to which men gave no thought because there was now no house near by—matches with the want of an original plan for the whole: they were led on by one single desire, “to beautify the landscape while winning from it its own peculiar charm” (Fig. 597). Thus the park at Weimar taken as a whole gives perhaps better than any other a clear exposition of the feeling of the time



FIG. 596. WEIMAR PARK IN GOETHE'S TIME—THE HERMITAGE

on this subject, and is doubly important from the fact that Goethe clothed the fancy in a fair form. What he learned here, with all the limitations of practical execution, he gave out in a thoughtful tale in *Elective Affinities*. Human nature in this story is shown at its purest in the activity of a garden life, and a peculiar harmony in the book is brought out, especially when Charlotte and the Captain are working together: they are complementary to each other—on the one hand the clear-headed, careful woman, attending to details, on the other the man trained in a military school, and keeping in view only the things of final importance. Gradually, as at Weimar, the separate parts of Charlotte's park appear; by uniting three ponds the great central feature of the lake is made. The pleasure-house on the hill overlooks it, narrow footpaths and steps in the rocks lead to imposing points of view.

Goethe had zealously studied English engravings, and it is not unlikely that he had Repton's work in his mind when he tells of opening the books, “wherein one always found a picture of the ground-plan of the place and also a view of it as a landscape, and then

on another page a picture of what had been made of it so as to use the good points it already had, and to enhance them." Meanwhile, side by side with this creation of new landscape-gardens, the old castle-garden was still green with its lofty avenues of limes and its even plots, which were the work of the last generation, intact and unaltered; but all the time secretly waiting for a new, distant resurrection which Goethe possibly foresaw even then. And so this business of beautifying the land, which permeates the whole tale, combined with a constraint that limits it to what is objective, creates a



FIG. 597. WEIMAR PARK—A WINDING WALK

happy state of equilibrium between the violence of passion and the peaceful background that frames the tragic fate of its hero.

We see what competition there was in Germany, from the middle of the eighteenth century, in this matter of laying out gardens according to the new fashion, if we look at the number of descriptions in the appendices to the different volumes of Hirschfeld's work. As we have seen, it is often the same princes and sometimes the same artists who supplant the old style—though it is still beloved—with the new. In the early days strange mongrels appear; indeed it almost looks as though the childish complaints incidental to the new style had broken out with peculiar virulence in Germany. Charles Augustus had hardly given the last touch to his fine gate-house at Schwetzingen when Skell came home from England, and began to put the new belts round the old parks (Fig. 598). From the very first he seemed unconvinced and hesitant. In 1784–5 Hirschfeld came to Schwetzingen, and he felt that bad taste ruled supreme. Work was going on at the Turkish Mosque;

Look at the Mecca scene, for example . . . this Mecca is in the middle of the French part . . . from the mosque one looks straight into the Egyptian part, where work is still going on, and this, like the Turkish, seems to have fallen from the skies. It is a hill on which a monument of King Sesostris is being put up. This monument ought not, if the illusion is to be preserved, to be very different from

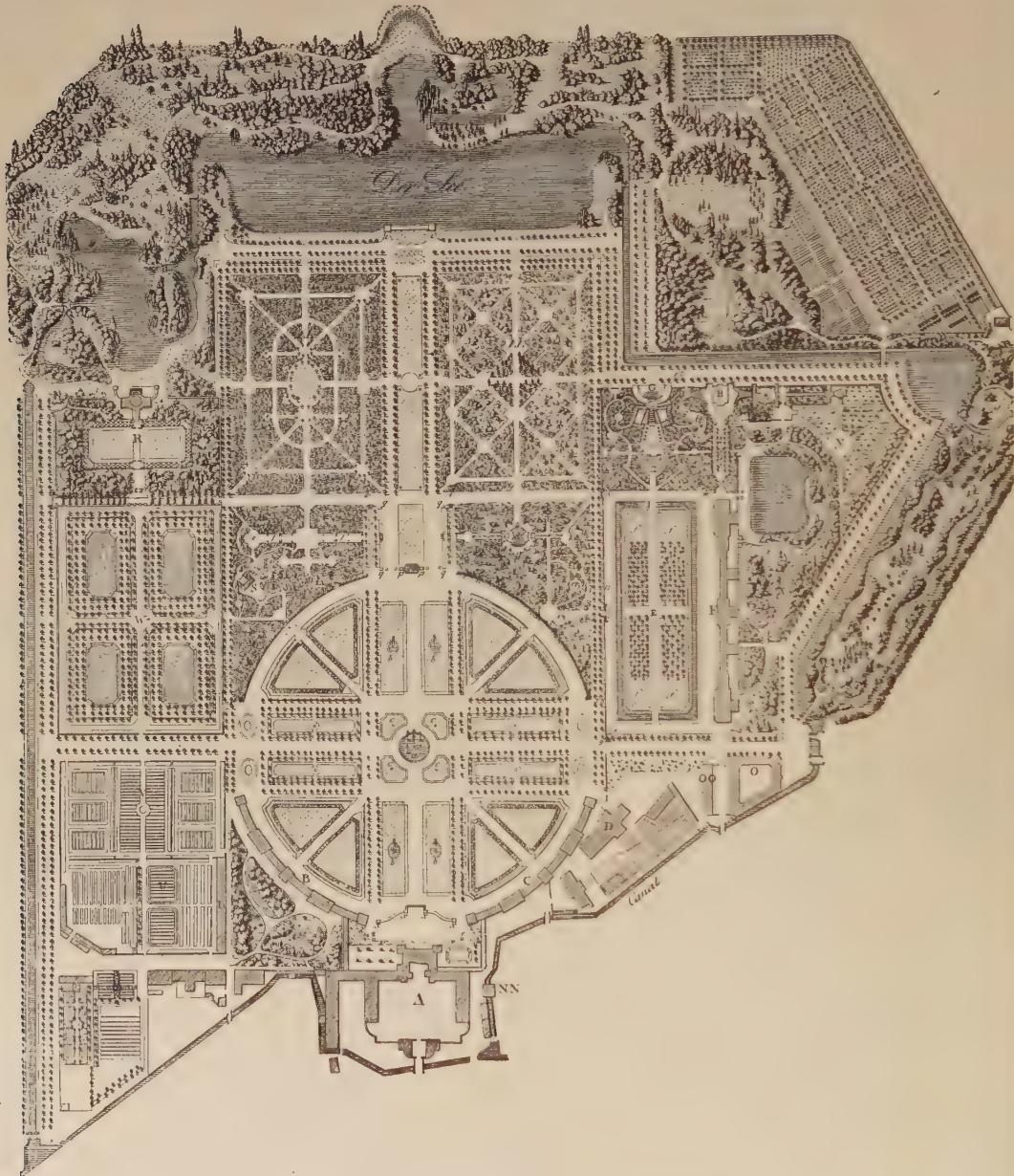


FIG. 598. SCHWETZINGEN—ALTERATION INTO A PICTURESQUE PARK

ruins that are nearly worn away by the hand of time; but here everything is new, perfect, ornate, and time has altered nothing. In the caves of this hill there are to be mummies and graves . . . round the hill the Lake Moeris is to be dug out.

Hirschfeld came at an unpropitious moment, and Skell abandoned the whole Egyptian plan, contenting himself with the ruins on the hill, which was made of earth taken from the

bed of the lake. Even to-day this corner of the English part does not look so harmonious as the illustration (Fig. 599) represents it, though the treatment of the great lake is much more successful. In the English garden at Munich, which is Skell's chief work, he has been almost too sparing of his buildings, and Uvedale Price would certainly have reckoned it among the wearisome creations of which he talks.

Like nearly all the theorists of the new style, Hirschfeld fought to the utmost against the overcrowding of buildings and especially the mixing up of different styles; but so long as the same theorists clamoured after variety and contrast, the worried practical people had to catch at the help that garden-buildings gave. It was unbridled licence in taste,



FIG. 599. SCHWETZINGEN—THE MOSQUE

and the extravagant desire to bring every fancy to completion, that brought to birth such a monstrosity as the garden of Rosswald near Troppau in Silesia, which was laid out by that queer being, Count Hoditz, who in his last days of poverty had to be supported by his friend and patron, Frederick the Great. Everything was heaped up there that people had thought of for hundreds of years. Beside a Chinese garden and temple there was the Holy Grave; after Christian hermitages came Indian pagodas; here a picturesque hill, there a little town for dwarfs, with a royal palace, church, etc. And from want of dwarfs the count for a time had children to live there. Next came Druid caves, with altars; then an antique mausoleum, to which sacrifices for the dead were brought.

It was a great joy to the count to have fêtes corresponding to all the various parts of his garden—to suit the Chinese garden, or the wilds of America. He introduced the gambols of naiads and mermen in the lake, but best of all he loved his Arcadian fêtes, when he dressed his peasants as shepherds. None the less, people took him seriously. Frederick

the Great was inspired to write him an admiring letter in verse. The fancy of the time for masquerading both in outward and inward ways—which we must always remember had nothing whatever to do with the new style of horticulture or its real principles—seemed at times to tend to such an exuberant growth that one could not recognise its original intention.

While Count Hoditz sinned in his senseless conglomeration of disconnected scenes, a famous garden at Hohenheim, a couple of hours from Stuttgart, was going astray in quite another fashion. Here one idea only dominated the whole place. The designer's intention was to represent a colony settling on the ruins of a Roman town (Fig. 600) and the effect was hailed with admiration by his contemporaries.

We take a lively interest in these dwelling-places, and believe them inhabited; we are astonished at the remains of temples and strong walls, which stand exactly as though they had been rescued from destruction hundreds of years ago. . . . Anyone just passing through the garden and looking at it can get no clear impression, because of the number of buildings; but it is quite different for a person who enjoys choosing some particular part, and staying awhile where he finds the right nourishment for his mood . . . he soon comes to a spot for the *dolce far niente*, then to another which, because it bears the stamp of simple benevolence, has the power of pouring blessed peace into his soul.

But even now we have not had enough deception! We go into an apparently simple hut, and meet the last surprise; for inside it are wonderful rooms furnished in princely fashion, bath-rooms, silk tapestries, paintings, and so forth. The Prince de Ligne counts sixty different views in the comparatively small space of sixty to seventy acres, which can be strolled round in four or five hours.

It is not surprising perhaps that the lively, fashion-loving prince—a man for whom the *dernier cri* was the topmost peak of civilisation—took delight in this garden. In the park of his family place at Hennegau in Belgium, he laid out a Tartar village, where all the aboriginal character of the shepherd's life was staged, with young bulls as well as young students at the dairy. When work was over, the shepherds played on instruments which the prince had brought away from the Alps with his cows, and wore a uniform worthy of the beauty and simplicity of Nature, whose high priests they were. In this Tartar village the dairies are concealed in the mosque, whose minarets serve well as dovecots.

And other men of more weight than the Prince de Ligne yielded to the charm of the "idea of uniformity" as shown at the Hohenheim Park farm. It even finds favour in the eyes of Schiller, who gives his opinions on the garden in the *Pocket Calendar* for 1795. Though he severely condemns the overcrowding of scenes into the gardens of the day, "where the whole number of her [Nature's] charms are displayed as in a book of patterns," and though he considers it a mistake when horticulture takes painting as a model, because it has "no reduced scale," he still hails with joy the idea of this kind of garden. Although he thinks it an affected sentimentality to hang little tablets with mottoes on the trees, he gains a point by urging that the Nature which we find in the English garden is no longer the same Nature as the one we have left outside. It is a Nature enlivened with a soul, a Nature exalted by art, which delights not only the simple man, but the man of education and culture: the one she teaches to think, the other to feel.

Schiller had always had a certain local interest in the garden of his own father's house; but all this talk points to a general mistrust of the new art. There was a strong feeling that in this particular department, where Nature must and ought to provide the material to be copied, it was impossible to attain an artistic style from a simple imitation of her.



Certainly Goethe found himself very uncomfortable on his visit to this garden during the tour in Switzerland in 1797. What he said was, "Many little things put together do not, alas, make one great thing." He wanted to take notes of this garden with a view to a later treatise on the subject, for which he had already collected material.

Without any consistency the critics wavered this way and that. They could not apparently make up their minds to give to horticulture a definite place among the arts, as Lafontaine had done, and yet no art critic ventured to ignore it, so strong was its



FIG. 601. WILHELMSHÖHE, CASSEL—THE FELSENBURG

position in the foreground of their interest. "To separate harmony and discord, to know and to make use of the individual character of each locality, to cherish an active desire to exalt the beauties of nature—to collect them, if this is not a fine art, then there is none." Thus Herder speaks in the second part of his *Kalligone*. He wishes Horticulture to be joined with her twin sister Architecture, but not to be subject to her laws. It will be seen that he is in opposition to Sulzer, Hirschfeld, and others, who would rank her with painting. Immanuel Kant and his school also see in horticulture a branch of painting; and if this is only an outside opinion, it arose from the need of fixing the direction for future developments.

Schiller with his phrase, "Nature exalted by Art," had involuntarily provided a very effective watchword for the phase of horticulture described above. Only such an exalted Nature could serve as a changing background for transitory moods. In the last quarter of

the eighteenth century Germany stood at the head of the new fashion of chivalry with its romantic, sentimental love of ruins. When the Landgrave William of Hesse, immediately after his return to power in 1785, took up the task of completing the mighty work of his forefather, Weissenstein, the plan for building the castle at the foot of the hill, so long delayed, had to be carried out. So entirely must this castle correspond with the new sentimental parks, that the landgrave decided to add a wing to it in the form of a ruin; but this grotesque plan was fortunately never carried out, and only one of the series of



FIG. 602. WILHELMSHÖHE—AQUEDUCT AND ARTIFICIAL RUINS

view-plans has been kept, which the prince commissioned the elder Tischbein to paint for him. But the landgrave did not give up his idea about ruins, and some years later had them erected in a better place in the corner of the great park: they were called the ruins of a knightly castle, Felsenburg, afterwards Löwenburg, and their foundations were laid in 1793 (Fig. 601).

The prince was in deadly earnest about these freaks, and the place had drawbridges, bulwarks, entrance-towers, moats, all in the proper style. It did not matter if the bulwark reached no higher than a man's knees! Many churches in the district had to give up their ancient glass to adorn the chapel windows at the castle. Every kind of ornament was lavished on the other parts of the estate. The landgrave gave orders for a laurel or box hedge to be set round one of the gardens, clipped in the Dutch manner, but the gardeners of that time had forgotten how it was done, and he had to content himself with red-fir

hedges, which grew up quicker. In the castle was installed a bailiff, and also a garrison, who wore a very choice uniform with bearskin caps. Later, when after seven years of exile the old lord came back to his estate, where King Jerome had been living, as the Elector William I., the time of absence was by his command counted as nothing: he strode across the drawbridge at Löwenburg, and the castle warder stepped forward and announced, "Nothing new has happened."

Knightly castles of this sort (Fig. 602), where in all solemnity chivalric scenes were acted, now appeared in the larger parks. Close to the Löwenburg was a tilting-ground with wooden barriers, but this was soon replanted, for nobody would make use of it. But at Laxenburg, near Vienna, where the Emperor Francis had a lovely park, a tilting-ground still exists near the castle (which itself stands in the middle of the lake as the *chef-d'œuvre* among many fine views), and shows the old arrangements with the proper approaches and lists. "There," says a guide-book, earnestly and naively, "in 1810 a wonderfully brilliant tournament took place on the name-day of the Kaiser's third wife, when he and all the archdukes took part in it. . . ." "In 1841," the book goes on, "there was another lively occasion at the tilting-ground . . . a company of equestrian performers gave an exhibition of their skill in the presence of the Kaiser and his court."

We see how seriously this knightly business was taken when we consider the Rosicrucian League (Brothers of the Rosy Cross), who lived as a sort of mystical, masonic sect at the Prussian court of Frederick William II. The new garden of the marble palace in Potsdam was their proper theatre. There they held their meetings in the small grove of conifers, where stood a statue of Cybele with many breasts as the Mother of Nature. This garden, which for a time supplanted the interest in Sans-Souci so entirely that the ornaments of the latter were actually removed, must be regarded as a masterpiece of the masquerade craze. For a long time no building in a park was allowed to appear what it really was. Near the castle, which was built with the marble pillars taken from the Rotunda at Sans-Souci, one noticed a half-buried temple highly decorated with columns, capitals, and the like; but when one looked closer, a kitchen was revealed. An Egyptian structure with sphinxes on guard is an orangery. Under a pyramid an ice-cellard hides. Far away in the park one comes upon a hermitage: one steps in, and there is a luxuriously appointed bath. Farther on there is another kitchen disguised as a little house made of bark, with an iron tree-trunk for a chimney.

In England too there were some extravagances of this kind, but they never went so far. In Windsor Park there was a hay-wagon, with a room inside it—an idea which proved attractive, especially in South Germany. In the now non-existent park of Ludwigsburg at Saarbrücken a hay-cart stood in the middle of a meadow, and concealed in its interior a dining-room. The servants must have had to be content with queer housing, seeing that the court marshal, for whom there was no room in the somewhat small pavilion of the princes, lived in a place in the park which was disguised as a pile of wood; and similar crazy tricks were to be seen in the park of Klärlich at Trierschen.

It was not the slightest good that theorists and artists, whatever point of view they had once taken, were continually abusing these extravagances, or that poets poured their scorn upon them. Although in the early days at Weimar Wörlitz had attracted Goethe to the point of imitation, he now, in his *Triumph of Sentiment*, rebukes these follies sharply. In the park in Hell Ascalaphus is made to give his orders thus:

"The home for Cerberus' dogs," he says, "is to be turned into a chapel, for, mark well, in a park everything must be of an ideal nature, and—saving your grace—each bit of rubbish we must wrap round with some lovely covering; for example, behind a temple we will put a pig-sty, and instantly that pig-sty will turn into a Pantheon."

Goethe's *Triumph of Sentiment* was the gauntlet which he threw down as a challenge to that epoch of sentimentality which he had outgrown; but just as the despised gardens continued to flourish, so did the offshoots of sentimentality.

In 1784 Jung Stilling describes a scene where he and Selma are walking in the garden of Herr Schmerz. He wonders how its creator "could have made every little hill, dale, tree, bush, individually beautiful." He finds first strength, then terrible beauty, then dreamy melancholy, then again riotous luxuriance. Many inscriptions draw the two friends into the mood they desire. They turn into a rock chamber for refreshment.

When it was dark Schmerz says, "Come, friends, it is very lovely outside." I took Selma with one hand and another lady with the other, and Schmerz walked quietly beside us. We wandered on: forward in the path. . . . Good God! a bright green light shone on the wood, and a hundred lamps lighted up the urn! Ah! what a sight! . . . The skies shed mild lightnings above us, and now this spectacle! . . . Selma sobbed and swooned. . . . I tore myself away. . . . Tears rolled down my cheeks . . . a soft-sounding music was heard, behind the urn a clear green light . . . there floated towards us an Adagio out of *Zemire and Azore*, and I cried, "Schmerz, illuminate Christina's urn, for the lightnings pour their wealth on me and Selma, and the wood breathes out a gentle peace." . . . Then Selma and I swore eternal love, but we also swore to love God and mankind, to the utmost limit of human power.

Before Goethe, Justus Möser had poured scorn upon the new fashion in his *Phantasien*, which Goethe greatly admired. It seems almost incredible that the little satire, *English Gardens*, was written as early as 1773. And yet it is significant that before the English style had entrenched itself in its greater works, the frivolous fashion of Anglo-Chinese taste had made an appearance, and probably was at its height in the Hanoverian states, which felt English influence first. Möser loved what was old and native to Germany; he was pained by foreign taste, by the childish and transitory. In one of his works a girl tells her grandmother in a letter how the grandmother's bleaching-ground, fruit-garden, and cabbage-patch have been converted by the writer's husband into an English garden with little hills and dales: "but now it is called a shrubbery, or as other people say, an English bosket." On the hill, she says, they sit under a Chinese canopy, which is a sun-shade with gilt metal lining. Of course there are Chinese bridges, and a Gothic dome as a summer-house. Still more plainly than in the *Triumph* does Goethe follow the lead of Möser in his *House Park*, written in 1797. The daughter is complaining to her mother that her playmates laugh at her:

"I ought to feel what Nature does in the open . . . and they cannot bear stiff green walls, for they can see right through them from one end to the other. Our leaves are cut down by shears, and the flowers too; what a shame! Our dear cousin Asmus calls it just a tailor's game." (Asmus—Mathias Claudius—in the Serenata in *Wandsbecker Boten* scoffed at the old park-gardens, in which "nothing can be seen any longer of the great full heart of harmonious Nature," as a mere "tailor's game.")

In the midst of this contest which raged to and fro in their own camp, there very soon arose other voices which condemned the whole fashion of landscape gardening uncompromisingly. It was from English Classicism that the style, so often and justly called romantic, had originated; the Romantics themselves were only in part admirers of it,



FIG. 603a. MUSKAU—VIEW OF THE PÜCKLER PARK

indeed the first important attack was to come from their side. Among the leaders of the English Romantic school Wordsworth stands high, with his so-called æsthetic style. He feels proud that painters and poets are the creators of English horticulture, and that now they will win for themselves the high praise that they are the fathers of better taste. In this sense he writes to his artist friend Sir George Beaumont, at whose house he stayed. "As to the grounds," he adds, "they are in good hands—the hands of Nature."

He adopts Coleridge's principle that the house and garden must belong to the landscape, the landscape must not be subsidiary to the house. One ought to lose oneself in the beauty of the actual countryside; and this is what business people will never do, but only painters and poets. Thus did Wordsworth express his innermost feeling; and it is from his personal idiosyncrasy that there arose in him an aversion for places that by their emptiness have cut out all life, and so make one think of the legend of the upas-tree, which breathes death and devastation around. The poet of the garden, he says, should weave into one sympathetic whole the joy of every living being, of men and children, birds and beasts, hills, rivers, trees, and flowers. We are warned, however, against "dressing the whole of a landscape in the livery of man"; Nature must take entire charge, so that everything we do is suited to her beauty. This is the fundamental law that Wordsworth always obeys, and it is a law of nature purified from sentimentality.

A hundred years had passed since the birth of the picturesque style, when Sir Walter Scott, in 1824, describes in *Waverley* the old garden of Tully Veolan, and throws down the gauntlet to the formal style. The park, he tells us, comprises several square fields with walls round them and a short straight avenue of horse-chestnuts and sycamores, which is the approach from the lower to the upper gates. Three steps lead down from the main terrace, which has a balustrade in stone, and animals as ornament; in the middle is a bear holding a sundial. From the garden with fruit-trees, flowers, and evergreens cut in



FIG. 603b. MUSKAU—ANOTHER VIEW OF THE PÜCKLER PARK

grotesque shapes one passes along wide terraces to a canal, which has a waterfall at the end of it, and an octagonal summer-house with a bear on the roof.

Scott admits that he had in his mind a real Scotch Highland garden, and many specimens like it can still be found. He defended his love for this garden, which he had described as a poet, writing of it later in a little paper in the *Quarterly Review*. The garden was, he confesses, in the highest degree artificial, but it was a lovely sight, a triumph of art over the elements . . . nothing being so distinctly a work of art as a garden. He even defends the beauty of walls, with the warm tones of English bricks, in contrast to the green, and also the tabooed water-works; and although clipped hedges and trees are rejected for these new gardens that he would like to have, he still wants them in the old places where they give him such a feeling of quiet and seclusion.

Earlier, and much more decidedly, the German Romantics spoke out for the old style. George Jacobi in a series of letters had written disapprovingly of the English garden, but in favour of the kitchen-garden, for every deviation from the original purpose appears to him a concession to luxury. He mocks at the notion of attempting large landscape effects, and thinks the formal garden is the proper contrast to the country that surrounds it.

Tieck, in *Phantasus*, takes up this idea, and in particular thinks that in a hilly country the formal garden is not only the most suitable but the most attractive. In majestic surroundings any imitation of the landscape would be silly. "This garden lies at the feet of a giant with his forests and waterfalls, and quietly and humbly plays among its own flowers, arbours and fountains as a child plays with its innocent fancies." This scene appears to him "a bright miniature taken from the parchment manuscripts of the olden time"; and he confesses that he loves above all others such gardens as were dear to our forefathers, "which were merely a roomy, green extension of the house. . . . There they were

encompassed by enchanting Nature, governed by the same laws as men of understanding and reason, the laws of the inward unseen mathematics of life."

Tieck does not quite exclude landscape gardening, but whereas the French style seems to him, as it did to Sir William Temple, to have scarcely any fault, the English garden, he thinks, should never be copied and repeated, for each is unique. There should be no failures or confusions through losing the real personal feeling for nature. An English garden ought to be a true and perfect poem, a lovely individual thing, sprung from one mind only. This thought he expresses elsewhere, using words that Wordsworth would have heartily endorsed.

But Goethe also towards the end of his life had lost his affection for the English style. On a walk with the Chancellor von Müller to the Belvedere, he commended the way French gardens were laid out, at any rate at the great castles. "The spacious arbours and bowers, the Quincunx, allow of a large party coming and going in a decorous way, whereas in our English places (which I might call Nature's little jokes) we keep knocking against one another, and either get boxed in or quite lost." In such words as these Goethe seems to express almost a repulsion from his early enthusiasm and the silly sentimentality on which it was grounded.

It must also be remembered that Goethe, who created the park at Weimar, never contemplated treating the garden at his own town house in the picturesque style; and to this day it bears traces of the older fashion. The walled-in square has two summer-houses in the corners at the back, and is divided into regular straight-lined sections. At one time the poet put masses of flowers in it, when the trees—now overgrown and casting broad shadows—only marked the edges of the beds, and did not exclude sun. In the background is a pergola, leading from one summer-house to the other, and this makes a quiet walk for anyone strolling there from the house.

Thus were voices raised in opposition, especially in Germany, and even the leaders and promoters of the art detected faults and bad taste in this or that particular example, though not in the style itself. The whole of the nineteenth century must complete its tale of sins before the foundations are shattered. In its first decade there appeared in Germany a new inspired prophet of landscape gardening in the young, good-looking, enthusiastic Prince Pückler. His personality was his chief asset; and through that he brought to realisation his ideas and his wishes; and the performance in which he took most pride, the park of Muskau, shows his handiwork at every glance. He came into his family estate, Muskau, when it was in a rather neglected state, only the old castle with not much park-land, an insignificant part with warm springs, a few fir-planted fields, and a great deal of marsh. He at once formed the resolution that he would create a place that should surpass the much-admired English masterpieces (Figs. 603a and 603b). In his *Hints on Landscape Gardening*, which was published in 1834, he sets forth his ideal, which is to convert a whole estate without any particular demarcation into an improved landscape, not paying too much attention to economy, yet effecting the purpose at no great cost—perhaps less, indeed, than people generally incur in such cases.

In his own scheme at Muskau Pückler did not set a good example so far as economy was concerned, for he put all his great wealth into it and went bankrupt. But the work itself was a masterpiece, and having been cared for by pious hands ever since, is preserved intact. In a few decades he changed the whole vast region of the

Neisse valley, with its border of mountains that enclose the pleasant bath-buildings, into a great park.

Quite at the beginning the prince commissioned the artist Schirmer to paint him some landscapes of the park as he saw it in his own mind, and these pictures he used afterwards as patterns. He had a predecessor here, for Count Girardin, Rousseau's friend, had had Ermenonville laid out from pictures which he had ordered. Pückler, with a view to getting rid of the wretchedly bare look of a young plantation, transplanted large trees in their own earth, and this turned out a great success. And yet the gardeners tell you that the park has only to-day achieved the beauty of the inspired picture which



FIG. 604. HOUSE IN A MEADOW AT KEW

the prince put before the painter's mind. The importance of the scenes which one sees in a long series in ever-changing groups in an hour's walk, lies mainly in the arrangement of individual trees, which Pückler especially loved, groups of beeches and a border of forest trees, with meadow ground and water. It is most surprising how variety can be gained by the help of colour and light, "which ever leaves something for Fancy to guess."

Pückler does not despise the aid that buildings lend; besides the castle, and the towers of the little town, he has two temples, a vaulted church, a ruined tower, and some country houses farther off; but these are only meant to enliven the picture, not to force on any particular mood. In the whole scheme, sentimentality is banished; even the inscriptions from Goethe in the park at Weimar Pückler prefers to read from the master's books.

The passion for ruins now took on an historical character; it was no longer excited by the thought of the transitoriness of life, but by the recollection of some actual or imagined incident. "A garden on a grand scale is a picture gallery, and a picture must have a frame."



FIG. 605. MUSKAU—THE FLOWER-GARDEN NEAR THE HOUSE

One secret of art is, so to contrive that each path leads on to some new picture, on which the interest may be freshly concentrated. And this great end the spirit of the prince did attain when he was working upon things that were large and distant. But his noblest triumphs, such as his wise plan of extending the park beside the castle into the open wild park of the Kur-region, we seek in vain in his private garden, the English pleasure-ground adjoining the castle. "Round the house one has to be satisfied with a charming garden within a small compass, as far as possible in contrast with its surroundings; and in this narrow space it is not the variety of landscape, but only convenience, grace and elegance that we desire." Pückler applied this principle in deliberate opposition to English parks, where the house generally stands cold and bare in a monotonous green meadow, at best only enlivened by cattle (Fig. 604). "Among the English it is almost an obsession that one can never have a cheerful landscape without animals in it."

In gardens near the house one may exercise one's own taste freely, and alternate at will formality and the opposite. But, successful though Pückler had been in his larger efforts, his idea miscarried here, and his taste became childish to the point of caricature. Men seemed from now on to forget what true formality meant; and although the prince in his travels all over the world had seen and studied the gardens of very many different lands, and although in words he was for ever setting up as models the Italian gardens of the Renaissance, yet the garden round his own house is frightful, and disastrous in its effect. The lake that bordered one side of the castle bore no trace of the grandeur everywhere

remarkable in the park at Neissefluss, and the other sides of the building are surrounded by so-called flower-gardens. Here for the first time in Germany we meet with Carpet Bedding. Beds which are called "artistic," that is beds without any order or plan, are strewn over the lawn—here a cornucopia, here a star, there a flower-basket or pyramid of flowers, which have nothing to do with their surroundings, and make the actual flowers look ugly and mean, mixed together so badly and packed so close (Fig. 605).

The whole of the nineteenth century suffered from this lamentable invention of the carpet-garden. It was one of the most mistaken attempts ever made to keep something of the old brightness of the parterre, and to bring back again the flowers which had been drawing away more and more shyly from the neighbourhood of the house so that they could be seen from the windows. The result is only a sign of barbarous taste. Thus Pückler appears on the one hand as the man who proved the grandeur and importance of landscape gardening and made it live, and on the other as the man who proved the utter impotence of this style for the garden in its narrower sense, i.e. in the immediate neighbourhood of the house. But landscape gardens for long decades to come were to exercise an almost unlimited influence—an influence, however, which on the side of art was entirely unproductive.

CHAPTER XVI
TENDENCIES OF GARDEN ART IN THE
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AT no period was the art of gardening thrust forward so strongly into the sphere of literary interests as when the style was revolutionised in the eighteenth century. This movement went far beyond the circle of the parties immediately concerned, i.e. garden artists and owners of gardens; and one of the chief objects aimed at in the second half of the century seemed to be to study the nature of art in general through the medium of gardening. It was inevitable that a reaction should set in. The principles of picturesque art had never won a decisive mastery, indeed, we see counter-influences rising up, first in one place and then in another, sometimes on the theoretical side and sometimes on the practical. They were so frequently and so openly discussed, that they penetrated into the consciousness of the general public.

The subject took the tighter hold (in Germany perhaps even more than in England, and certainly more than in France) because men's sight became somewhat blurred when the picturesque style approached nearer and nearer to nature. There was no more interest taken in the great contrast of style in the old formal gardens, nor even in the romantic gardens which laid stress on buildings and sentiment. Little by little, people forgot to look for art at all. The unavoidable consequence was that as far as the generality of mankind was concerned there was an increasing lack of interest in the garden. Goethe observed this apathy as early as 1825, when he expressed to Varnhagen von Ense his surprise at the change of sentiment. "Park-sites, once the ambition of all Germany, especially after Hirschfeld's book was widely circulated, are now quite out of fashion. People neither hear nor read, as they used to, that somebody or other is still making crooked paths, or planting weeping-willows, and it looks as though the fine gardens we have will soon be broken up to make potato patches." Certainly there was no fear of this, for destruction on a large scale is only the result of active revolution. But the development hitherto helped forward by the general interest in art, had now become affected by two other powerful influences: science and democracy, which modelled and even controlled civilised life in the nineteenth century, and had a very marked effect on the art of gardening.

When in its earliest stages, the picturesque style found an ally, helping to a final victory, in the powerful impetus towards the knowledge of plants which occurred in the eighteenth century. The cultivation of individual trees could not amount to much in the stiff formality of the French style; and it was impossible to use groups of shrubs of different kinds and colouring. Plants were not wanted unless they could be used for architectural purposes, and foreign ones were only acceptable in so far as they accommodated themselves to that kind of art. This applied also to flowers in the parterre. Attempts to

acclimatise exotic plants were crippled by the masterful influence of the formal style, and such plants were relegated to the botanic garden. When, however, people began to admire trees and shrubs for their individual beauty and natural growth, they were attracted more and more towards places abroad, whence travellers and explorers brought back novelties, first singly and then in large numbers. Things moved slowly at the beginning; for the scientific and geographical interest taken in any special tree was not very strong. It had to express some feeling—must have, so to speak, something to say to men.

The judicious Kasimir Medicus, in his *Materials for the Art of Beautiful Gardening*, published in 1782, utters a warning against the destruction of the old gardens, and also regards with some anxiety what he considers the over-strenuous efforts made in the interests of botany. He thinks that the introduction of foreign trees, though in itself praiseworthy, has nothing to do with the laying out of an "English wood," but is the affair of the botanist. The garden artist ought to study a tree with the eyes of a landscape painter and the spirit of a poet. To him the plane is the tree of reflection, and the annual shedding of the bark typifies the shedding of prejudices by the wise man. The maple is the tree of joyful companionship, and the Babylonian willow the tree of sorrow and mourning.

The whole botanical movement was only a slow and gradual prelude to the great concert that was to be performed in the nineteenth century, after the extensive acclimatisation of foreign plants had been accomplished, in which England took the first place. In the Physic Garden at Chelsea, maintained by the Society of Apothecaries, an attempt was first made in 1683 to acclimatise the cedar of Lebanon. The next year, to the great surprise of Sir Hans Sloane, young trees were growing happily on English soil, with no help from a forcing-house. Yet nobody could have guessed that in the nineteenth century cedars were to be almost the leading feature of the English garden.

A great deal went on henceforth in the way of importing American trees. At first it was only individual travellers and learned persons who explored temperate, hilly countries, especially America, in search of trees and shrubs. The American oak, many species of firs, poplars, magnolias, and the so-called acacias, only to mention the most familiar names, were introduced. The foundation of the Horticultural Society in London in 1804 was an important step forward. A few years later George Johnson wrote a history of garden architecture in England. He dedicated this work to Thomas Andrew Knight, the president of the Society, and a younger brother of Richard Payne Knight, author of the poem *The Landscape Garden*. Thomas Knight, who was quite different from his dilettante brother, advanced the gardening of his time because of his energy, his profound knowledge of botany, and his work as a hybridiser.

It was one of the functions of the Horticultural Society to send plant collectors into all quarters of the world. The plants which they found were tried in England, and subsequently an account of them was published in the Proceedings of the Society. One of the men sent out was David Douglas, who had good fortune in discovering conifers in America. He wrote to Sir William Hooker, the Director of Kew Gardens, when he was sending some new things: "You will begin to think that I am raising fir-trees just as I feel inclined." Early in the century the chrysanthemum and the wistaria were introduced. One of the most successful collectors in the East was Robert Fortune. In the year 1842 he sent from China and Japan *Anemone japonica*, *Dicentra* (*Dielytra*), and other plants which were destined to be great favourites. Dahlias, which had been introduced in the

last years of the previous century, became very popular fifty years later. Fuchsias were brought in during the first half of the century; and about the middle came many orchids and innumerable quantities of hot-house plants.

Kew Gardens, founded by the Dowager Princess of Wales in 1759, soon acquired a European reputation. As early as 1789 between five and six thousand kinds of plants were growing there; and when a second list came out in 1810-13, the number had increased to eleven thousand. In 1839 the Botanic Society was founded in London, and did everything that could be done to help the study of scientific botany. The effect of this enormous



FIG. 606. BRANITZ—VIEW IN THE PARK WITH SOLITARY TREES

increase of plant material on the one side, and the growth of scientific botany on the other, with the accompanying knowledge of the geographical distribution of plants, soon became apparent.

The sentimental period had passed away, having lived itself out. The fashion of composing poetry and talking philosophy in such garden scenery as was supposed to express a definite thought or feeling—a fashion which appealed strongly to German theorists at the turn of the century—had dwindled away to nothing. Moreover, people grew weary of tricks and playthings in gardens. “*La nature*,” says Alphand in the seventies, “finissait par triompher de tout ameublement baroque.” The garden artist was drawn more and more towards the actual plants, and since he wanted to get a real acquaintance with the bewildering number of things offered to his choice, his chief study must needs be botany. Thus the garden fell entirely into the hands of the gardener and the botanist, seeming to elude the architect altogether. People plunged into a study of the conditions

necessary to plants, especially trees and shrubs, and were proud to think that "every tree and every plant had been assigned the place which Nature had intended for it, some on the mountain tops, some in the valleys, some in the shade, some in the sunny meadows, and others on the borders of the forest."

It was thus that the tree standing alone came to occupy the centre of the picture, as we saw so clearly in the grounds laid out by Pückler at Branitz (Fig. 606). Later on arose a delight in planting a pinetum or plantation of conifers, and fortunately a great many new conifers were to be had. In England especially the pinetum became a thing of great beauty, for people learned that they must control thickness of planting, which at first was excessive. At the beginning it was thought that the soil of England could not supply nourishment enough for the cone-bearing giants when they had reached their full stature, as they were tropical trees. The first pinetum was established in Kew Gardens in 1843. Plantations of this kind were in a sense the sign of a new influence which hailed from Italy, but these plantings were very unlike those of the Italian Renaissance, when dark pines stood in even rows, like pillars with a green roof. Italy herself had, however, changed; the new pinetum with its picturesque groups at the Villa Doria Pamfili was planted near the gates of the gymnasium, the old park itself being made as far as possible like the English.

Although botanical interest was so strong and active, it was inevitable that English parks, with their exclusive care for trees and shrubs, should become in the long run uniform and dull. The means of expression were limited. The cry for variety which had kept artists and owners on the move for hundreds of years was subsiding more and more. Fortunately, however, the plants brought over by explorers in foreign countries were not limited to trees and shrubs; on the contrary, there were many different kinds of flowers. Only a few of these could endure northern winters, and the first result was the erection of new forcing-houses. The orangeries of the old style had fallen into the background since the picturesque fashion came in, and new ones were not made. Thus the number of hot-houses in private gardens increased at the expense of orangeries.

In 1833 the Englishman Ward invented an air-proof glass case, on the principle of the circulation of water through earth and air at an even temperature, and the transportation of tender plants to Europe with comparatively little trouble was thus possible. People who cultivated flowers grew more and more skilful in hybridising the original plants that were brought over. We ought to remember, for example, that innumerable kinds of roses were raised in the nineteenth century. And very soon there arose great trading firms, which sent out their own explorers to every part of the world in search of new plants; indeed some firms, such as Veitch of Chelsea, Bull of Chelsea, and later Sander of St. Albans, and Vilmorin of Paris, had collectors scattered about in every country.

It was natural that people who had nursed tender plants through the winter and spring should want to enjoy them in summer in their own gardens. The most imposing effect was produced when they were planted in great masses, but in the North such an effect was unnatural, and it was not easy to produce. The method first hit upon was neither systematic nor artistic. Carpet-gardening, introduced into Europe by Pückler (Fig. 605), must be regarded as the first stage of a new alliance between flower-growing and the picturesque garden. The beds were filled with different flowers according to the time of year, and were mixed with plants that had various-coloured leaves. Unfortunately this ugly and stupid style is to be found in certain public gardens even in our own day.

The first attempts to reform the garden were made by two artists, and were started from different directions; but every attempt aimed at the same thing: to make a more worthy home in the garden for all the plants that now arrived in such numbers. In the forties and fifties of the nineteenth century the eyes of architects, especially Englishmen, had been turned once more to Italy. Sir Charles Barry, the English architect, travelled in the South, and especially in Italy when a young man. He took back with him to England a knowledge of Italian art as treated more or less from the historical point of view, and

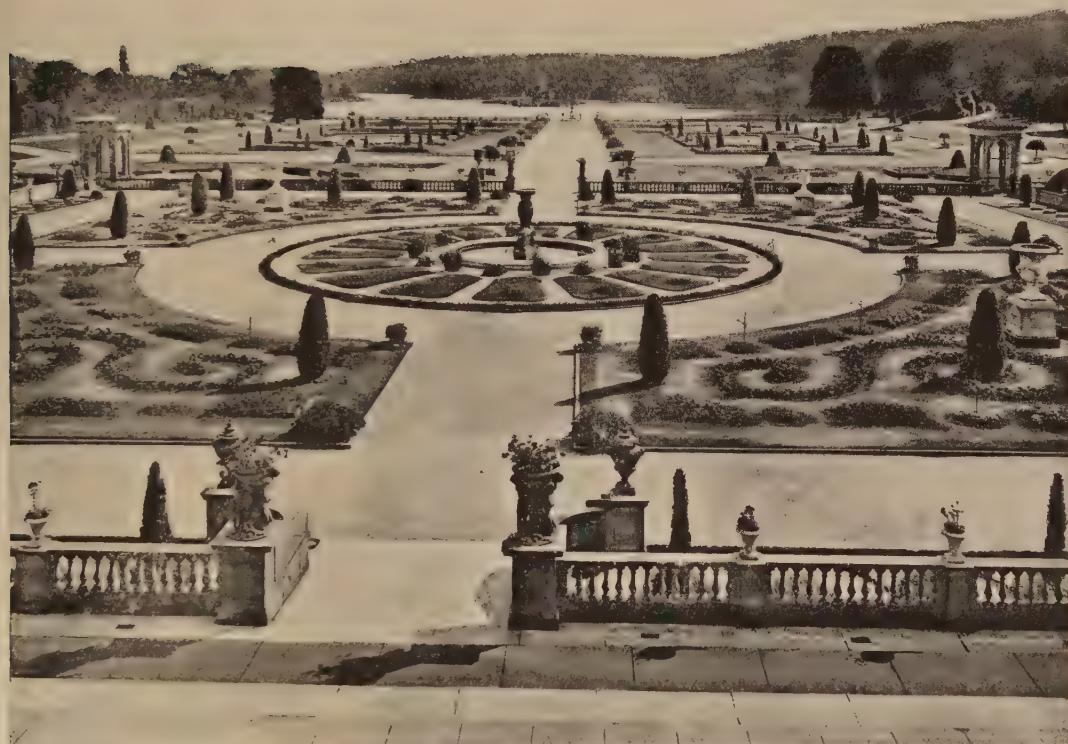


FIG. 607. TRENTHAM CASTLE, STAFFORDSHIRE—GENERAL VIEW OF THE DUCAL GARDEN

applied it in a series of country places, sometimes entirely new, sometimes only altered and restored. The buildings which he designed show a strong likeness to Roman suburban villas, such as Villa Borghese and Villa Doria Pamfili. We feel the resemblance to the parterre of the Doria Pamfili when we walk through an "Italian garden" at an English country seat. Almost all Barry's work was done between 1840 and 1860. A piece was cut out of the picturesque garden, generally close to the house and as a rule only on one side of it, and was then laid out as a sunk parterre. The beds were edged with box, and here the treasures of the greenhouse were "bedded out," to be changed several times in the course of the year. There were fuchsias, lobelias, heliotrope, shrubby calceolarias, and in particular different kinds of zonal pelargoniums. Somewhat later there were begonias. These, with many others, formed a brilliantly coloured carpet of flowers. The corners of the



FIG. 608. DRUMMOND CASTLE, PERTHSHIRE—TERRACE GARDEN

beds were marked by dwarf trees, but as the whole parterre was to be allowed no shade, tall trees were banished. Wherever the ground allowed, this part of the garden was laid out in level terraces adorned with Italian balustrades, which contributed the chief or even the only architectural feature. Where terraces were not possible, the parterre was sunk, with the just belief that the view could be best seen from above. One famous example of a house of the period was Trentham Castle (Fig. 607) which Barry altered for the Duke of Sutherland. The open arcade and the balustrade on the roof made the chief decoration. The idea was carried out in very wide and rather low terraces, all with balustrades. Another ornament was found in small open summer-houses. There were also a few Italian statues, for example the Perseus of Benvenuto Cellini. The great lake at the end had its straight side next to the parterre, and its curving banks stretched out into a picturesque pleasure-ground. The garden was designed by Nesfield, the artist, who often worked with Sir Charles Barry.

All these Italian gardens showed the same character as a whole, though in particular parts and in particular circumstances they might differ. Colour effect, as produced by bedded-out plants, was more desired than general design. Most important English landscape gardens of the period had a semi-formal character. If one turns over to-day the pages of beautiful illustrations of English gardens which are given in the periodical *Country Life*, one is surprised to see how many of the older ones are faithful to the formal idea. Some examples are Harewood House in Yorkshire, Holland House in London, and Longford Castle in Wiltshire, where Italian parterres have been wrested from picturesque parks. In Scotland more especially we find a revival of the earlier terrace structures. To this class belongs Drummond Castle (Fig. 608), where the old plan of terraces received a much altered stamp from the new style of planting. Another English place, Shrubland Park, near Ipswich, which was laid out in the first instance by Sir Charles Barry, in conjunction with Nesfield, for Baron de Saumarez, could not have acquired the perfection of its terrace-building without the help of old examples of the same kind. Between an upper and lower Italian parterre there runs an elegant flight of steps at the head of five steep terraces, all bordered by balustrades, and emphasised at top and bottom by an open Italian summer-house (Fig. 609).

When once the historical interest in particular styles had become active, whether through imitation or revival, people attempted to accommodate what they already had to other types. When the Duke of Westminster cut out a flower-parterre from his picturesque garden at the neo-Gothic castle, Eaton Hall, Cheshire, he set up statues of knights and



FIG. 609. SHRUBLAND PARK, IPSWICH—VIEW OF THE TERRACES

ladies instead of Renaissance works of art. A dragon fountain was placed in the beautiful pond, and Gothic pointed arches were put on the balustrades. The time was gone by when the life and feeling of a nation expressed itself in one particular style, which had both educated and limited its own artists. Every style recorded in history lay open to choose from, and architects, from 1850 onwards, made it their pride to be able to build in any style they pleased. Sir Charles Barry, who introduced the Italian style into his



FIG. 610. NEWSTEAD ABBEY—THE MONKS' POND

own land, was the architect of the Gothic Houses of Parliament, and had also attempted purely classic buildings, even adopting the Palladian style of architecture.

This feeling for history, this eclecticism, which so characterises the art of the nineteenth century, tried to find a place in the garden parterre, but there it was never more than a name. People liked to put a French parterre by the side of an Italian, or even a Spanish; but it would have been a difficult thing, even after a close study, to say where the difference between them came in. Newstead Abbey, that old Augustinian monastery which has gained an imperishable renown from the name of Byron, had not seen good days under the ownership of the poet's family. His immediate predecessor ruined the park, but he set up a little fort and a tiny flotilla in the lake, which was all in accordance with

the taste of the moment, and is described by Horace Walpole. The old estate showed signs of its monkish origin in having a fountain at the crossways, and also a fish-pond. After Byron's death the place passed into other hands, and the gardens were laid out in the prevailing fashion about the middle of the nineteenth century. There was now an Italian parterre, a French, and a Spanish. These had to endure each other's company amid the far from modern surroundings of the monks' fish-pond, called the "Eagle Pond" (Fig. 610). The beds of all the parterres were edged with box, and had Gothic railings.

The largest garden of the formal type which was made at that time in England was at Chatsworth, Derbyshire. The Duke of Devonshire, who was President of the Horticultural Society, wanted to make new gardens, and found a highly gifted man in young Joseph Paxton, who was on the point of going abroad, as he was in want of work. In 1826 the duke made him his head gardener, and commissioned him to lay out the grounds at Chatsworth. It is not easy to determine what was the state of the place when Paxton took it over, or how much was in existence, but certainly a good part of it had been laid out previously in the picturesque style. However that may be, Paxton took note of the main paths belonging to the old formal style and retained them. He and Barry were among the very first who set out parterres in formal lines.

As at Newstead, we find one Italian and one French garden. The latter at least has a certain claim to its name, because it had a *parterre de broderie* in front of the former orangery, and also statues standing on tall pillars at the end of it. These certainly did produce a somewhat French effect. But Paxton went beyond the parterre, and the great ideas and scope of the time of Le Nôtre were recalled by the axial line from the south front of the house leading to a canal-like pond at the very end of the garden. All the same, the wide gravel walks and lawns marked a great difference between this place and anything French. Paxton allowed the old cascade, which had been much esteemed, to remain in its place, but improved it. He restored water-works as far as possible. Where there were any weeping-willows he kept them. The style of the place did not differ widely from that of the English garden as it existed, under a certain amount of French influence, after the Restoration; but the way it was planted, especially in the western parterre, certainly gave a modern appearance.

Paxton was a person of clear understanding who reached what he aimed at quickly and in a practical manner. His own personality comes out in his works in the garden. His ingenuity was exhibited the most markedly in the great palm-house, which he began in 1836 and finished in 1840, and which became the horticultural wonder of the world. This iron and glass construction made it possible to cultivate great palms, tree-ferns, and other tall tropical plants in northern lands; and to create a garden of the Torrid Zone even in the depth of winter. It was 300 feet long, 123 feet wide, and 67 feet high. With its wonderful system of heating it created as much enthusiasm as the beauty of the tropical gardens which it enclosed. Not only was Paxton's building the model for many others, but it also served as a model for himself, when in 1850 his plan was accepted in preference to 233 others for the palace of the first great exhibition. The Crystal Palace at Sydenham, by which he made a great name, is one more in the long series of his buildings and gardens. A knighthood was conferred on Paxton for all he had done. He became a personal friend of the duke, whose service he had originally entered as an assistant gardener, and died full of honours.

Following Paxton's example, glass houses with their tropical gardens sprang up everywhere, and the Temperate House at Kew gained an international renown, which it still enjoys. It was now so easy to study foreign plants as they grew, and their conditions of life, that gardeners were emboldened, and not only bedded out exotics for decorative purposes in summer, so contributing a new touch to the carpet-garden as well as to the parterre, but also endeavoured to grow them outdoors throughout the year. The climate of some parts of England was favourable to such attempts, as for instance Cornwall, where camellias grew into large trees. The rhododendron was also successful, and about the middle of the century there were many kinds to be seen in gardens as well as in conservatories. In the south of England, especially in the New Forest, the rhododendron serves as a sort



FIG. 611. CHANDON DE BRIAILLES, EPERNAY

of underwood; and in gardens and parks it has often been made into great bosquets. It was a favourite plan to set large beds at the sides of the long carriage-drives, which generally described a wide curve and were very ornamental.

Although in the nineteenth century the English were easily first in their zeal for seeking out and rearing new plants, development was not confined to them. The French carried out similar ideas logically and completely. The Revolution had cleared away nearly all the old gardens, and those that were left had been neglected. The works of the eighteenth century had passed away, and the new style of gardens fitted in with the new notions about the rights of man and the return to nature. All sentimental adjuncts had been cast aside, and nothing received attention except the natural qualities of soil and plant. Thus under the First Empire the picturesque attained almost entire mastery, and when the old nobility returned to their estates, so often found in a ruinous condition, they did not feel much inclination to restore their gardens in the old style. For one thing, they had no money, and for another they had learned from England new ideas. Nevertheless, there remained in some quarters a certain undercurrent of feeling for form as seen in the old

gardens of France, and therefore it was possible for the garden at Chandon de Briailles at Epernay to be laid out as it was in the days of the First Empire (Fig. 611). Isabey, the miniature painter, the "darling of the *Incroyables*," made a picture of it. It was kept in the traditional, formal style at a time when nobody on the other side of the Channel would have thought of such a thing. The whole garden was laid out as a sunk parterre in three divisions, with a raised surround furnished with clipped trees. The middle part was formed by a large basin, the slopes at the edge being of grass and flower-beds. There was an orangery at the back with a semicircular parterre in front of it. To the right and left were the other two parts of the parterre, also with beds of flowers.

A few gardens of this type continued to exist in France until, towards the middle of the century, landscape gardens won the day, and became practically universal. In 1835 appeared Vergnaud's book, *L'Art de créer les Jardins*, in which the success of this style appears to reach its highest point. Vergnaud wrote as an architect, and warned people against letting their gardens fall into the hands of gardeners; yet he did not think of making any connection between the house and the garden; and even close to the house he could not tolerate anything formal. When he enumerated and described beautiful English parks, Chatsworth was a thorn in the flesh to him on account of its formality. Very soon, the only mistress of the garden in France as well as in England was the plant itself. Tree and shrub gained every advantage from the picturesque style. Flowers were permitted to encroach on certain fixed parts and display their brilliant colours. Carpet-bedding seems to have been carried out very early in France. Hirschfeld reproached the French for liking this wretched kind of decoration, but they kept to it, even up to our own day, more obstinately than the English.

In the time of the Second Empire there was a fashion for formal flower-parterres both in France and in England, and the French gave them the name of *jardins fleuristes*. Edouard André, a pupil of Alphand, who in the middle of the century was the unquestioned leader and chief of garden art in France, thus defines the *jardin fleuriste*: "Ground reserved expressly for the cultivation and arrangement in an ornamental way of plants that have beautiful leaves." We find attempts at the Gothic and Italian in a pseudo-historical manner, but difference of style was only apparent in the balustrades and statues. A formal bed at the Gothic castle of Bois Cornille was supposed to be laid out in the Gothic style.

We have already considered what was done by Prince Pückler in Germany in the first half of the century. His importance lay in the lofty enthusiasm with which he maintained the interests of the garden, though he largely shared the weakness of his own day, in that he had no notion of how to lay out the parts near the house. It is difficult to see how the colour-gardens of which he speaks, the blue and the yellow, were managed. He may have taken the idea from Paris, possibly from Parc Monceau. He certainly had carpet-beds with flowers of many colours. Peter Lenné made a great name in North Germany as director of the garden at Potsdam. It was perhaps only the respect for the past felt by the master of the house that prevented the whole garden of Sans-Souci from being turned into a landscape park, with even its axial lines obliterated, for we know that Lenné had already executed designs for such a change. Happily he was content with having bosquets all round the place, but even then much was lost of the original form. Lenné mellowed as time went on, and when he had Schinkel as a fellow-worker, and as patron a man of so much artistic taste as King Frederick William IV., he helped to create

at Sans-Souci a work typical of the time of the Italian Renaissance. Under this king Potsdam with its surroundings grew to be one of the finest princely seats in existence. As early as 1825, while crown prince, he received a small piece of land to the south-west of Sans-Souci as a gift from his father, and the next year he began to build the house he called Charlottenhof, in the style that was then considered to be classical Italian. Schinkel infused a strong flavour of his own masterful personality into this type of building when he was working as architect in Berlin, and by his treatment had given it much character and individuality. He had a great plan for Charlottenhof, where there were to be gardens with pillared corridors round them, and ornamental parterres in the Italian style. The limited means of the crown prince would not permit of a large house. He seems to have had the Villa Albani in mind, and made a terrace (Fig. 612) which ended in an arbour of vines



FIG. 612. CHARLOTTENHOF, SANS-SOUCI

with a Roman seat and a shell fountain. Certain parts of the place must have reminded him of happy days spent in Italy, for here were the so-called Roman baths, which properly represented an Italian *villa rustica*, with its impluvium and its terrace.

When he became king, as Frederick William IV., he conceived far-reaching plans for embracing not only Sans-Souci but also Potsdam itself in a general scheme. His father had already greatly enlarged the circle of princely castles which lay around Potsdam, and had given a special seat to each of his sons. Babelsberg was assigned to Prince William, whose taste differed from that of his brother, and he had this house, which was in the neo-Gothic style, set in the middle of a real landscape garden. Its beauty, apart from the old trees, mainly lay in its fine view over the Sacred Lake. Prince Charles, whose taste resembled that of his elder brother, decorated Glienicke, which fell to his lot, with a great many small sites imitating an antique style, but also with some very fine genuine antiques. Frederick William now wished to close in the circle of stately gardens on the north-west, and had an idea of connecting the Pfingstberg, where his father had had a little tea-house, with the new garden at the Marble Palace by means of a handsome terrace construction. Only the castle and the upper portion of these terraces were ever finished; and the town,

as a fact, made its way in between the various parts of the circle of gardens. What was actually made was not really a series of garden terraces, which would have had to be continued farther down. The building was a curious and unmethodical mixture, reminiscent of Italian and Moorish styles, and it produced a bizarre effect.

The king had some plans for developments at Sans-Souci, but these were only partially carried out. His chief innovation was the new orangery, which very clearly showed the Italian ideal that then dominated Northern Europe. Towers, pierced and furnished with loggias, were connected by corridors on pillar supports, and these were the most striking feature; then three terraces, of which the highest one had a flower-parterre on it, descended to the main road. The most conspicuous of the smaller parts was the pretty Sicilian garden. The king had it put in the place of the old orangeries of Frederick's day, and laid out as a *jardin fleuriste* in front of a fine balustraded wall furnished with alcoves containing many statues. Unfortunately the effect of this graceful work was utterly spoiled by the introduction in 1902 of the colossal bronze figure of the Archer into the foreground. What Frederick William accomplished at Sans-Souci was superior architecturally to anything done in the way of Italianised gardens in other countries, but even in Germany it remained a personal and unique fancy of the king. Lenné was dragged in on the artistic side by the king's strong influence and by the powerful personality of Schinkel. Whenever Lenné designed gardens outside Potsdam, he adhered strictly to the forms of the *jardin fleuriste*. In the Instruction Book, which was published in 1860 by his best-known pupil, Gustav Meyer, the ideas of the time, and principally those of Lenné, were adopted for the treatment of the formal parts. "The amount of space to be used for laying out formally near the house must be dependent on the size and style of that house. At a country place it is necessary to have formal paths and a couple of rose-trees on the lawn. Palaces need more, but Nature must never be altered by clipping or the like, and Gothic buildings need very little regularity." Such teaching in a German treatise, which enjoyed unbounded popularity right on to the end of the century, showed how little account was taken of places of this kind. Lenné's own heart was entirely in favour of the free development of a natural style, and he found great opportunities at Potsdam, at the park at Babelsberg, at Glienicke, and in the garden of the Marble Palace; for at all these there was much that he could do.

Even more peculiar than the great work at Potsdam—indeed one might say absolutely unique—were the works of King Ludwig II. of Bavaria in the second half of the century. The Bavarian royal house had early shown an inclination for the formal style. Ludwig I. took pains that the long-neglected garden of Schleissheim should have its parterres made once more after the old drawings, and there were similar plans for Nymphenburg. King Max wanted to build himself a castle in the unfinished park of Feldafing, after Lenné's plan, and with formal surroundings, but this remained no more than a vision. His chief gardening activities were restricted to the hanging winter gardens at the Residence in Munich. There he wanted to have scenery of the kind found in Upper Italy, so the tiresome greenhouse was to be concealed as much as possible on one side by evergreen oaks and fig-trees, and a pergola on pillars with a fountain at the end of it must entice one's steps forward, and give the illusion of a garden in a southern land (Fig. 613).

His son, yielding to a love for what was disproportionate and fantastic, played a higher trump card than this winter garden, and combined the flora of India with the architecture



FIG. 613. WINTER GARDEN OF LUDWIG II. AT MUNICH

of the Moors. However, the lake which he put on the roof of the house soon proved to be insecurely supported from below. Soon after his death, the garden perished, like so much else of his work; and, as he had strictly excluded the public, very few people can ever have seen it except himself and the gardeners. The gardens which he laid out round the castles were much larger and still more fanciful. Ludwig was like Philip V. of Spain in that he was fond of lonely valleys in the mountains. As Philip felt about San Ildefonso, so Ludwig felt on seeing a little hunting-box at Graswangthal near Oberammergau, and he wanted to make a Versailles in the solitude of the hills. This scheme was never carried out at Linderhof, the place originally proposed, for the king changed his mind and selected another, the island of Herrenchiemsee, which was still less suitable. At Linderhof, however, he had a great terrace-garden made in the later baroque style. He had no perfectly clear pattern before his eyes, and the place reminds one most of certain castles built by Augustus the Strong, and in particular of Gross-Sedlitz, for in the same way the main axis passes right across the valley, and has to ascend the slope on both sides. At Linderhof (Fig. 614), so called from a lime-tree which was kept standing in the middle of the architectural design, the castle stands on almost the lowest possible level. Close behind was a cascade. On one side stood three imposing terraces in succession to a sunk parterre; they mounted up by elliptical stairs to a temple, and each terrace carried flower-beds graduated in size. The most successful parts of the arrangement are found in the small *giardini secreti*, which are attractively laid out at the side of the house, with parterres bordered by trellis paths.

The whole formal picture was set in a landscape which was treated rather carelessly. On either side of the water stairway, parts of the hill-slope were brought into the formal portion of the grounds by the aid of semicircular leafy paths. Unfortunately much of this is unfinished, and all of it very badly preserved.

People regarded the whole idea of an architectural garden at Linderhof as a mere freak or hobby of the king's, but even less defensible was the disastrous imitation at Herrenchiemsee of the mighty model of Versailles. In the first place, the site was a little island, about two kilometres in length, and, small as it was, it could not all be used; moreover, it had nothing in common with Versailles. To give the appearance of a canal, dams were put in the lake, and planted round with hedges. It was very characteristic of the time that the parterre from the Latona to the Apollo fountain was copied exactly, whereas the boskets were reduced to a minimum, for there was no intelligent grasp of the scheme. Ludwig was perhaps told that the two large fountains in front of the castle had central groups originally; in any case he adorned them with copies of groups in the park at San Ildefonso. Ludwig's gardens have remained the monument of a too excitable personality.

In the course of the nineteenth century it came about that princely gardens lost the special interest which attaches to the best models. Public gardens, which grew ever more important, and being every man's property alike, captured all hearts and all eyes, took their place. In the course of our history we have over and over again met with public gardens in towns, where all the people could go. When the Greek *polis* became democratic, the first real city park found its way into the gymnasium. Cimon embellished places like the agora with shady trees. In towns like Antioch and Alexandria we have seen how

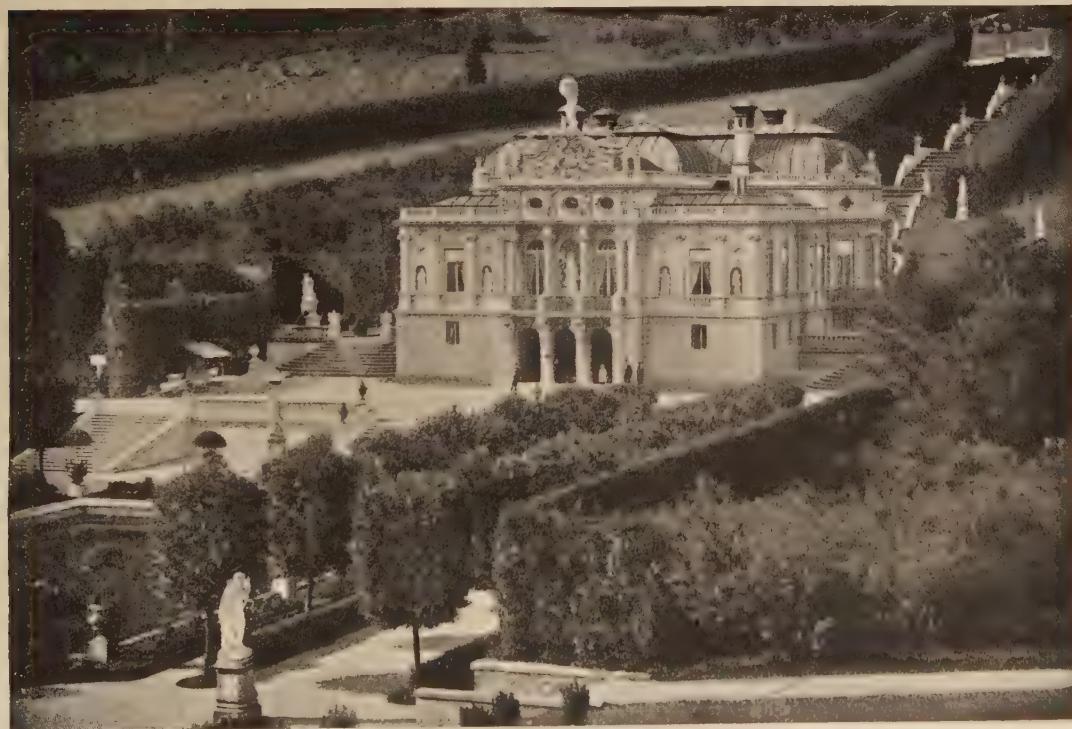


FIG. 614. LINDERHOF

Hellenistic cities developed in a modern spirit; they took over their inheritance from Greece and then extended it to a size and magnificence truly oriental. In Rome the emperors were careful that round the narrow crowded dwellings of the townsfolk free spaces for recreation should be provided in a belt of gardens and beautiful grounds. The development of the public garden took a different direction in the Middle Ages. No doubt the burghers found open walks in the gardens of the guilds before the town gates, but they did not need them much, as the pasture-lands were so near at hand. Afterwards, in the days of the Italian Renaissance, the fine private gardens of the gentlefolk came into existence, and it became a point of honour to open them to the public. Travellers from northern countries, where the feeling of the Renaissance was not so fully active among the townsfolk as it was in Italy, and the love of private possession was much stronger, recognised this with surprise, noting in Rome, above all other places, what they considered the liberality and magnanimity of the rich. It is seldom indeed that we hear of hospitality being extended to all comers in the patrician gardens of the great towns of the North, as it was in the Roman gardens of Montaigne's day. However, northern princes became more and more imbued with the new spirit in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Whenever possible the smaller princes made their residence in garden cities, and most of the parks were thrown open to all their subjects. The people were not, however, at home there—not the real masters. True, there were not many places where an inscription was put on the front gate threatening common people with a cudgelling if they presumed to sit down on a seat where some noble visitor wished to sit; but this was actually done at the entrance to the Herrenhausen garden; and particular gardens were often closed at the owner's pleasure; in Paris, for example, places which the people had supposed to be theirs by right were suddenly closed to them by some caprice of the actual owner. Thus, in 1781, the Duc de Chartres closed the Palais Royal Garden, which had been open ever since it was founded by Richelieu. In 1650 Sauval writes of the Luxembourg Garden, "It is often open and often closed, just as it may please the prince who is living at the castle." The Duchesse de Berri had all the doors but one blocked up, so that she might be undisturbed at her gay parties.

In England Queen Caroline, intelligent though she was, held the views of the despotic little court which she came from, and had the fancy to shut up Kensington Gardens. She inquired of Walpole, who was at that time her Minister, what it would cost, to which he gave the significant reply, "Only three crowns." In London the great parks were the property of the Crown, though in the eighteenth century they were completely given up to the use of the people. Queen Caroline took a lively interest in these parks, which crossed the interior of London like a broad green belt, and particularly in Kensington Gardens; the fine avenues and the great basin in the middle are due to her. This garden never quite lost its formal character, whereas in the reign of George II. Hyde Park was converted into a picturesque garden, with the artificial long lake that is known as the Serpentine. Both in London and in Paris parks of this kind were an indispensable theatre for the world of fashion and wit, as it existed in the eighteenth century. But the people also gained from the parks, particularly in England, for they served as large club-rooms, and provided open spaces suitable for public meetings. During the nineteenth century it was the citizen class which really carried out the traditions of the parks.

In France the intellectuals were delighted to meet one another in the garden of the

Palais Royal. It is the scene of Diderot's work, *Le Neveu de Rameau*, and there many of those ideas were hatched which matured in the great Revolution. It is curious to notice how the rendezvous of fashionable society changed according to the caprice of the owner of the place or the leading coterie of the moment. The Champs Elysées and the Cours de la Reine were among the most famous meeting-places for people of fashion in the earlier days of Louis the Fourteenth's reign, but when he became less attached to Paris they were neglected. In Louis the Fifteenth's time Madame de Pompadour lived at the palace of the Champs Elysées, and considered making a view right through to the dome of the Invalides, but this she only carried out in part. The Champs Elysées remained in high favour until the end of the First Empire, and Napoleon set up the Arc de Triomphe to complete the view. After the Restoration people turned away from this part of the capital, which was associated with so much bloodshed and misery, and allowed what the invaders had spared to fall into decay. The promenades were gradually made what they are now, and came to form a prominent feature in modern Paris.

The parks, all open to the public, cannot be regarded as of much importance from the point of view of art in the earlier half of the nineteenth century. The special interest of the princes was cooling down, and as yet there was no active superintendence, for no one had a right to undertake the care of them. Most of what we hear about the parks in Paris during the first three decades is a tale of decay, and the ornamental parts disappeared. Dead trees were replaced in the long straight walks, but little more was done. There was hardly a trace of the picturesque style in these parks. Even as late as 1835 Vergnaud complained that the French would never get rid of the notion that a public park had to be a formal one. He proposed to include the whole of the Tuilleries Gardens as far as the Bois de Boulogne, and to convert the place into one connected park such as would be made in England.

At the time when several of the chief streets of London were being altered under the auspices of Nash the architect, and so came to look very different, especially Regent Street, there was an attempt to beautify the belt of park-land. St. James's Park was remodelled, and its long canal received the new form of a natural lake with a wavy outline: everything else was in a style to match: the single trees, the meadow-like surroundings of the woodland parts, and all the rest. As early as 1811, when an insignificant and neglected park at Marylebone became Crown property, an Act of Parliament was passed by which a public garden was to be provided for the north of London, called Regent's Park after the Regent who was later on to become King George IV. In the design for Regent's Park there appeared all those fixed schemes which were now being carried out in every public park: there was a large lake of the picturesque kind for rowing-boats, and by the side of its winding banks there were shady walks, with views continually changing; there were wide meadow-grounds, suitable for various games and for large gatherings of people, and these various arrangements filled nearly the whole space. In fact, here we have the type of park which is so familiar to everyone who knows London. The architect had nothing to do with it; indeed, great efforts were made to conceal the neighbouring houses by planting trees in front of them. The refreshment-houses inside the grounds were small, and had to hide among the trees as well as they could. By the middle of the century London seemed to set an unrivalled example in the size and beauty of these parks. A total area of 1200 acres was covered by Kensington Gardens and Hyde

Park, with the Green Park and St. James's adjoining, and Regent's Park on the north. But Paris also was very well off with the Tuileries Gardens, the Champs Elysées, the Palais Royal, and the Parc Monceau on the right bank of the Seine, and the Jardin des Plantes and the Luxembourg on the left. In both towns the parks were Crown property.

In the forties, consequent on the increasingly flourishing condition of the towns, there suddenly came a new advance in the matter of public gardens. Now, for the first time in the history of the garden, America took an important place. It was not that she had not progressed, but that she demanded here, as for her art in general, a certain independence and originality. After the American Civil War town-dwellers began to build houses in the country, which served them for a rest and holiday during a part of

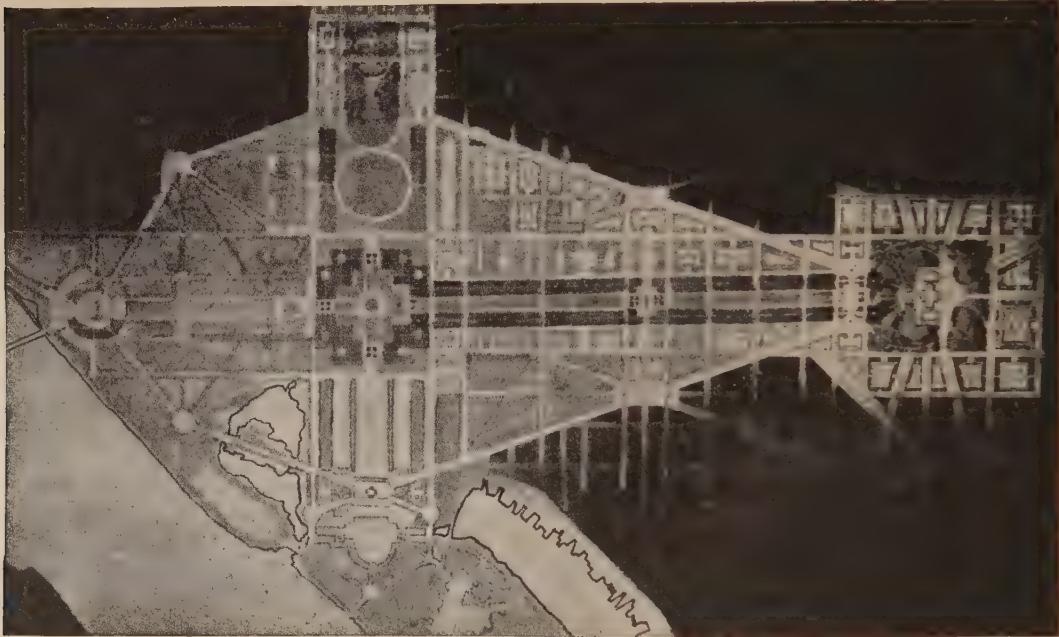
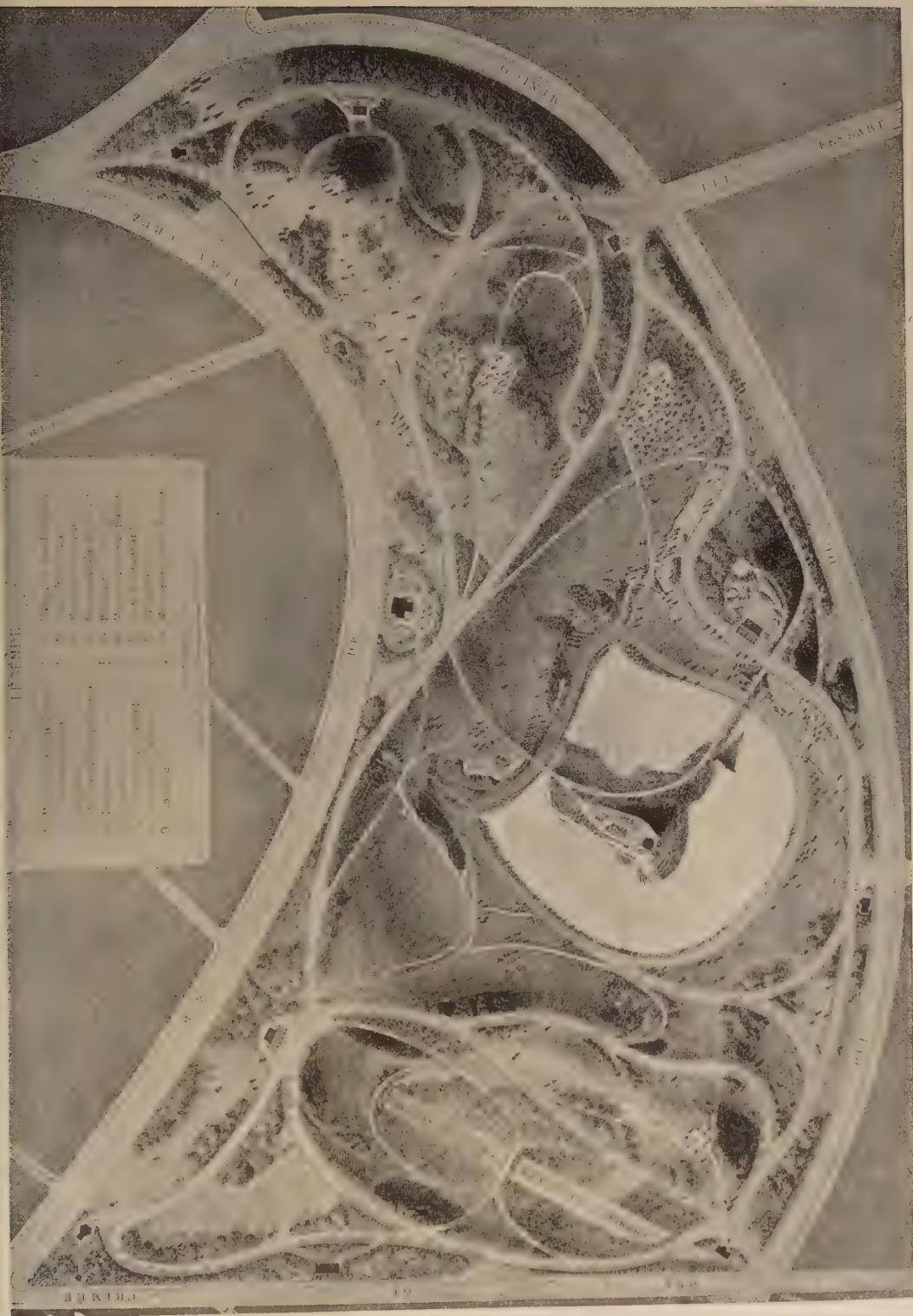


FIG. 615. WASHINGTON—L'ENFANT'S PLAN

the year only, or for week-ends. In architecture and in garden planning America made progress side by side with Europe, or more accurately, followed its leader England. As early as 1682 William Penn had laid out Philadelphia according to a regular plan, with square ornamental plots; and at the end of the eighteenth century the French architect, L'Enfant, had made, at General Washington's desire, a complete plan for the town which bears his name. It resembled one of the great residential towns of Europe, transported, so to speak, *en masse*. The central point was the dome of the Capitol: broad avenues were to form an approach, with bosquets and parterres at the side (Fig. 615). But the plan was only on paper, and a hundred years passed before a fresh movement towards laying out park-lands carried it through, and on a grander scale. When, in consequence of the amazing growth of her population, due to the influx of emigrants, America had to deal with New York, provision was made by laying out a great park in the very middle of the city, about 850 acres in area. This was a municipal act which deserves all praise. Frederick Law Olmstead, the most important landscape artist that America had produced,

FIG. 616. BUTTES-CHAUMONT, PARIS—GROUND-PLAN



laid out the park in 1854, in the picturesque style universal in his day. He wanted to effect a strong contrast with the distressing surroundings of the great city. The park was bounded by a wall, and had some extremely beautiful parts.

The first American parks owed their existence and their character to the desire for some refuge for citizens from the nerve-racking life of a great town. They were meant to be a real incursion by Nature into the ever-increasing sea of houses. General wheel traffic was not allowed, and vehicles could only pass through by four sunken roads spanned by bridges. This creation of people's parks was among the first acts of importance

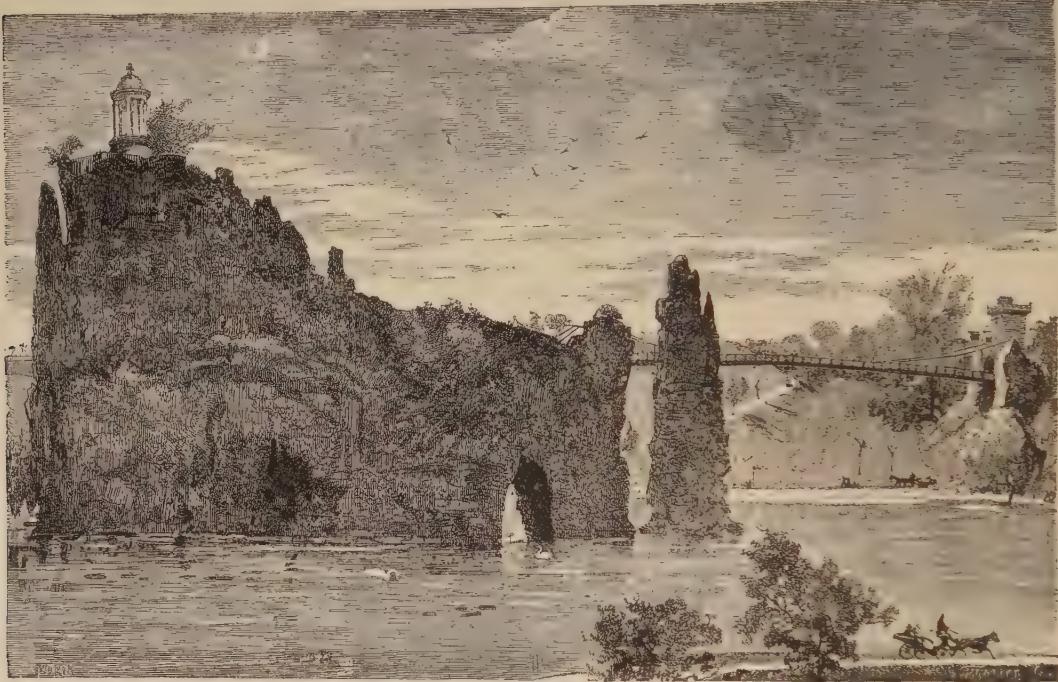


FIG. 617. BUTTES-CHAUMONT, PARIS—THE ROCKS

done by citizens for the good of citizens, of a democratic power that had now grown to maturity.

At the same period, but with less to contend with, all Europe was making ready for similar efforts. In 1852 Paris took over the Bois de Boulogne from the Crown, on the understanding that in the next four years two million francs were to be expended on improvements. Many changes had the Bois seen since in 1528 Francis I. erected the grand Château de Boulogne in the middle of the wood, since Henry II. had put a wall round it to make a hunting-park, and since Margaret of Navarre had built the charming little castle of Muette. Louis XIV. had had the wood pierced by wide avenues, with crosses at the intersections. The Revolution made its home there in terrible fashion. Later on Napoleon had seen in the site a great opportunity for associating his name with a place whose size and grandeur could compare with what Louis himself had created. So after the little King of Rome was born, Napoleon thought he would build a marble palace where the Trocadero is now, the gardens of which should extend as far as the Bois. On the other side of the palace the Champ de Mars was to form a great promenade, flanked with public

buildings. Two skilful architects, Percier and Fontaine, were commissioned to carry out the project, and several months of work had been devoted to the levelling of the hill and the making of terraces when the Battle of Leipzig put an end to it all. The Bois was often the field of operations for troops in 1814, and was nearly given over to destruction. Its preservation meant for Paris the retention of her finest park-site.

The place was laid out eventually by Hittorf, the architect, and Varé, the landscape gardener, in confessed imitation of the parks in London, and especially of the lake features of Hyde Park. We must look upon Alphand as the real author, for his name is bound up with the creation of new and the restoration of old parks, in the same way as Haussmann's name is connected with the altered appearance of the town itself after the great new streets had been formed. The Buttes-Chaumont (Fig. 616), which was considered at the time a triumph of garden art, was made a little later. A very short time before it had been a wretched, squalid place, with a gibbet and a skinner's yard—lurking-place for criminals. This unpromising site was converted into a fine landscape park in the early sixties. The steep walls of a chalk cliff were partly pulled down and partly raised. The whole had a romantic hilly appearance (Fig. 617).

Paris intended to have parks at all four corners of the town. On the south Monsouris was added. The Bois de Vincennes was restored, for the park attached to the ancient royal castle had come into the possession of the town.

In London the royal parks, great as they were, soon had to be added to. More and more thought and care were given to the subject, especially with a view to providing parks, great or small, for the districts east and south of the Thames, which hitherto had been much neglected. Victoria Park and Battersea Park were the largest, but a considerable number of smaller ones were added to these. A few figures will show how London was feeling the need of parks and was trying to meet it: in 1889 the whole area of town gardens and ornamental grounds, with the exception of royal parks, was 2656 acres, whereas in 1898 it was 3665 acres.

A peculiar system prevailed in the case of certain ornamental plots. Originally the so-called London squares were semi-private gardens, to which nobody had the right of entrance except the people who lived round them. For this reason they were generally enclosed in some way. There were hedges or at least bushes cutting them off from the streets; and within there was a garden of the picturesque type laid out with paths, groups of trees and shrubs, and even a small lake. There might also be a couple of carpet-beds on the lawn as the chief decoration. In many cases, however, the private character of the places was lost, passers-by could go in, and the places were treated as ornamental appendages to the street. Paris adopted the name "square" as well as the style of laying out, and Alphand in particular planned a great many of these (Fig. 618).

Germany did not hold aloof from the movement for making parks in the towns, and one of the smaller towns, Magdeburg, had the honour of being the first to come forward. As early as 1824 Lenné was commissioned to lay out a public park there. He replied in a letter that plainly shows how unusual this was: "It is nothing new to me that princes and wealthy private persons should spend large sums on the beautiful art of the garden. But an undertaking of this kind, which from a rough computation will cost, exclusive of buildings, no less a sum than 18,000 dollars, undertaken by the town authorities, is the first example I have ever encountered in the whole of my life as an artist." Berlin could



FIG. 618. SQUARE DES BATIGNOLLES, PARIS

not lag behind. At the centenary festival of Frederick the Great's accession, the town council at Berlin resolved to lay out a People's Park, to be called Friedrichshain, on the eastern side of the city. No happier occasion for inaugurating a town garden could have been found. It was a way of showing homage and gratitude to the creator of Sans-Souci, who loved gardens, and also a proud demonstration of the growing spirit of citizenship, which now felt prepared to take out of the hands of royalty the ornamentation and the hygiene of the towns. But the Crown made a presentation to the people at the same time, handing over the garden for wild animals as a public park. Ever since the sixteenth century this woodland tract of about 600 acres had been in the possession of the Princes of Brandenburg, and its conversion into a pleasure-park was due chiefly to Frederick the Great, who had the avenues made in the shape of a star with basins and statues, small green rooms and labyrinthine walks. Later on, one part of the grounds, to the south of the great star, had been changed into the English style; the large lake and the Rousseau island are really picturesque in the best sense of the word. On the north of the great star there is also a landscape garden at the Castle of Bellevue. In 1840 Lenné was entrusted with the modernisation of the Friedrichshain and also of the animal garden. But whereas the first was laid out entirely after the pattern of an English park, in the second he kept the avenues and walks of the old place, and confined his renovations to what was already in progress on the southern side, where he made a second picturesque lake (Fig. 619). It seems as though the spirit of Frederick William IV. must have had some share in this, at least there is one sketch in existence, which he made while crown prince, of a garden round a great hippodrome, laid out in a purely classical style, to which he wished to annex a portion of the animal garden. The great avenues which still cross the park were in one way a drawback; for traffic did not cease, as in the American and English parks,

at the outer boundary, but was everywhere carried through, and consequently the roads were cemented or paved, which is out of harmony with the park spirit. In 1837 Gustav Meyer, a pupil of Lenné, and author of the *Instruction Book*, was appointed the first director of the town garden at Berlin, and he was very active there until his death. He laid out all the parks at Berlin including the later Schiller park, and his advice was asked for by many other towns.

In this first period the idea was before all else to make the towns beautiful. People were quite satisfied to make one park after another according to the English pattern described above, wherein certain æsthetic principles prevailed, but which grew more commonplace and spiritless as time went on. England differed from other countries in one respect: her fields and lawns were thrown open to the people, whereas on the Continent there was always a peremptory order, "The public must not walk on the grass." Wherever possible, the uniform level of a park was varied by an imitation of a hilly landscape, as at the Buttes-Chaumont in Paris and the Victoria Park in Berlin, the latter being an imitation of the fall of the Zacken River in the Riesengebirge.

For a fairly long time public parks were unaffected by botanical interest. It is true that foreign trees and shrubs were planted, so far as climate permitted, and so far as they were needed for picturesque grouping; but the rarer and more expensive kinds, especially those conifers which gave a distinctive character to private gardens, were generally absent. Uncommon exotic plants, especially flowers, were relegated to the Botanic Gardens, where



FIG. 619. THE NEW LAKE IN THE TIERGARTEN, BERLIN

artistic arrangement was superseded by purely scientific division and classification. There were scarcely any flowers in the parks in these early days, only stiff carpet-beds in the squares, on the promenades or on the ramparts of fortifications.

In due course civic authorities were faced with far wider demands. The democratic feeling of the masses grew until it exercised a powerful and irresistible influence in all domains of art, and it now turned the treatment of public gardens into new directions. Once more America pressed to the front in the development of People's Parks. The enormous growth of the population in many of her towns was felt to be a menace. If the people were to be saved from asphyxiation there must needs be more open parks.

Chicago made a successful experiment by converting a sea of houses into a place that has earned the honourable title of "Urbs in Horto." It was said, no doubt with truth, that before the change was made there were fewer green trees in the whole town than there were rooms in one of the gigantic business houses. Chicago's plan, which succeeded, was to separate the blocks of houses at fixed intervals by interposing People's Parks, larger or smaller as circumstances would allow, and varying from two and a half acres to sixty-three. In a comparatively short time about twenty-four playing-grounds were made, at a cost of 42,000,000 dollars, and one or other could be reached from every house in the town in a few minutes. The features which are found in all these parks, even the smallest, are a football ground with walks round it, gymnasium, a playground for children with a shallow pond in the middle—and finally a swimming-pool with baths attached. The larger parks have facilities for rowing. There are club-rooms, after the pattern of private clubs, with a large central hall and private rooms for meetings. Round the inner park Chicago has set a belt of outer park that takes in more and more ground as time goes on (Fig. 620). The Grand Park in the south is one of the finest. In addition to all this, Chicago planned a Lagoon-garden, a thing never heard of before. The Grand Park had been made on a mound artificially constructed from the town rubbish-heaps. For the Lagoon-garden the refuse was to be used in a systematic manner, so as to form tongues of land in the lake, 100 to 300 metres in breadth, each strip to be laid out as a garden, with the quiet waters of the lagoon between, providing a shore for bathing.

What Chicago, that great centre of trade, did, other towns accomplished in their several ways. Boston made park-like streets radiating into the interior of the city from a great belt of park outside. Washington, St. Louis, and Philadelphia all laid out magnificent streets inside the towns. The administrative bodies of the giant cities of America consider it one of their chief duties to provide parks and garden grounds, and there are Park Societies whose aim is to support the municipal authorities in their work.

In the Old World, Paris made not very long ago a circle of parks where the belt of fortifications used to be. This was effected by means of a grant that extended to milliards of francs, and even America was amazed. At Vienna plans were considered for laying out a belt of meadow- and wood-land, with the same objects in view. In Germany societies were formed to extend parks. The efforts of the towns to develop gardens and parks seem to extend to private property in Germany. The Schreber gardens, as certain small plots are called, have acquired an importance which may increase. About the middle of the last century a certain physician of Leipzig, Dr. Schreber, made over to the town a considerable sum of money on condition that land was bought and leased out to the citizens in small garden plots, about two hundred square metres in area. Private societies,

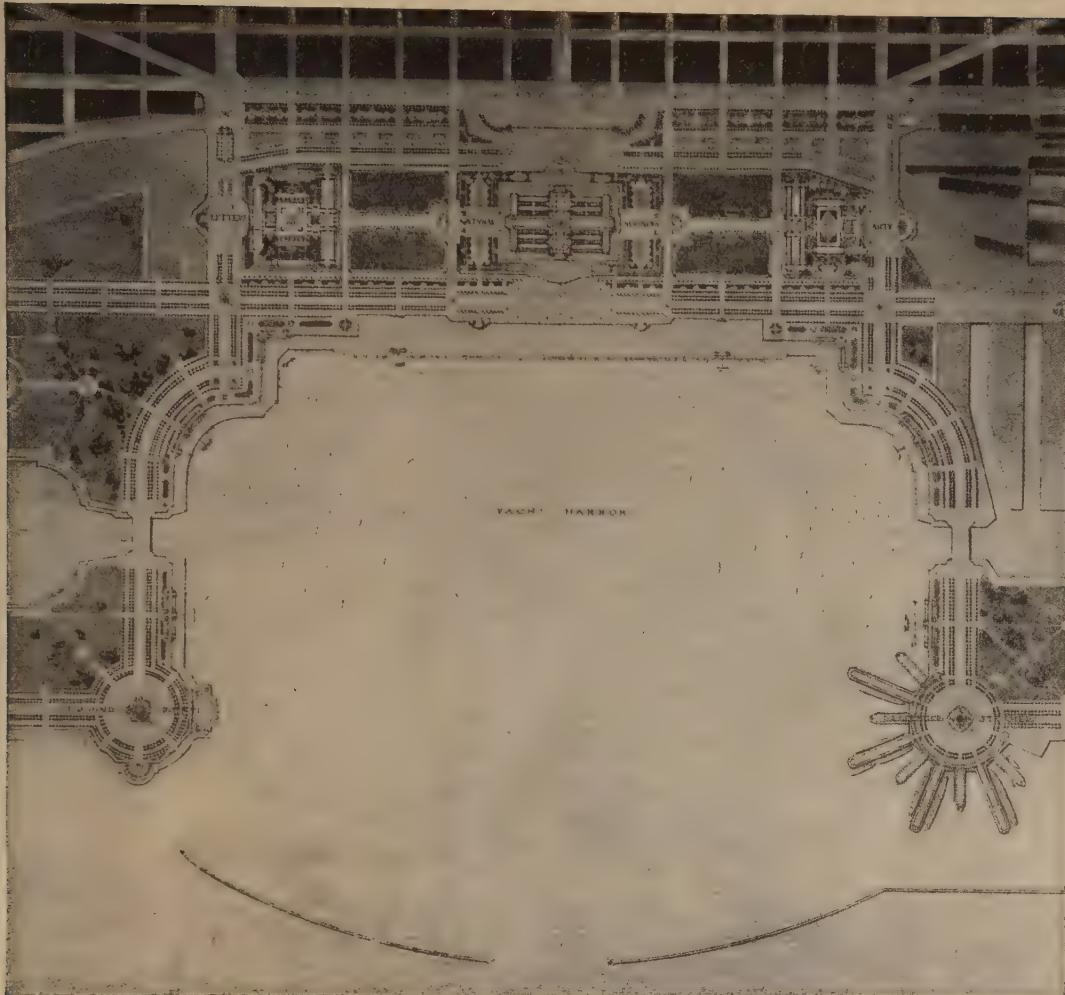


FIG. 620. CHICAGO—PLAN OF THE GREAT PARK AND HARBOUR

called "Schreber-Vereine," carried the plan farther, and subsequently enlarged the grounds by the addition of gymnasiums and halls. The playgrounds were put in the middle, so as to connect the tiny plots of garden, which were left to each individual to cultivate. The intention was to give poor people pleasure in a little bit of land. The plan was copied in many towns, and in 1901 Schreber gardens were laid out at Breslau.

The Garden City movement owes its origin to the development of parks. The idea arose in England of checking the ever-growing congestion of large towns, by making little towns outside. These recall the Residence towns of the eighteenth century, but in place of the castle garden which as a rule was in the centre, there is generally an open space for games, and streets radiating from it with small separate houses, each with its own garden. The leading idea was to provide light and air for the working classes, and to lead them back to Nature, which they had ceased to know. It is not a part of our subject to discuss the economical and social bearings of this movement.

Space for games became increasingly in demand in the public parks. America had

imbibed, chiefly from England, the love of sport, of games in the open air, and had cherished it in a more democratic fashion. There were two demands to fulfil: large level grounds must be acquired, with a view to people's fêtes and meetings, and also to provide sites for sport and games of every kind. The older parks were adapted for walking in—"the ideal place for taking a walk," as Meyer says; and people had not yet quite broken away from the delight in views. A solitary stroller, or a small party of friends, found pleasure in a constant variety of pictures, and it was a real triumph of beauty when some lake, some meadow, was so placed that, owing to ingenious turns in the path, it was impossible to see where it ended. But it was only the quiet, observant strollers who noticed these things; the majority wanted to meet for games in smaller or larger parties, and to mingle with their fellows so that each individual or each group should feel like a member of a corporate body without, however, being overwhelmed by numbers. The games ground, which is best in a regular shape, must be open to the view of players and spectators alike. The places designed for people's fêtes and shows must not be lost in woodland surroundings. There must not be deceitful effects of distance, with twists and turns. The public wishes to see and to be seen. The water, which was not, as in early days, to serve only for people in rowing-boats, who might prefer a winding course, must now follow a new plan, so as to serve for swimming-baths and for skating. All these requirements led more and more towards a formal design; yet the public park, so strongly bound by tradition, could hardly have found the way to an essentially new type had it not been helped by a great movement which came from another direction.

A fresh victory was gained by the architectural garden, but it did not spring from the public park, nor from the private gardens of princes: it was democratic, starting from the small town house and its garden, and extending far beyond. It was a movement from outside, like the old invasion of the landscape-garden style which came from the artists, but this time it was the architects who took action. Long in the background, they now became conscious of their rights, and seeing that the time was ripe, entered the lists. In 1892 there appeared a little book called *The Formal Garden in England*, by the architect Reginald Blomfield. For the first time the view was advanced, in outspoken language, that landscape gardens are in bad taste and an absurdity. Blomfield put the question whether the garden is to be considered in relation to the house or whether the house is to be ruled out when the garden is arranged. Only ill-wishers, he thought, would call the old style formal: it ought to be called architectural, for its object is to bring house and garden into harmony with each other, and to let the house grow out of its surroundings; otherwise one has to transgress the laws of architecture, the inner order of firmly fixed lines of symmetry, or at the very least of proportion.

Landscape gardeners have intentionally avoided this question, and with a half-concealed affectation are wont to speak of some sort of connection between house and garden, following a "method" which is the systematic avoidance of all method. Blomfield attacked the chief maxims of this unsystematic method, and especially the cardinal doctrine of the imitation of Nature. He asked what nature really is, and what is "natural" in connection with a garden. In his opinion the landscape garden is just as artificial as any other. Nature in herself has nothing to do with either curved or straight lines, and it is an open question whether the natural man would prefer a straight or a crooked line. As to the realities of nature and the forces we work with, a clipped tree may be quite as natural as a woodland

tree, and it is no more unnatural to clip a tree than to cut grass. The landscape gardener turns his back on architecture, that is, the house, so as to unfold natural scenes; his chief aim is to create a deception as to the size and surroundings of the garden and of its different views. Writers on the subject, Blomfield said, concern themselves as little as possible with the question of art in the garden as a whole, but hurry on to their own special interest—horticulture and hot-houses. This province he would gladly leave to gardeners. Horticulture ought to be subject to the architectural plan just as building is; and it was the intention of the book to restore to the architect the province which had been stolen from him. All Italian and French ideas were as far as possible discarded, for the style that Blomfield was anxious to get rid of had only too often attempted to make an unmethodical and worthless compromise with these.

The only feature approved of as English was the little Renaissance garden with a protecting border, which in a direct way, and with no deception about it, cuts off this plot from its unsuitable surroundings, and connects it with the house most harmoniously, by the help of brightly coloured beds and patches of green shade. But in this department also there was to be a reform, and the small town and country gardens were to be laid out in another fashion. Blomfield held that the unnaturalness of the "natural" style is shown more tiresomely and more stupidly in small gardens than elsewhere, because there the connection with the house is most obvious. The smaller the place, the more the bad taste of the gardener was apparent, with his kidney-shaped patches of grass, his paths twisted and tortured, his artificial mounds packed with trees and shrubs, and his carpet-beds with a group of foreign foliage plants in the middle. There were thousands of such designs in the smaller gardens which proved only too clearly Blomfield's contention that architectural sense had been lost. The little book made a great impression in England; and its effect was all the surer, because the author took no separate steps to arouse men to action, but let the result follow as it might.

We have seen how interest in gardening proper had been diverted to botany, and this fact comes out very clearly in literature. Books about botany and horticulture appeared in great numbers, and the place taken in them by real garden art soon reached the vanishing point, so much so, indeed, that one of the later writers on æsthetics, Heinrich von Stein, speaks of it with the greatest surprise, saying that in former days people actually regarded gardening as one of the fine arts. The garden had so ceased to be a work of art that it had become merely a place where trees, shrubs, and flowers could develop in their individual ways and in as favourable circumstances as possible. In the eighteenth century the architectural feeling for proportion and harmony, for the sense of space, as one might put it, had gone, but in place of it there was at least sentiment, and people consciously drank in the beauty of the picturesque scenes which were unfolded to their view; but even this was lost in the course of the nineteenth century; indeed it was bound to vanish entirely, for all thoughts and all efforts were now directed to the nurture of plants.

At the end of the seventies, when a strong interest sprang up in England for arts and crafts, people turned their eyes to the treatment of houses, both outside and in, and an impetus was given to gardening also. William Morris, who did so much to revive various art industries, said that a garden, great or small, ought always to be entirely planned and be good to look at. A garden, he thought, ought to be shut off from the outside world, and should on no account imitate the caprices and wild conditions of nature, but should

be a something not to be found anywhere except close to a house. Others had expressed opinions, sometimes whimsically, to the same effect. As early as 1839, the architect T. James said that if he must have a system, let it be the good old system of terraces and right-angled walks, with clipped yew-hedges and splendid old-fashioned flowers shining in the sun against their dark-green background. He liked topiary work because of its confessed artificiality, and because it discarded the deceitful cowardly maxim *Celare artem*. The carving of trees and shrubs was a natural transition from the architecture of a house to the untouched beauty of meadow and grove. Even Blomfield could not have expressed himself more clearly than this. Again, Sedding, one of the leading architects in the sixties, made much the same protests as Blomfield.

Practical results had come about from these teachings, and probably the best was Penshurst, which Blomfield praised as one of the most beautiful gardens in England, not large, but very tastefully arranged. At the side of the sunk flower-parterres, where an attempt was made to cultivate old-fashioned flowers within box borders and in simple beds, there are orchards shut in by tall hedges treated in the style of boscets, and joining on to the garden. But the most attractive feature is a long path between hedges leading to the pond-garden, a sunk basin with sloping sides of mown grass.

Landscape gardeners advanced in serried ranks against Blomfield, and in the nineties there arose a feud which was carried on with extreme bitterness. In the second edition, which was required in the same year, of Blomfield's book, he added an argumentative preface, explaining his views on art, and even going beyond his earlier standpoint. What he started from was not a question of fashion, but of principle. It was simply the eternal question of art, how far is man the slave of Nature? Or more accurately, how far ought man to subject the expression of his ideas to an actual imitation of what one may for this purpose call (unscientifically) Nature in the rough? The answer which Blomfield would give to such questions was sharply opposed to all that the eighteenth century had won after so many battles, and all that the nineteenth century had been content for a time to accept unchallenged. It was soon evident that Blomfield and the architects, with the other artists who speedily joined them, had made a great impression. The most eminent supporter of the other side, the important landscape gardener William Robinson, sprang forward in determined opposition. He wrote two essays on garden-planning and architectural gardens, to show that the clipping and shaping of trees, with the object of bringing them into harmony with architecture, is a barbarous practice. Many people agreed with Robinson when he preferred a noble tree grown freely to any tree clipped and cut about. Addison had said much the same before him, but everything has its place. Although the landscape gardener still controlled the great parks, it looked for a little while as though in private gardens there would be a complete change.

When, eight years later, Blomfield was preparing the third edition of his book, he left out the violent preface to the second edition as no longer necessary, warning people, moreover, not to set up one artificial plan instead of another, which seemed to be the danger of the moment. In their admiration for certain old gardens, they must not attempt to repeat them in circumstances where success would be impossible. What made him most uneasy was the danger of a growing dilettantism. The interest of English people, so long leaning to the botanical side, was turned to the real art of gardening. Perhaps, however, they tried to combine two ideals. Old traditions, once broken, are not easily restored.

One result of the new movement was a study of such of the old gardens as had survived. Old garden-houses were visited, and pictures were made of them, and were taken as models. Antique sundials and leaden statues were accorded places of honour, and were imitated and recast. But most of all was the fashion revived of clipping trees and shrubs. People once more wanted hedges, which were indispensable for creating a sense of seclusion, of being at home. There was a general hesitation and shyness about cutting trees, but many people thought that this kind of ornamentation gave an old-fashioned



FIG. 621. TOPIARY WORK AT LEVENS HALL, WESTMORELAND

charm to a garden, and pilgrimages were made to such places as Levens Hall in Westmoreland (Fig. 621) and Elvaston Castle in Derbyshire. At Levens a great deal of topiary work which dated from the beginning of the eighteenth century had been preserved in an old garden. Elvaston Castle is a notable example (Fig. 622) of what can be done in a short time by diligence and with the help of modern technique to adorn an entirely new garden with the most audacious kinds of topiary. The whole of this garden, with the exception of the great conservatories and kitchen-gardens, was devoted to clipped trees. The yews, in particular, were cut into all imaginable shapes, and the owner had old specimens brought from other lands, in the wish to give his figures an appearance of antiquity. The only colour in the place was supplied by the astonishing variety of shades in the foliage of the yew-trees, ranging from the darkest green to golden yellow.

The literature of those still-recent years was a sign of the ever-growing interest in garden art, and showed us how far it was identified with the formal style. At the end of the nineteenth century the journal *Country Life* published in three volumes the book *Gardens Old and New*, which gives a wonderful array of formal gardens with only here and there, for politeness' sake, an illustration of a landscape garden. The tendency is perhaps most clearly to be seen in the fact that in the many pictures given of the gardens of the middle of the nineteenth century, the relatively small piece known as the Italian garden appears, whereas the landscape park is not shown. No doubt England was herself surprised to find how many formal sites she possessed, and especially what rich fruits the new predilection for the formal garden had to choose from.



FIG. 622. TOPIARY WORK AT ELVASTON CASTLE, DERBYSHIRE

A prominent feature at this time is the return to separate small gardens; and this is easy to understand, for as the whole movement arose from the small garden, it connects itself with the English Renaissance custom of laying out large places in little divisions, and, in particular, with making use of hedges. The little pond-garden at Hampton Court became a very popular model. The pergola also, which at the time of the Italian parterre had not been much favoured, no doubt be-

cause there was a tendency for it to be nothing more than a support for plants, came again into the foreground. But with all this passionate interest in the art and the design of the garden in the architectural sense, botany was not forgotten. On the contrary, the two interests were combined, and herein lay the attraction which brought both gardeners and botanists, so long hostile, into one camp. For a long time the eye had been wearied with the handsomely coloured but monotonous and very expensive products of the greenhouse; the meaningless carpet-beds were too stiff to suit the light, rhythmical beauty of the new architectural garden, and indeed were as inimical to this as to the "natural" style.

Attention was turned to groups of plants long banished from gardens, which could stand the winter in their native soil, and could live for years as hardy herbaceous plants. Poor country people had always grown them, and as a rule their gardens had been kept in a simple way and had followed straight lines, both in beds and paths. These plants were speedily converted by gardeners from the condition, so to speak, of country children into creatures of wonderful beauty and colour, suitable for every class. They could be used in all sorts of ways. With their variety of colour they decorated the square

beds in their box edgings; and when carefully chosen and set side by side showed a river of bloom against the dark green of the hedge from the earliest spring days till the end of autumn. These beds, or borders, are the chief feature of the flower-garden of to-day, and in their interest for the botanist they have saved the garden from becoming a mere soulless repetition of former days. There was some danger to this new style in an ever-present eclecticism, which made people constantly seek for something new, only to be disappointed when the novelty turned out to be a copy of something old. "In some of the best English gardens," writes Rose Standish Nichols, "there is a combination of classical statuary, Renaissance fountains, French perspectives, Dutch topiary work, and the flowers from all over the world."

This many-sidedness was not found only in the formal garden, but the natural style also made an effort to win new forms for itself at any cost, or at least to revive some of the old ones. Mr. William Robinson was really returning to the ideas of Addison and Rousseau—even Bacon had a similar fancy—when he recommended a wild garden. The plants, especially flowers and shrubs, must be so placed that they are as far as possible in their natural habitats, perhaps in marshy ground, perhaps in a rock-garden where the flora of the Alps can be grown, perhaps in a water-garden where aquatic plants of many kinds will offer a charming sight. To such places as these a gardener cannot be followed by a "crazy architect," for only the botanist will pursue. But since it is only possible for botanic gardens and large parks to give to such parts of a garden proper professional attention, this sort of place is often a sad caricature in a small place. The fundamental ideas that were worked out by way of experiment in small plantations were next transferred to the huge natural parks, where, especially in America, primeval forests might be found in their original beauty, untouched by the hand of man. To complete the many-sidedness of the modern picturesque style, the imitations of Japanese gardens may be mentioned, since in a perfect garden one part is generally given to them. It is true that great difficulties stand in the way of a good imitation, which is often confined to the provision of certain decorations, such as lanterns, bridges and stones, with possibly a dwarf tree here and there.

The reason why the average garden is so good in England is that a surprising number of people are educated in gardening and botanical lore, although they are not professionals. It has been said that whereas ten years before the end of the nineteenth century the care of a garden was the favourite occupation of the few, it is now the passion of the many. To this we may add the important fact that women in England, especially of the educated class, take an important part in gardening, either because they have a place of their own to cultivate, or else because they adopt it as a profession. A decision to admit women to the Horticultural College at Swanley was arrived at in 1891; and there are now more than seventy studying there.

While England must be esteemed the leader in the modern gardening movement, other countries have followed at a certain distance. Out of the countless currents of thought in the modern world which cannot yet be historically treated, we will consider here only what has come about in France and in Germany, not because other countries, especially America and Russia, have failed to play their part conspicuously and actively, but because France and Germany have sounded a distinctive note in the general harmony. When France joined the new movement, she began by restoring some of her historical gardens.

M. Duchesne, father of the garden artist of our own days, spent his life in an intensive study of old gardens and especially parterres, with their marked style of severe formal lines and regular plantation. He supplemented his study by forming a fine collection of old pictures. In our history of French gardens we noticed that the centre of interest before the time of Le Nôtre was the parterre and its gradual development. But in the modern approach to the formal style there was fortunately never the slightest wish to restore the bosket as it was at the time of Le Nôtre. Here we see the true mark of the people's garden, which is more noticeable in France than in England. It was recognised that *parterres sans futaies* (and without boskets), arranged with taste and in proper proportions, were exactly suitable for small estates. The disagreement in France was less vehement than in England, but there was a strong opposition to the *jardin fleuriste*, because the severe lines in such plots made the plants entirely subordinate to the design. This is shown in

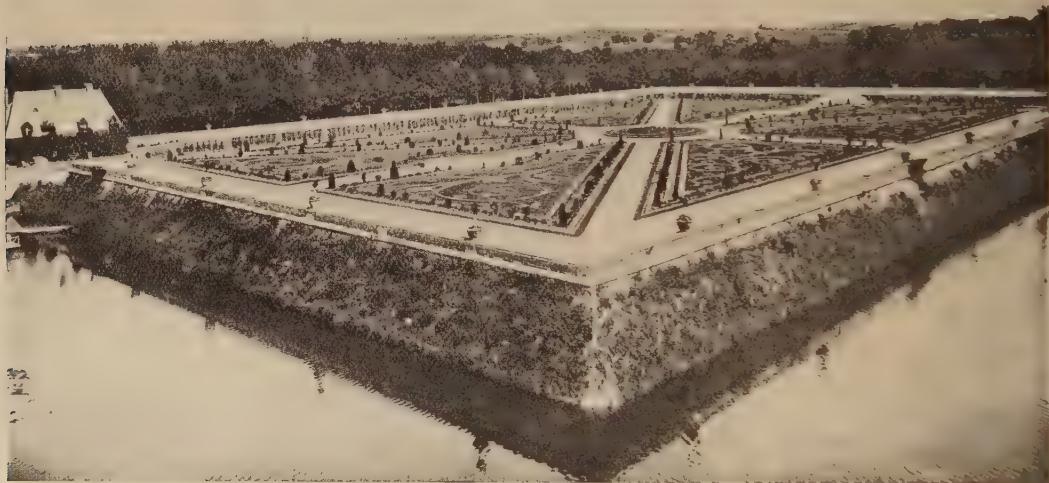


FIG. 623. CHENONCEAUX—VIEW OF THE PARTERRE

M. Duchesne's restorations of old gardens, e.g. those at certain castles on the Loire, such as Laugais, the parterre of the castle of Condé-sur-Iton (Fig. 624) and a great many others. Chenonceaux (Fig. 623) was restored at this time. But in his own garden, planned by himself and his son, Duchesne served the interests of botany by laying more stress on the beauty of flowers, and by including plants that were not known in the days of his models. These served at the same time as "the frame and the picture." Before all other considerations the gardens had to be brought into close connection with the house, far more than the *parterre fleuriste* had been. For the garden is not only an ornamental plot, as it used to be; but when it belongs to a small house, to a villa, it is a living-room in the open air.

Opposed to this scheme, which is very nearly that of the old formal parterre, is a different one, which is frankly an enemy to tradition. According to this, there will indeed be a garden near the house, but it must be an expression of the modern man and of modern art. It demands something personal, something intimate, quite other than the grandiose impersonal style of the eighteenth century. "Just as the modern alexandrine differs from that of the eighteenth century, so must our garden differ from the garden of Le Nôtre." So says André Vera, the author of *The New Garden*, and he even goes so far as to urge

that the garden should imitate a modern woman's dress in its colour scheme. Gardening, like architecture, must show the sign of human thought. The fruit-garden, moreover, must be regarded as a real part of the whole, and as having the same claim as the other parts: the flower-garden or the rosery. Everything must form one whole, consistent with the particular house to which it belongs. But Vera stops when he comes to the park. "I have nothing to say against a landscape park," he says at the beginning of his preface; "for that may be left to the landscape gardener, and it will form an easy transition to the open scenery of Nature." We shall shortly see how the landscape gardener is threatened from another quarter, and is in danger of being driven out of the park as well.



FIG. 624. CONDÉ-SUR-ITTON—THE PARTERRE

In Germany we find the first signs of a real reversal of taste in the last years of the nineteenth century. On the whole the dispute is on the same lines as in England, and is just as violent, though in Germany it is more pedagogic, and of a more decidedly democratic character. Two men made it the business of their lives to awaken the artistic sensibilities of the *bourgeois*, and to inspire the masses, who are so hard to move, with fresh life and thought; these were Lichtwark and Avenarius, and they may be said to stand at the very apex of the new movement. They wrote at much the same time. Avenarius makes fun of a "Piepenbrinkgarten" in his journal *Der Kunstwart*, apropos of two kidney-shaped beds of grass and other beds like a child's "brezel" (twisted) cake. Then Lichtwark in 1892, in his essay *Makartbukett und Blumenstrauß*, directs attention to the peasants' gardens at Hamburg, which he prefers to the English landscape parks. From now onward *Der Kunstwart* never ceased to admonish artists and architects, urging that it was their business to bring "fresh air" into the enclosures of the professional landscape gardeners.

The century had to come to an end before there was any real response. And now the

✓ architects themselves joined in the fray, both as theorists and as practical men. The most prominent among them was Muthesius, who had been drawn towards the English movement very strongly during a stay in England, when he made an intensive study of non-ecclesiastical architecture. In a course of lectures delivered by him in 1904 at Dresden and Breslau, on the subject of English houses, he attacked landscape gardening on similar and often identical grounds with Blomfield, finding it still the leading fashion in Germany. In these lectures Muthesius enjoyed the great advantage of having in his mind a style that had already made some progress in England, and which he could present to his audience. His definition of the English garden is very characteristic of the trend of the German movement: "The garden of the present day shows a mutual interdependence of particular formal parts, which may be compared to the ground-plan of a house, only that rooms (terrace, flower-garden, lawn, and kitchen-garden with greenhouses) are open on the top. Together with great variety in particulars, there is in the whole a form essentially regular and closed in; and all the separate parts lie horizontally, with their limits and boundary lines clear to be seen." Very soon "Rooms in the Open" was to serve as the fanciful name for these modern gardens. Thus Muthesius feels the need of harmony between house and garden, not so much in regard to what was thought important in Renaissance days, viz. that the lines of the house which are visible from outside, both vertical and horizontal, the carvings and other ornament, should be repeated in a show-garden, and so in a sense should introduce architecture into the open; but rather he desires to have the inner part, the living-rooms of the house, reproduced as far as possible in any garden which he would consider ideally planned. Also in what he called the indoor furniture of the garden, the seats, the borders of hedge or pergola, the paths—all should show some likeness to the inside arrangements of a house. Similar demands were fulfilled after their own fashion in the Greco-Roman court-gardens.

About the same time there appeared Schultze-Naumburg's book *Gärten*, which was the second part of his *Kultur-Arbeiten*. This book, which belongs to the school of Avenarius and Lichtwark, with whom Schultze-Naumburg had worked from the beginning, shows clearly that the eyes of these men were really directed towards the gardens of small houses. It was a recognised aim of theirs to dignify the formal treatment of the "garden room" by making it conformable to rules of æsthetic art. This object the author tries to attain in a pedagogic fashion by drawing a distinction between the Beautiful-Suitable and the Ugly-Unsuitable.

The whole tribe of landscape gardeners closed their ranks against these intruders into their province. If we turn over the pages of the *Zeitschrift für bildende Gartenkunst*, we cannot fail to notice a remarkable energy among the chief contributors, the landscape gardeners themselves. In 1887 there took place the first meeting of the "Garten-Künstler der Lenné-Meyerschen Schule," which expressed an active dislike towards their enemies the architects, "with their stony hearts, with minds that harp on mathematical formulas, and ideas that can never transcend fixed rules." The next year one of their champions shows more and more anxiety, because "the fatal shears, without the least consideration for what their work is destroying, are for ever widening their path, and without a glance at the principles of art." In these circles England was feared most, as it was seen that more and more of the English gardens were suffering disfigurement from the clipping-shears. "It looks as though," says Fintelmann, "gardeners were on the way to return to

the days of Le Nôtre." In 1904, angry and perturbed, they were still combating the assaults of Muthesius, but all the same the course of events proceeded surely. The longer the gardeners stood waiting and grumbling, the more energetically did the architects acquire possession of the gardens.

General attention was directed towards the works of architects when they began to hold exhibitions, in which they were of course the sole masters. In 1897 the first exhibition of garden buildings was held under the influence of Lichtwark. This was at Hamburg, the headquarters of the formal party; and here the exhibitors had to bring their own

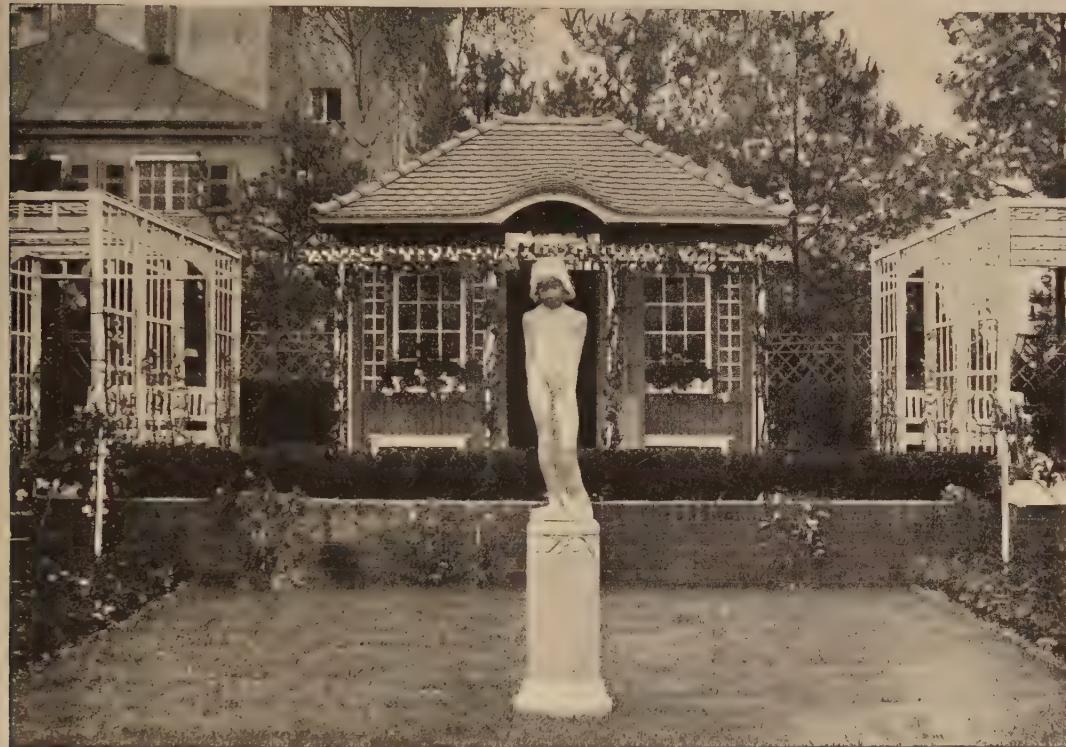


FIG. 625. GARDEN SHOWN AT MANNHEIM EXHIBITION, 1907

materials, and set them up, often with great trouble and difficulty. But it was at Düsseldorf in 1904, at Darmstadt in 1905, and at Mannheim in 1907 that proper models of architectural gardens were first publicly exhibited (Fig. 625). Much was experimental, and there were many wild ideas at these early shows. Some men, like Peter Behrens, saw salvation in the new lattice-work, and his garden was mostly pergola and bordering. Läuger at Mannheim let the plant world retreat into the background, with his basins and statuary. Olbrich at Darmstadt on the other hand borrowed from landscape gardens the idea of coloured plots, and laid out miniature gardens.

At the beginning only effects suitable for an exhibition were produced; but the professionals soon saw that they would be thrust back, little by little, unless they admitted the enemy into their hitherto restricted circle, and unless they joined hands with the architects, both as learners and teachers, complying with their demands and working loyally with them. This *volte-face* was described in the journal *Die Gartenkunst*, when in



FIG. 626. GARDEN OF A LEIPZIG HOUSE

1906 the editorship passed into new hands, and under the guidance of an open-minded man the controversy was carried on with much struggling and many discussions from both camps, but with less bitter feeling.

A new generation of young German architects is now busy designing gardens, which will grow to be more and more like the people's gardens in England. Their style is astonishingly fresh and original. They are mostly from the north and middle parts of Germany, from Hamburg and Bremen, Cologne and Leipzig. They are garden architects. Their knowledge of plants is very thorough, and of quite another sort from that of the architect proper, for they work according to the outspoken maxims of Schultze-Naumburg, Muthesius, and Olbrich. Their gardens differ from the English in that there is less clipping of hedges. The hedge is not unknown in the work of Gildemeister at Bremen, Leberecht Migge at Hamburg (Fig. 632, p. 364), Eneke at Cologne and Grossmann at Leipzig, but it is restrained and is less marked as an architectural feature. But all these gardens show that the hints of Muthesius are followed, that before all things they are living-rooms in the open, and that they deserve the name they are known by, "Open-air Houses" (*Freilufthäuser*) (Fig. 626).

The public garden could not long remain uninfluenced by this movement, judging by its own history and the tasks which it had to perform. It was the smaller pleasure-grounds in France that first returned to the formal style, when the brief fashion for English squares had gone by. These were most adaptable because of the architectural style of their surroundings, and also because of their *raison d'être*, as ornamental places away from traffic, with their flower-beds like parterres, or as recreation grounds with places for

games or meetings, as we see them in American towns; in either case a formal site with plenty of architectural ornament was most required. Nowadays practically none but formal places are laid out in the greater towns; yet we have to remember how recently battles were fought—such as the one over the Friedrichsplatz at Mannheim (Fig. 627), which was designed by the architect Bruno Schmitz—if we are really to grasp the fact that this movement is a new one.

It was rather late when decorative flowers found a place in the real People's Park; and even in England, always to the fore in such matters, it was only at the end of the nineteenth century that the experiment was made (in Regent's Park) of introducing a flower-garden. In Waterlow Park, in Ravenscourt Park, and in Hyde Park, we have "the old English garden."

In other countries, under the leadership of America, a different development appears. In the latest form of the park there hides a germ whence the old grove might come to life again, and possibly has done here and there. In the manifold forms of playing-fields there is a possibility of making separate gardens which might be, with a difference, what the bosquets of Le Nôtre were in the old royal park. But since a People's Park in a large town requires an open show-garden in the centre, which will have to cover far more space than even the great courts of Louis XIV., it is a necessity due to the spectacular demands of modern days to have also one great central view. The club house with its ornamental adjuncts in front now takes the place of the royal castle of former days. Some of the latest American parks on the gigantic scale, such as the one at Chicago, have completely adopted the formal style. In America the large grounds given up to ornament and parterres are



FIG. 627. ROSE-GARDEN IN THE FRIEDRICHSPLATZ, MANNHEIM

introduced to help the view of the whole picture, but not at all in the same fashion as in England.

France also has adopted the idea of enlivening the old perspectives of her parks in a



FIG. 628. PLAN FOR THE TOWN PARK OF HAMBURG-WINTERHUDE

new way. The new part in Paris which leads from the Trocadero over the Champ de Mars to the Ecole Militaire—thus partly carrying out a grandiose plan dreamed of by the first emperor—is regular and uniform, which perhaps is one of the signs of its newness. All the same, however, it shows some of the former grandeur of a French design.



FIG. 629. CLUB HOUSE IN THE TOWN PARK, HAMBURG-WINTERHUDE

The latest parks in Germany are making efforts towards future developments of a novel nature. In the parks at Cologne, which have developed under the auspices of Encke, a garden artist who early escaped from the fetters of the narrow landscape tradition, there is practically nothing to be found but the formal style. The Schiller Park at Berlin and

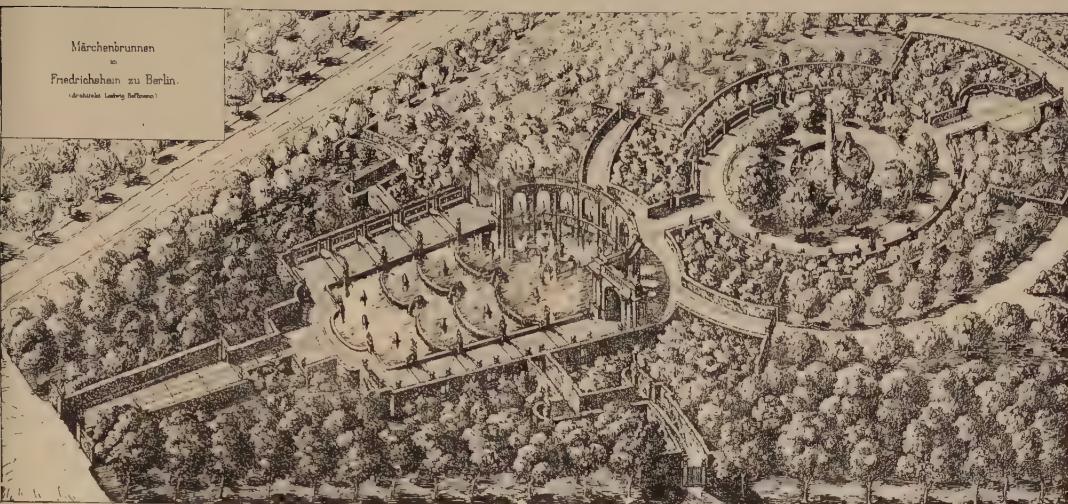


FIG. 630. THE MÄRCHENBRUNNEN, FRIEDRICHSHAIN, BERLIN—A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW

the town park at Hamburg, both modern, are working out these great perspectives (Fig. 628). Schumacher in particular, the designer of the Hamburg park, attempted to get an imposing effect by combining the large lines of the perspective (Fig. 629) and the ornamental grounds and playing-fields with picturesque plantations between them, especially by making edges



FIG. 631. THE MÄRCHENBRUNNEN, FRIEDRICHSHAIN, BERLIN—VIEW AT THE ENTRANCE

of woodland to the club field. In details we may recall Italian models once more, and adapt these to modern feeling. Ludwig Hoffman made a monumental entrance to the Friedrichshain, the old landscape park at Berlin, and this undoubtedly inclines towards the ideas of the Frascati Villas. The favourite triangle, formed here by two diverging streets, may perhaps have attracted the architect (Fig. 630). The style of a pillared hall, rounded like a theatre, cutting off the wide water stairway (Fig. 631); reminds us in its distinctly classical form of such erections as the coffee-house at Villa Albani, the Gloriette at Schönbrunn or the colonnaded bosket at Versailles. Perhaps one would like it better if this beautiful place stood at the end rather than at the entrance of a public park, for in that case the crowds would be somewhat dispersed on the broad walks after they left streets crammed

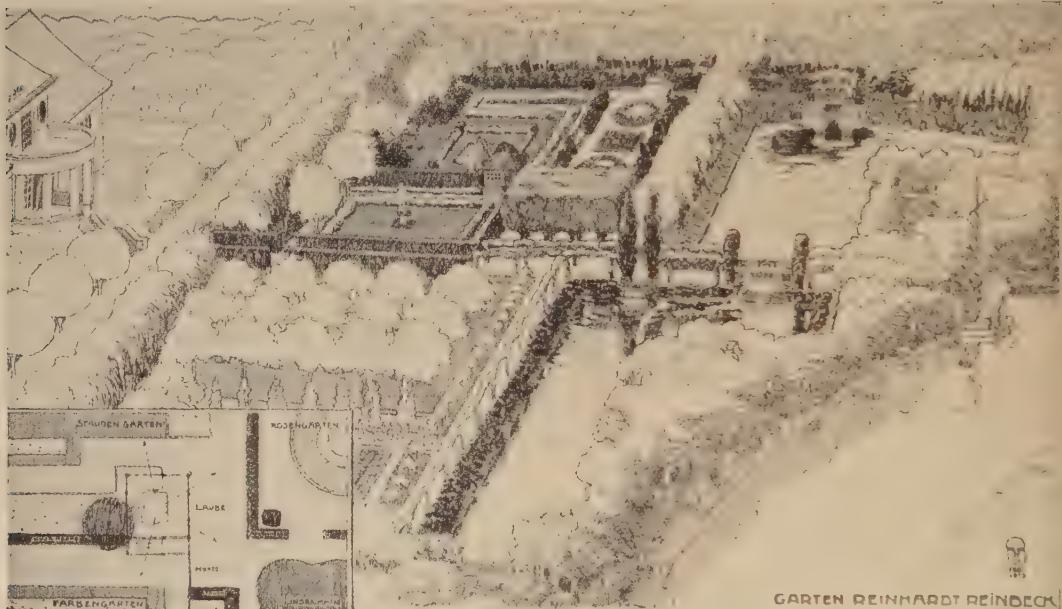


FIG. 632. HERR REINHARDT'S GARDEN AT REINBECK, HAMBURG (see page 360)

with traffic and before they arrived at this retired spot, with its feeling of privacy pervading it in spite of all its grandeur. But the whole place has been thought out with a noble feeling for art both in the general plan and in the details; and it certainly marks an important step in the progress of modern garden development.

In the new garden movement the burial-ground also finds a place. Goethe dealt with this problem in his *Elective Affinities*. He thought that the ugliness of churchyards, which was shown both in actual monuments and in the separate treatment of the graves, might be remedied by the laying out of a Campo Santo. The practice of cremation had been growing, and this fact was an argument for setting up certain places where urns could be housed according to the rules laid down at the crematorium. But before that idea was carried out, an experiment was tried in America with a view to avoiding the ugliness of separate graves, and to place them without any regular arrangement in a landscape park, where they were scattered about and concealed from sight. In Europe similarly there were a few burial-grounds made in landscape surroundings; but it soon became apparent that this was only a way of making things worse by concealment. The woodland cemeteries

that are to be seen nowadays are probably an experiment of the same nature. Most people's taste has reverted to the piece of ground that is laid out formally, and attempts are made to give it an appearance of size by an imposing perspective through the middle, while particular graves are grouped together to form separate gardens. But the problem has not yet found a solution, and architects and garden artists are actively concerned with it.

v

If the future is not clear, at all events life is everywhere full of movement, not yet ripe for historical treatment. All garden lovers and artists may rejoice in the consciousness that in our own time a new development has come about, and one that is full of promise. There are important tasks ahead, in small and great matters alike, and we must hope for strength and energy to carry them forward.

CHAPTER XVII
MODERN ENGLISH GARDENING

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MODERN ENGLISH GARDENING

BY WALTER P. WRIGHT

SOME hard things are said in the present work about a style of gardening which under the description of "English" was supposed to have laid a blight on many Continental gardens of the eighteenth century. But in those years England had no style so firm and distinctive as to deserve to be called national.

It is true that she did not adhere permanently to the formal style which was introduced from Italy in the time of the Renaissance and from France during the spacious days of Louis XIV.; and there was a reason for this which was entirely dissociated from Art, although eminently sensible and practical. The fact that her two great university towns, Oxford and Cambridge, lay in relaxing situations, supplemented the ordinary effects of a damp climate in creating the necessity for much more physical exercise than was needed in drier countries, and consequently young members of wealthy families acquired habits of activity which they carried into their homes. The result was that grounds were extended and walks lengthened. But parterres and fountains could not be provided to accompany every winding path. Groups and belts of trees and shrubs could, however, be planted.

This, perhaps more than anything else, even including Addison's essays and Pope's satires, explained the development of a supposed English "natural" style. As a matter of fact, the actual old English garden always was more or less formal. Grass thriving naturally in the humid climate, it was, and is, brought close to the house and most of it mown and trimmed into "lawns," often broken with groups of beds. Right and proper as this procedure may be, one can hardly describe it as "natural."

THE FORMAL GARDEN STILL LIVES

And some formality will continue. The lawn will probably remain what it has always been, one of the chief glories of the English garden. It is a part of us—of our native climate, of our native character. Small gardens and large will have their area of shaven grass. Our robust outdoor games also demand turf. And beds will be put on a good many lawns, being none the less beds because they contain salvias and snapdragons instead of scarlet "geraniums" and yellow calceolarias.

There does not seem to be anything to worry about, anything to apologise for, in all this. It fits in with the prevailing circumstances. It is a part of the home, and one might pardonably describe it as domestic. But it does not stand alone. Supplementary to it there has come into being a system of Garden Art which may truly be described as English, inasmuch as it is the work of English reformers, who have borrowed their ideas only from

earlier generations of Englishmen. Under this system hardy plants play a predominant part. Harmony of colour has become more important than design of parterre. Alpine plants are utilised extensively and with great effect. Plants are given more individuality.

It is a little curious that while foreign critics should have condemned the so-called English style for its informality, home critics should have complained of its formality. Until comparatively recent years, English flower-gardening was undoubtedly formal. Even within the recollection of many living people, carpet-bedding was practised in private as well as in public places. It has to be confessed that this style is still pursued in the public gardens of industrial districts, and enjoys much favour with the populace. But it is dead in private gardens. It would no more be tolerated there than the still older monstrosity of coloured earths.

The worst in the way of formalism that is to be met with now in the gardens of the nobility is encountered in those places where reasons of economy born of high taxation and a dwindling agriculture dictate that the garden staff shall give most of its attention to growing fruit and vegetables for market, so that nothing special can be attempted in flower-gardening. There are, unfortunately, a good many such cases. The gardeners consider that if they plant a few flower-beds with bulbs or wallflowers in autumn and antirrhinums in summer, and mow at least a part of the lawn, if only a ten-feet belt, they have done all that can reasonably be expected of them.

Happily a wave of garden-love has spread over the powerful commercial and professional classes of the country—classes with higher standards of education and culture than they are generally credited with possessing. We are all familiar with the tradesman or merchant (he is apt to be a soap-boiler) of the novel and the stage, who misplaces his aspirates. He lingers in fiction and at the play because those forms of “entertainment” are hopelessly archaic. In reality, he is to-day a well-educated man with a *flair* for public life and with cultured womenfolk who have a passion for flowers, which they study closely.

This wave has amply compensated for the loss—if indeed there is a loss—in the gardens of the aristocracy. It has swollen immensely the membership of the Royal Horticultural Society. It takes greater crowds than ever to the larger shows. It has raised the standard of gardening in all the more important public resorts. It has added pretty flower-gardens to thousands of good new middle-class houses and villas. We have, indeed, become a flower-growing people.

HAS ENGLAND A NATIONAL STYLE OF GARDENING ?

Have we, however, evolved a “style”? Has gardening in England become so distinctive and at the same time so homogeneous that we can fairly claim to have developed a national system? This is a debatable question. Some things we have certainly done: we have got rid of elaborate “parterres,” furnished with plants most of which are too tender to endure our winters. We have got rid of or reduced elaborate water-devices, statuary, and labyrinths. We have practically got rid of carpet-bedding. We have got rid of coloured earths. We have got rid of ribbon borders. If to have made a clean sweep of the principal components of the formal style of the past is *pari passu* to have formed a style of our own, then our position is impregnable.



FIG. 633. DELPHINIUMS IN THE HERBACEOUS BORDER IN MR. H. BEVIS'S GARDEN, WINFIELD, HAMPSHIRE

Before, however, we attempt a decision based only on a series of negatives, let us see what we have put in the place of the discarded things.

We have in the first place made a great stride in the direction of simplicity by substituting to a considerable extent (not wholly) hardy plants for tender. With certain qualifications, which honesty imposes in consequence of a partial revival in Dutch clipped and Japanese dwarf trees, we may claim to have made a farther step in the direction of good taste by growing our trees, shrubs and plants in their natural forms. We have



FIG. 634. ROCK BORDER BESIDE A LAWN (RIGHT) AND WALK WITH HERBACEOUS BORDER (LEFT) IN MR. MARK FENWICK'S GARDEN, ABBOTSWOOD, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

unquestionably impressed contemporary nations with the vast progress which we have made in the creation and use of hardy herbaceous plants, such as delphiniums (Fig. 633), phloxes, peonies and Michaelmas daisies. We have corrected the stiffness of our lawns by providing rock borders and herbaceous walks beside them (Fig. 634). We have softened the severity of terraces by planting them informally with hardy things (Fig. 635). And we have done one other really great and significant thing: we have shown that the contours of our gardens can be improved better by the formation of rock gardens and the cultivation thereon of alpine plants than by elaborate, costly and unnatural terrace-building, construction of artificial ruins, and so forth.

These are not small achievements, indeed, when they reach fruition, when it can fairly be claimed that the English flower-garden is firmly based on naturally grown trees and shrubs, on well-furnished herbaceous borders, and on rock gardens, the whole

mellowed with the good lawns of our past, then indeed we shall have an "English style" again, a style very different from the old—more artistic, more free, more simple—yet equally robust and coherent. And that time is drawing nearer with rapid strides.

THE GREAT CHANGE IN ENGLISH GARDENING—A TRIBUTE TO RAISERS

It is interesting to speculate on the principal causes for the change in English gardening which began about the middle of the nineteenth century. One of the most influential was undoubtedly the appearance of raisers of great genius, who had the foresight to turn



FIG. 635. HERBACEOUS PLANTS ON THE TERRACES AT ABBOTSWOOD, MR. MARK FENWICK'S RESIDENCE IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE

their attention to hardy plants. The present writer can remember when the introduction to commerce of a new variety of zonal "geranium"—one of the principal components of the old "ribbon border"—still created a furore. But that memory of childhood was fleeting. Superimposed upon it, and growing yearly stronger and stronger, was the recollection of displays of new roses, new gladioli, new peonies, new carnations, new phloxes, new sweet peas, new Michaelmas daisies, new delphiniums, new irises. Such names as Paul, Bennett, Kelway, Burrell, Martin-Smith, Douglas, Eckford and Michael Foster became increasingly prominent, as did those of Barr and Engleheart with daffodils.

We might take the gladiolus as an example of a garden plant which sustained great development. As a bedding plant far superior to any "geranium," as a flower for cutting beyond comparison with any old bedder, as a border plant almost perfect, the rise of the gladiolus is one of the romances of modern gardening. There were probably hybrid gladioli in the seventeenth century, for there are several varieties illustrated in Besler's *Hortus eystettensis*, which was published in 1613, but it is improbable that they played a prominent

part in the famous gardens of that epoch. We have to take a leap of nearly two centuries to find gladioli exciting the least attention. Then in 1810 we find Dean Herbert raising new varieties, and not only so, but twenty-four years later telling of seedlings raised by one Bidwill, an Englishman, from parents that were destined to become more famous through their offspring than they had ever been of themselves. One of these parents was certainly a species called *psittacinus*, a native of South Africa; the other has been variously stated as *cardinalis*, *floribundus*, and *oppositiflorus*. Under the name of *gandavensis*, so called because the hybrids, obtained from the garden at Enghien in Belgium, were distributed by a Ghent (Gand) nurseryman, the progeny of this cross, in the hands of Kelway, Standish, Burrell and other English raisers, as well as in those of the Frenchman Souchet, made the gladiolus one of the greatest of garden flowers.

This is not the place to pursue the subject of flower-creation, important and fascinating though it is; it must suffice to say that what happened with gladioli happened also with other great garden flowers. The English banker Martin-Smith and the Scots gardener Douglas did for the carnation, Eckford did for the sweet pea, and Michael Foster, Dykes and Bliss did for the iris, what the florists already named had done for the gladiolus. James Kelway improved the peony and the delphinium as much as he had improved the gladiolus; and these two splendid flowers in themselves had an immense influence on the extension of herbaceous borders. It is one thing to have a conception, it is another to have the material with which to develop it. Had there been hundreds of magnificent gladioli, peonies, delphiniums and irises in 1650 there might have been no Versailles, for "Le Roi Soleil" might have become enamoured of herbaceous borders.

A TRIBUTE TO WRITERS

Having paid one tribute to raisers, let us pay another to writers. At least three authors of force in William Robinson, Gertrude Jekyll and Reginald Farrer played a great part in changing the style of English gardening. As a writer of pure genius not less than as an intrepid collector, the ill-fated Farrer stands supreme. But Robinson was the earlier and probably on the whole the more influential writer. In such books as *The English Flower Garden*, *Alpine Flowers for English Gardens* and *The Wild Garden*, he attacked unsparingly the parterre, bedding-out and ribbon-border systems, with their stiffness, formality and garish colours; and he argued with great force the superiority of a more natural system, in which hardy plants (both shrubby and herbaceous), alpine flowers, and trees and shrubs naturally grown, should play the most prominent parts.

The first edition of *The English Flower Garden* appeared in November 1883. Forty-three years later, and at the age of eighty-seven, the author produced a fourteenth edition. This is a remarkable record, testifying at once to the virility and stamina of both book and writer. There can be few, if any, such cases in the history of literature. The strength of the book lay no more in the principles of natural beauty which the author so forcibly propounded, appealing though they were, than in the thousands of cultural details which he gave relating to the many thousands of species described.

Robinson's theories were not in all cases new; for example, in attacking "absurd 'knots' and fashions from old books" and "attempts to . . . get colour by the use of

broken brick, white sand and painted stone," he was very near to Bacon with his "As for the making of knots, or figures, with divers Coloured Earths . . . they be but toys; you may see as good Sight many Times in Tarts." But the modern writer had even more justification than the ancient one for his onslaughts.

Miss Gertrude Jekyll, whose eighty-third birthday in 1926 made her no less than sixty-four years older than the first edition of her finest book, that on garden colour, was probably scarcely less influential than Robinson in advocating the charms of natural gardens. There are two great groups of gardeners; one consisting of people whose main interest lies in plants as plants, with no particular regard to their place in the garden, the other of persons who think of plants in terms of gardens. Miss Jekyll is whole-heartedly a member of the second group. Observe with what cogency she supports her views:

Merely having plants or having them planted unassorted in garden spaces, is only like having a box of paints from the best colourman; or, to go one step farther, it is like having portions of these paints set out upon a palette. This does not constitute a picture; and it seems to me that the duty we owe to our gardens and to our own bettering of our gardens is so to use the plants that they shall form beautiful pictures; and that, while delighting our eyes, they should be always training those eyes to a more exalted criticism; to a state of mind and artistic conscience that will not tolerate bad or careless combination or any sort of misuse of plants, but in which it becomes a point of honour to be always striving for the best.

It is just in the way it is done that lies the whole difference between commonplace gardening and gardening that may rightly claim to rank as a fine art. Given the same space of ground and the same material, they may either be fashioned into a dream of beauty, a place of perfect rest and refreshment of mind and body—a series of soul-satisfying pictures—a treasure of well-set jewels; or they may be so misused that everything is jarring and unpleasing.

All this, of course, is not to condemn every type of specialist. The raiser, for example, must consider the flower first. He must grow it in colonies in his nurseries, partly in order to provide it with the particular conditions which suit it best, partly for convenience of comparison and crossing; but the amateur, the garden-maker, is under no such compulsion, and it is to him that Miss Jekyll addresses herself.

Farrer was no less gifted and scarcely less a power than the two great horticultural writers already discussed. If a somewhat wayward genius, he was still a genius. If his literary style was sometimes flamboyant, it yet remained arresting and persuasive. And it must be remembered in his honour that he made an intensive study of Alpine plants and sought them all over the world, never shrinking from hardship and danger, and penetrating fearlessly the most distant recesses of unknown China and savage Tibet. It can scarcely be doubted that Farrer's books had an immense influence in spreading an interest in and love for alpine flowers, or that he was the means of inducing thousands of people to take up rock gardening, just as *On the Eaves of the World* and other of his travel books must have inspired many a bold spirit to go out into the wild in search of new plants.

Having paid tribute to the influence of raisers and writers in bringing about a more artistic system of flower-gardening, we, the people, may perhaps permit ourselves to believe that neither class could have been completely successful had there not been something responsive in ourselves—some desire, one might even say some yearning, for guidance in an art that a higher standard of education, a more widespread love of beauty, taught us had not been done justice to. It was because the seed which had been sown had fallen on fertile, receptive ground that germination was so swift and growth so strong. The new gospel spread with amazing rapidity, so that England became a land of gardens in which true ideas of Art were conspicuous.

COLOUR-PLANNING—A BLUE BORDER

Naturally there have been disappointments and failures. Many people have taken up colour-planning with herbaceous plants, for example, under the impression that it is a comparatively simple matter to get continuous colour-harmonies from spring to autumn in borders. It is, however, complex and difficult. Considerable forethought, much care in choice of material, and no small amount of skill in cultivation, are called for. Weather vagaries, and attacks by insects and fungi, are often overlooked, yet they have a vital



FIG. 636. BOLD FLOWER GROUPS NEAR A MAIN PATH IN SIR ARTHUR LEVY'S GARDEN, THE MOUNT, COOKHAM DENE

bearing on results. It is perhaps wiser on the whole to be satisfied with bold groups, particularly in selected places near the principal paths, as shown in Fig. 636, where the formality of bridge, steps and paths is broken by noble border groups.

Colour-blends have, however, a peculiar fascination. The writer was deeply impressed with a "blue border" under a terrace wall at Chilham Castle, near Canterbury, in June, and may mention some of the plants which composed it. As might be expected, there were delphiniums (perennial larkspurs), and one recognises with gratitude the good work of raisers in providing such a host of beautiful varieties, single and double, in all shades. There were anchusas, splendid in colour, but the larger kinds a little gross in habit. There were lupins, and here again one is deeply sensible of advancement; the habit of the plants is perfect for the border, and the range of colour has been widened to a remarkable degree.

Irides, both of the German and Siberian types, were a host. Campanulas were charming. One of the deepest blues available in a border plant was there in veronica True Blue, which, as a June bloomer, is perhaps of the Gentianoides class. The early-flowering flax (*Linum perenne*) was a valuable plant, albeit a little loose-habited. A variety of pentstemon with lilac, purple-shaded flowers, not often met with, named Scouleri—an effective plant—was present. Lastly there were violas old and new, the best of all low-growing blue flowers.

It is not easy to get a blue wall-covering for a blue herbaceous border, and here a point may be strained, for there is a splendid evergreen blue-flowered wall shrub, used at Chilham Castle, which has every merit: ease of propagation, vigour of growth and remarkable profusion of bloom in June, and that is *Ceanothus veitchianus*, one of several good evergreen ceanothuses.

SHRUBS AND HERBACEOUS PLANTS

It is only the stickler over terms who will refuse to use a shrub, deciduous or evergreen, in or in association with an herbaceous border. Many irises are not truly herbaceous, nor are pentstemons in all circumstances, nor all phloxes. Some spiræas are herbaceous and some shrubby, but why exclude any spiræa from an herbaceous border except on such grounds as coarseness? If it comes to that, why exclude all roses? It is really a question whether "herbaceous border" is not an unfortunate term, for it may cause some people to shrink from using any shrubby plant, while other people not only mix the types without hesitation—perhaps, indeed, without knowing the difference—but exhibit flowers of shrubs in classes for "herbaceous" plants at the shows, thereby running the risk of disqualification.

A flower border should be made up of such plants, capable of passing most of the year out of doors, as are suited to the circumstances, whether they lose their stems in autumn or continue to hold them throughout the winter. And again, the background, whether wall, or fence, or open lattice-work, may consist largely of shrubs, for otherwise roses and clematises would be excluded. Nor, with a strict adherence to the herbaceous character, could beautiful tubs or vases of hydrangeas be used for special sites: low walls (Fig. 637), pillars at the head of steps, terraces, etc., noble objects though they are.

BEAUTY OF BACKGROUND

The matter of background does not receive sufficient consideration. It may be admitted that there are cases, as for example hardy flower borders on the margins of lawns, where existing trees and shrubs provide as suitable a background as could be devised. But there are others the boundary of which is an ugly wall, fence or building, and it becomes exposed in autumn and remains so all the winter where the contents of the borders are strictly confined to herbaceous subjects. In such cases a background becomes important, and it can be provided with espaliers or lattice-work. A large bed would be transformed into two borders if such a background was fixed along the middle, and thus there might be a "border" down the centre of a flower-garden in place of a group of beds.

It is particularly in small gardens that the plan of a central division is helpful, because it increases the area available for plants. The support, whatever it may be, can be planted



FIG. 637. VASES OF HYDRANGEAS ON A LOW WALL IN SIR ARTHUR LEVY'S GARDEN, THE MOUNT, COOKHAM DENE

on both faces, so that room is provided for an increased number of plants, while at the same time those planted in the border itself, on the level, are not robbed. Supports may be of various kinds and materials, including rustic work; but those who are prepared to go to the first expense of iron espaliers must reap their reward in time, for metal espaliers are practically everlasting. Such woodwork as is attached to them—and some is almost indispensable—need not come into contact with the ground, and consequently it also has a long life. Admittedly the erection looks somewhat crude at the outset, but it is covered in a year or two, and thereafter is an object of great beauty. A similar framework may be used at will for the back of a border on the outskirts of a lawn or elsewhere.

THE BEST HERBACEOUS PLANTS

One of the difficulties in the way of colour-harmonies in herbaceous borders is the unexpected extension of coarse-growing kinds, which often affects less rampant subjects injuriously. Thus there are certain plants, by no means without ornamental value—moon and ox-eye daisies, anchusas, Japanese anemones, even Michaelmas daisies—which are apt to become a nuisance. The Japanese anemones are very beautiful, but they are terrible rovers in soils which they like, and their roots penetrate so deeply that if once they get out of hand it is almost impossible to bring them under control again.

As plants which do not encroach, which are easily kept under control, and which yet are exceedingly beautiful, hollyhocks, phloxes, pyrethrums, peonies, lupins and delphiniums must be considered best for the herbaceous border. Hollyhocks are never more beautiful than when used as the back of an informal border beside a walk (Fig. 638), and it is a mistake to suppose that they must necessarily become unsightly through disease, which can be kept in check by spraying with Bordeaux mixture. Phloxes are almost ideal, and it is very gratifying to know that there are now large numbers of splendid varieties. As a matter of fact, phloxes are well worth growing in beds to themselves, so far as summer effect is concerned; earlier blooms can be got by planting bulbs with them. At Gravetye Manor, Mr. William Robinson's place in Sussex, one sees a bed of summer-flowering phloxes which in June is brilliant with the little-grown but exceedingly attractive *Tropaeolum polyphyllum*, with its curious, twisted, creeping growth, grey leaves, and masses of canary-coloured flowers; the bed is edged with lavender.

Pyrethrums are good or bad according as they are tended and staked or left uncared for. The stems are not strong enough to sustain the flowers, consequently neglected plants are ugly, but if some light, semi-natural support is used, such as the upper twiggy parts of hazel pea-sticks, both foliage and flower-stems receive welcome support and the plants show their full beauty; they are then capable of giving charming colour-effects in the border.

The one drawback of herbaceous peonies as border plants, and particularly in colour-blending, is their spreading, rather floppy habit, which prevents them from fitting in well with more slender and upright growers. A better plan where space permits is to bed them, using orange-coloured tulips to harmonise with the bronze of the young peony stems in spring. It is easy to blunder with the staking and tying of peonies, and as a rule the less the better. Nor should root interference go farther with peonies than is absolutely necessary.

In light, rather poor soils it is far better to place dressings of manure or fresh soil round the plants than to take them up, divide them, and replant them, for they are apt to sulk after disturbance.

With increased experience of delphiniums, one is disposed to believe that they also resent division, and are best invigorated by the same means as peonies. One has seen cases in which, with a praiseworthy desire to give clumps of delphiniums a new lease of life,



FIG. 638. HOLLYHOCKS IN A BORDER WITH BOX EDGING IN FRONT IN THE LATE SIR HENRY WHITEHEAD'S GARDEN,
STAGENHOE PARK, HERTS

they have been lifted to permit of the soil being deeply trenched and liberally manured; yet the result has not been good for a long time.

The truth is that the great quartet of hardy herbaceous plants may be divided into two pairs so far as toleration of frequent division is concerned: peonies and delphiniums resenting it, Michaelmas daisies and phloxes appreciating it.

In well-managed herbaceous borders, large plants will never be allowed to predominate, however ample the area may be. The best species and varieties of smaller things, such as geums, campanulas, irises, veronicas, gladioli, pentstemons, columbines, and lilies, will have their place.

Whatever may or may not be done with herbaceous borders, there is always a strong case for flower-beds on any level spaces near the house, with grass or paving as the case may be. Crazy paving has deservedly a powerful vogue, but unfortunately one often sees the interstices filled with ugly weeds instead of with dainty low plants like campanulas, alpine

pinks, saxifrages, and portulacas; and then one sighs for plain, wholesome grass. The fact is that crazy paving, like most other things in gardens, needs cultivation. It cannot be left to itself.

MONTHS OF ROSE-BLOOM

With flower-beds the line of least resistance in the old days was to cram them with zonal pelargoniums. Now the "geranium" was, and is, a very brilliant and useful plant, which no wise person will despise. But it is garish and it is tender. Being garish it may easily become tedious and even offensive; and being tender it needs winter protection. Again, it is not a valuable cut flower. Here are three reasons why zonal pelargoniums are inferior to, for example, roses. In the old days it was held against roses as bedders that being leafless in winter, and being purely short-period summer bloomers, they left the beds without interest for the greater part of the year, and consequently the only people who grew roses in beds were exhibitors, who cared little what their beds looked like nine months in the year, provided there were fine examples of bloom on a few particular exhibition days in July.

Times have changed in several respects. In the first place the flowering season of roses has been lengthened. In the second, a greater demand has arisen for cut flowers. In the third, there has been a development of material suitable for forming a groundwork to roses in beds, and flowering before the roses make much growth. The first and second points may be connected in a system of feeding and pruning under which roses in beds without a groundwork of dwarf plants give a long succession of cut flowers from June to October. By feeding, mostly with superphosphate or other chemical fertilisers, the plants are induced to push long flower-stems and these are cut low in order to get as great a length of stem as possible for the vases and bowls. The low cutting becomes a kind of summer pruning, which, combined with the feeding, induces the plant to push up quickly a fresh set of long flower-stems. So the process goes on, but low pruning is not done after mid-August, because late growth would not ripen. This system of what might be called "pruning-for-cutting" is carried out very successfully at Lympne Castle in Kent, among other places. For many weeks there is always bloom in the beds, because all the plants are not pruned at the same time; and there is always bloom in the vases, because there are always some flowers ready for cutting.

It is not likely that this system would answer without abundant moisture and liberal feeding, and those who are unable to provide both would probably do better to carpet their rose-beds with some close-growing plant.

There never was an absolute dearth of carpeting material, if people had only thought to look for it. At Gravetye, for example, one sees *Viola gracilis*, *Phacelia campanularia* and *Verbena chamaedrifolia* used in different beds, and all these are old plants. Violas are almost ideal carpeters, and the number of beautiful varieties is legion. Nor is there any valid reason why pinks and carnations should not be associated with roses, as at Gravetye; holding their leaves as they do throughout the winter, the ground is never bare.

In the reaction from the old-style bedding with zonal pelargoniums, many people have discarded bedding altogether, satisfying themselves with rock-gardens and herbaceous borders; but beds are often useful, and it is no more necessary to plant them with tender



FIG. 639. ROCK JUDICIOUSLY PLACED AND SKILFULLY PLANTED IN MAJOR J. F. HARRISON'S GARDEN,
KING'S WALDENBURY, HERTS

things than it is to associate them in elaborate and intricate designs, as in the formal "parterres" of the past. There is literally no end of material amongst hardy plants from which to choose; it is merely a matter of studying books and catalogues, and of picking up ideas in good gardens and nurseries. At Gravetye one sees beds of hardy ferns, to which life and outline are given by pillars of clematis. There is no brilliance in such beds, but there is interest, there is beauty, there is character. One should beware of sameness: antirrhinums may easily become as tiresome as "geraniums."

ROCK PLANTS AND ALPINE GARDENS

Rock-gardening and the cultivation of alpine flowers (these are often, but not as often as they ought to be, permanent parts of one whole) form between them the most remarkable and distinctive development in modern English gardening. Probably the progress that has been made in this branch of ornamental gardening has been due at least as much to displays by trade growers at the larger shows as to the efforts of writers and artists, influential though the latter have undoubtedly been. Small but beautiful gardens, ingenious assemblages of rock planted with alpines, generally having a cascade and pool, appearing in the grounds of large shows, struck the public fancy, were repeated on a larger scale and in increased numbers, and so became firmly established as features of the more important exhibitions.

While it might be possible to exaggerate the effect of miniature alpine scenes in a show-ground in London, one can believe that by bringing the charm of alpine flowers before the eyes of large numbers of cultured people the displays in question must have exercised a very real influence. Certainly the demand for suitable stone as well as the sale of alpine plants increased rapidly. Flower-lovers came to realise that rock-gardens were

capable of adding a new and very pleasing feature to their places without making excessive demands on space. Perhaps all did not realise as clearly as they should have done that a rock-garden needs a good deal of attention, because one meets with cases in which gross plants, or even weeds, have been allowed to overgrow the more delicate kinds. There should be no misunderstanding on this matter. Hardy plants, including alpines, need as much attention in their way as the old-fashioned tender bedders; some even need glass, although in the form of protecting squares to throw off winter rains rather than in the form of frames and greenhouses.

One might add to this hint a reminder that a rock-garden should have several aspects; or conversely, that if there is but one aspect the choice of plants should be such that the aspect suits the whole of them. One sees cases in which this point has been overlooked. Similarly, the presence or absence of lime in the natural soil should be considered in connection with the selection of kinds.

Rock-building has been developed into an art by experts, and where alpine gardens on the grand scale have been established inquiry generally reveals the fact that experts have been employed. It was so at Wisley, the famous garden of the Royal Horticultural Society. It is so at almost every considerable undertaking of the kind in public or semi-public gardens. Alas that such cases are so few and that bedding-out still reigns so strongly in these places! And the rule prevails in private gardens where extensive rock-gardening



FIG. 640. ROCKWORK EFFECTIVELY ARRANGED WITH STEPS IN MAJOR J. F. HARRISON'S GARDEN,
KING'S WALDENBURY HERTS

is done, such as Tongswood, near Hawkhurst, in Kent, and other places. He would be a genius indeed who, untutored and unsophisticated, proved capable of handling hundreds of tons of stone with good effect and at the same time with due economy of labour. An error in choosing a place for a shrub, even a mistake in selecting a site for a flower-bed, can be rectified at no great cost; but a blunder in placing a pile of rock is a serious matter.

At a period when the cost of transport as well as raw material is high, it would be pardonable for a lover of alpine flowers of limited means to govern his operations in rock-building by the supply of local stone. If ample both in quantity and quality, then he might certainly build up to the full area available, for a rock-garden is not an ephemeral thing, but on the contrary improves year by year. If, however, local supply is deficient or even wholly wanting, then may the alpine home be restricted in extent. One makes these perhaps rather trite suggestions with the less hesitation because there are many rock-gardens in which stone is palpably out of proportion to the plants grown in them. When, however, they are liberally and skilfully planted, as in the frontispiece to Volume I., and in Figs. 639 and 640, there is no preponderance of stone, no forbidding barenness, but on the contrary charming natural pictures.

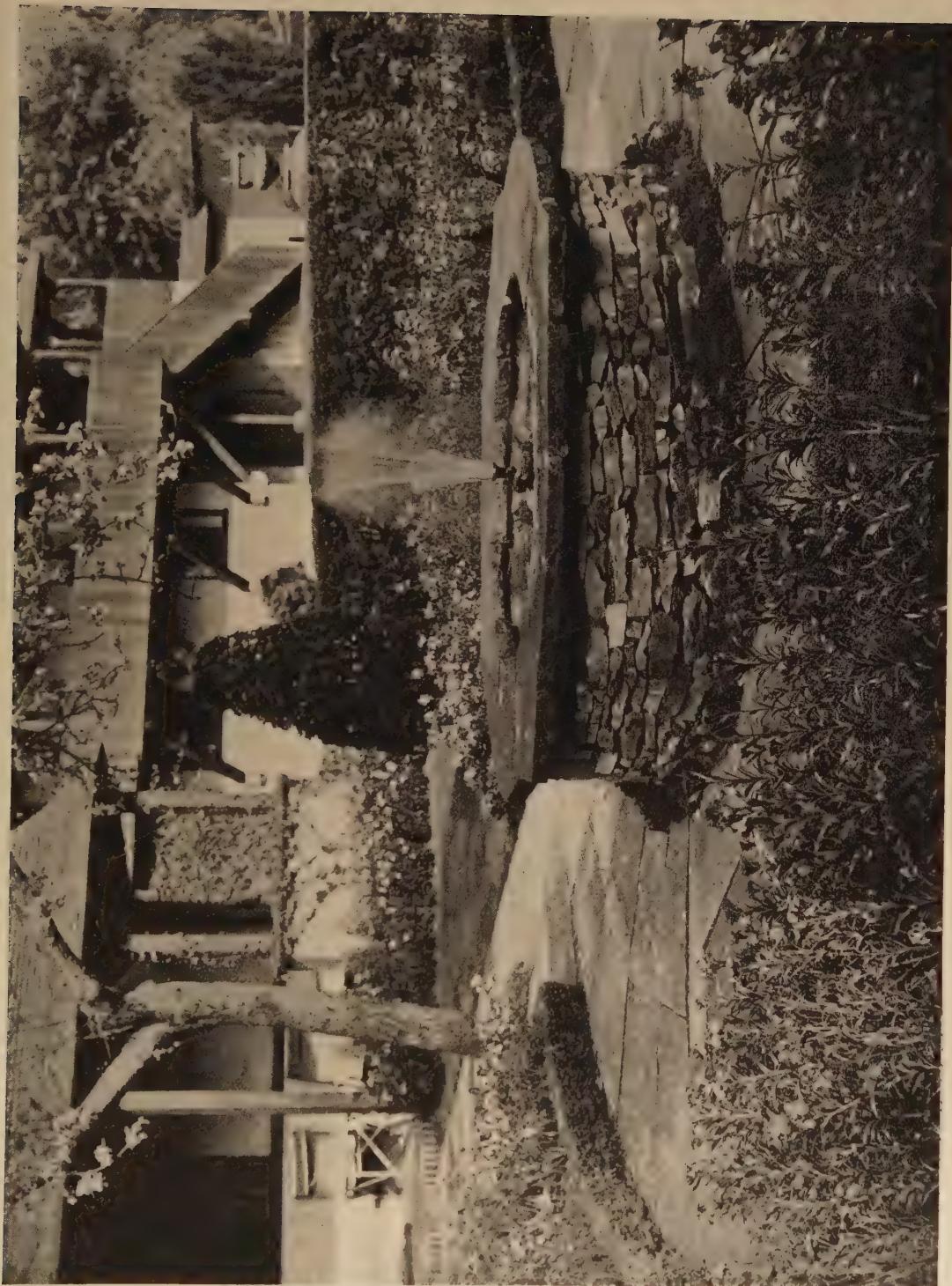
ALPINE TREASURES

There can be no successful rock-garden with an inadequate supply of plants. And while, alike in the interests of economy and of the garden itself, well-known, easily increased plants may occupy the greatest amount of space, there should yet as far as possible be the interest of rarities. In this connection let us glance at some of the plants on a first-class rockery, such as that at Tongswood. On a cool, steep rock-face, imitating the conditions under which the plant thrives in its Pyrenean home, is a colony of ramondia, obviously very much at home. That exquisitely beautiful grass-leaved gromwell which is supposed to be unsuited to our climate, *Lithospermum graminifolium*, covers a broad ledge, and is not less delightful than the better-known prostratum and the form Heavenly Blue; among profusely bloomed blue-flowered plants there are few greater June treasures than these gromwells. Overhanging the rockery from a lofty summit are the white masses of the Tasmanian daisy tree (*Olearia stellulata*, once called *Eurybia gunniana*), which is not supposed to be hardy, but is here sound and healthy after a bitter spring. On lower sites, spreading into dense mats and sprinkled respectively with blue and with rose flowers, are two botanically related but very different plants in *Rhododendron fastigiatum* and *Azalea rosæflora*.

The old garden antirrhinum, often home-sown on ancient walls, is used for many purposes in these days, but few people, perhaps, recognise at sight its sister the sulphur-coloured species *asarina*, for the heart-shaped toothed leaves bear little resemblance to the better-known type, and it is only on a closer inspection that the characteristic snap-dragon shape of the flower stimulates recognition. Drooping from a sheltered, dry crevice to a depth of two feet or more, it makes an instant impression.

A flowering strawberry which does not set fruit, but has leaves which should perhaps be more shiny than they are, considering that the species bears the name of [*Fragaria*] *lucida*, is an interesting novelty. It covers a broad ledge with a mat of typical strawberry leaves, runners and white flowers.

FIG. 641. THE WELL-HEAD IN MR. J. R. UPSON'S GARDEN, SARACENS, SURREY



Among floral treasures unknown to earlier generations of rock gardeners is *Celmisia spectabilis*, an evergreen of low growth which bears a profusion of large flowers, the ray florets white, the disc yellow, a plant which is not of the hardiest, and yet which thrives on a sunny rockery in well-drained friable soil. Rock roses (*cistuses*), however, and sun roses (*helianthemums*), are among the oldest and also the best. The cistuses are shrubs, and what plants of this class are more beautiful? The large blossoms are fleeting, but flower follows flower in such rapid succession and in such profusion that for several weeks the plants are covered with bloom; and as, when suited by the conditions, they grow to a large size, they become glorious objects. Although less vigorous, the sun roses spread widely and form broad, low, dense masses smothered in beautiful flowers. It is not for spacious rock-gardens alone that sun roses are suitable. Wherever there is a low wall or sunny ledge to cover they come into their own.

The orchid family is represented by a good plant in *Orchis foliosa*, which forms handsome masses of oblong leaves and shortish spikes of purple flowers. It likes a cool sheltered spot. The same may be said of many beautiful old and new primulas, such as *japonica*, *cortusoides*, *bulleyana*, *littoniana*, *pulverulenta*, *cockburniana*, and *sikkimensis*; also the little low-growing species *rosea*, which is never so happy as when growing in a cool, moist, shady spot.

What for the rock-garden is a rarity indeed, being generally grown under glass, is an evergreen with lance-shaped leaves and scarlet, lily-like, curiously toothed flowers of great beauty, borne on stems about two feet long—a plant that likes a sandy mixture of peat and loam and will only thrive outdoors, if at all, in a warm, sheltered spot; this is *Tricuspidaria lanceolata*, otherwise *Crinodendron Hookeri*. And yet another rarity for outdoors is an exquisitely beautiful amaryllis-like plant called *Habranthus fulgens*, which few gardeners dare grow in the open air. The secret of its success at Tongswood is that the bulbs are protected by a mat of heaths.

Special plants like these give interest and distinction to the rock-garden, but the unsophisticated amateur feels more at home with familiar things—the many beautiful alpine pinks, low-creeping phloxes, saxifrages in almost multitudinous variety, and lovely gentians like *verna*, *bavarica*, *Andrewsii*, *freyniana*, and the splendid but rather capricious *acaulis*. Nor will he despise the true geraniums, which perhaps receive less attention than they deserve because their name has been usurped by the zonal pelargonium—that gorgeous, glittering king of the old-time flower-garden. In large rock-gardens and in borders alike, true geraniums such as *pratense*, *sanguineum*, and *Endressi* are equally at home; while the smaller *cinereum* and *argenteum* are good alpines. The beginner finds it helpful and encouraging to handle plants which are responsive, and he will certainly find responsiveness in geraniums, just as he will in sun roses, in rock cresses (*aubrietias* and *arabises*), in most of the bellflowers (*campanulas*), in alpine pinks (*dianthus*), in *geums* (equally good for the border and the rockery), in alpine candytufts (*Iberis gibraltarica*, *sempervirens*, *garrexiana*, etc.), in gromwells (*lithospermums*), in certain evening primroses (*Enothera*) suitable for the rock-garden, such as *cæspitosa* and *fruticosa*, and in the charming little blue *Omphalodes verna*, provided it is given a cool, moist, shady spot with other shade-lovers, such as many anemones (*blanda*, *hepatica*, etc.), hardy cyclamens (*Coum*, *Europæum*, etc.), American cowslips (*dodecatheons*, especially *integrifolium* and *Meadia*), the fumitories (*Corydalis*), some of which are responsive in shade almost to the extent of

weediness, the epimediums with beautiful foliage, *Orobus vernus*, the mossy saxifrages, the graceful *Tiarella cordifolia*, the white wood lily (*Trillium grandiflorum*), *Sisyrinchium grandiflorum*, and other shade-lovers. Under the stimulus of success with accommodating plants one can go on hopefully to the more difficult gems.

WATER IN THE MODERN GARDEN

Readers of gardening history cannot fail to observe how prominent and yet how false a part water as the medium for an elaborate fountain-system played in the great formal gardens of the past. They can even see it to-day, for the fountains at Versailles, as at some other famous old-time gardens, still exist and play on special occasions. As a holiday entertainment fountain-playing on the grand scale is equally as legitimate as municipal bands, or lawn-tennis, or horse-racing, or county cricket; but it is assuredly not gardening, for it does not, subordinating itself to plant-life, unite with Nature in making places more beautiful, more fragrant, more peaceful. Rather is it a holiday spectacle, and as such, and only as such, to be tolerated, being by no means unpleasing of its kind, refreshing the weary eyes of jaded townsmen, and even perhaps stirring within them a certain national pride.

In the modern English garden the rôle of ornamental water is essentially different. It is not forced. It is not crammed into distorted tubes and thence hurled startling distances in jets and sprays. It is not turned into something forceful and spectacular. On the contrary,



FIG. 642. A CHARMING POOL IN MR. A. MILLWARD'S GARDEN NEAR READING

it is treated as a gentle, soothing spirit, that harmonises with the peace-inspiring influences of gardens, and sustains beautiful and fragrant flowers. Such pictures as Figs. 641, 642, 643 and 644 tell their own story. Runnels and pools find their places in the rock-gardens large and small which have sprung up by hundreds and even by thousands in English gardens during recent years, and ferns and moisture-loving flowers have peaceful homes by waters that if not still are only faintly murmurous.



FIG. 643. DELIGHTFUL TREATMENT OF PAVING, PATH AND POOL IN SIR ARTHUR LEVY'S GARDEN, THE MOUNT, COOKHAM DENE

In some old gardens attached to stately homes the parterres of the past are no more, but the pond with its water-lilies lives on, reflecting in its calm waters the ripe wisdom of the centuries, and giving even in the most hectic times a reassurance of stability. Thus, at Penshurst Place, in Kent, one sees in Diana's Pool a piece of placid water, stone-bordered, with flights of steps softly lapped, and breadths of giant white *nymphæas* which lie restfully on a surface so still that it seems to sleep. And perhaps the sense of repose that creeps up from the pool into the spirit of the watcher above is increased by the grey walls of the castle and the green squares of the ancient yew hedges.

At Chilham Castle, at Gravetye Manor, and in many other famous gardens of England, water is treated in the same reposeful spirit. One approaches the lakes by mown paths

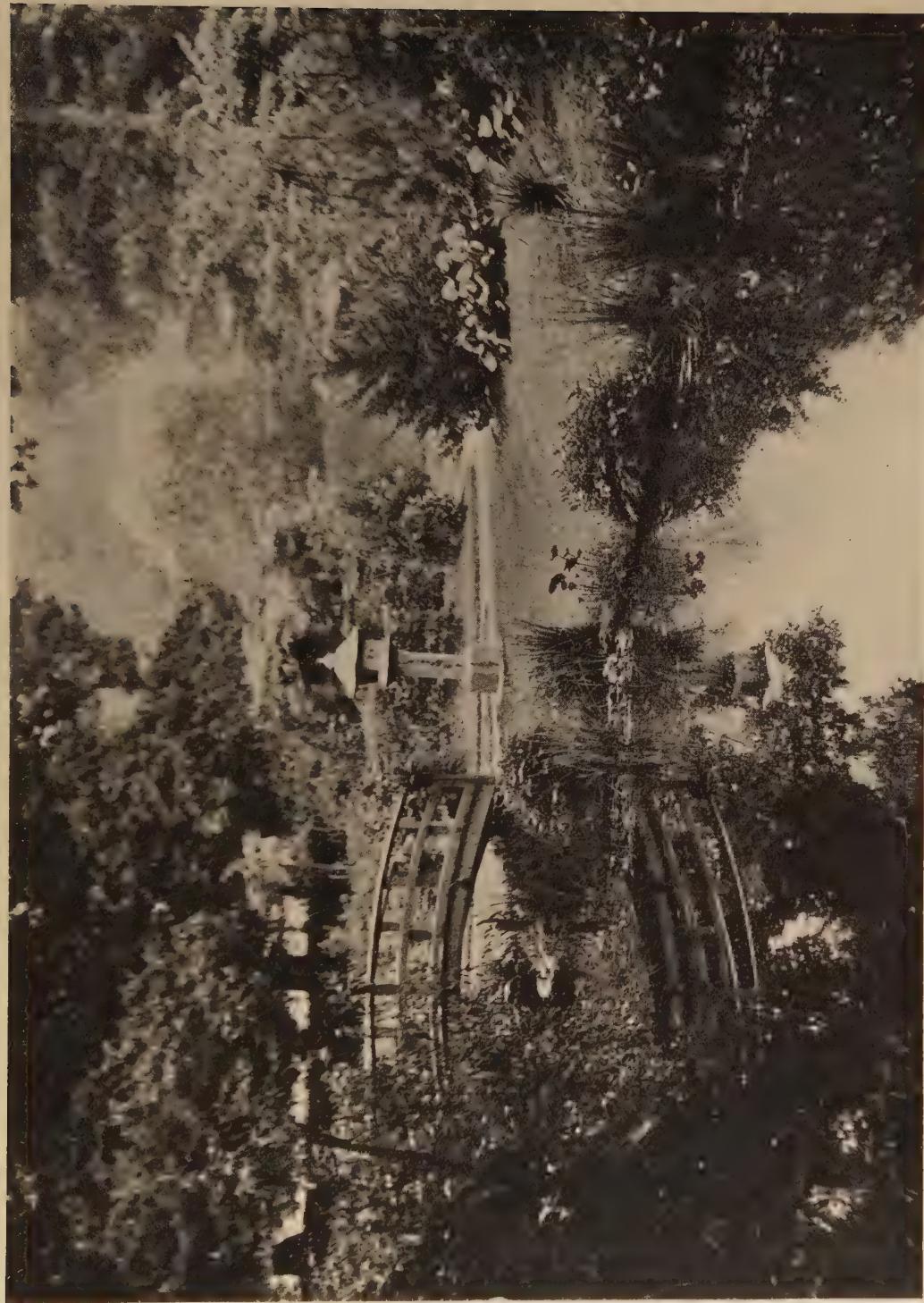


FIG. 644. THE WATER GARDEN OF SIR JEREMIAH COLMAN, BT., GATTON PARK, SURREY

beside long grass, with banks of rhododendrons, magnolias, spiræas, mock oranges, heaths and roses. Colonies of yellow irises at the edge of the water, and breadths of nymphæas on its surface, give life and beauty without violence, without even stir, with no more than the gentlest imposition of the hand of man. The rush and roar of fretted water, symbolical of the fevered life of the camp, appealed, one may suppose, to the warrior kings of the middle centuries, but their works have passed with their lives.

ROSE-GARDENS

To speak of rose-beds amongst beds of other plants in connection with the modern system of bedding, in which hardy flowers of delicate colour take the place of the tender and garish bedders of days gone by, is not to exhaust the special value of roses in the gardens of to-day; for there is such a thing as a rose-garden proper: a garden in which all the beds are beds of roses, plus perhaps a carpet plant, the beds forming a design, with or without rose pillars, arches, arbours, or pergolas. With such gardens it is general to restrict the beds to one variety, each chosen rather for what is often called its "decorative" or "garden" quality than for perfection of bloom; this quality lying in vigour of growth, profusion of flower, and relative freedom from mildew and other pests. Happy the modern rose-lover who has space enough to form such a garden—a garden, indeed, within a garden—for there is in modern varieties a range of colour, a vigour, and a toughness of foliage which did not exist a few generations ago.

It is not usual to have intricacy of design: that is a thing of the past in every type of bedding. Modern flower-lovers, rosarians among them, realise that the more intricate the design the greater the departure from nature, the greater the cost, the greater the temptation to force the plants out of their native shapes. Thus, the grouping is on the simplest of plans.

The old-time rose-growers can live again in the beautiful modern varieties, many having the blood of the yellow Austrian brier in their veins, and being in colour shades of yellow, orange, salmon, flame, and apricot. These "pernetiana" roses have glossy foliage in varying degrees, the leaves large and laciniated, so that they give a clear reminder of holly.

One can suppose an imaginative rose-grower having a vision of a long wide border of roses in which there shall be a subtle blending of tender colours: cream, canary, buttercup-yellow, salmon, salmon-pink, orange, orange-cerise; the whole based on a preliminary study of the habits of the varieties chosen, so that they shall correspond as closely as may be. Consider such a border under the light of a June dawn. There would be such a charm of colour-blending as few enterprises in herbaceous borders would be likely to provide.

WALL-BEAUTY

Wall-beauty was not forgotten by former generations of gardeners. They had not so wide a choice of material as we of the present day, who have had a wealth of new plants provided for us by modern raisers and collectors; yet when we see an old Banksian rose covering something like six hundred square feet of wall, as we may at Chilham Castle; or a wistaria at its best, with drooping clusters ("terminal racemes") two feet long, as at Springfield, Maidstone; or in a cool sheltered place, with sun exposure only on the eastern

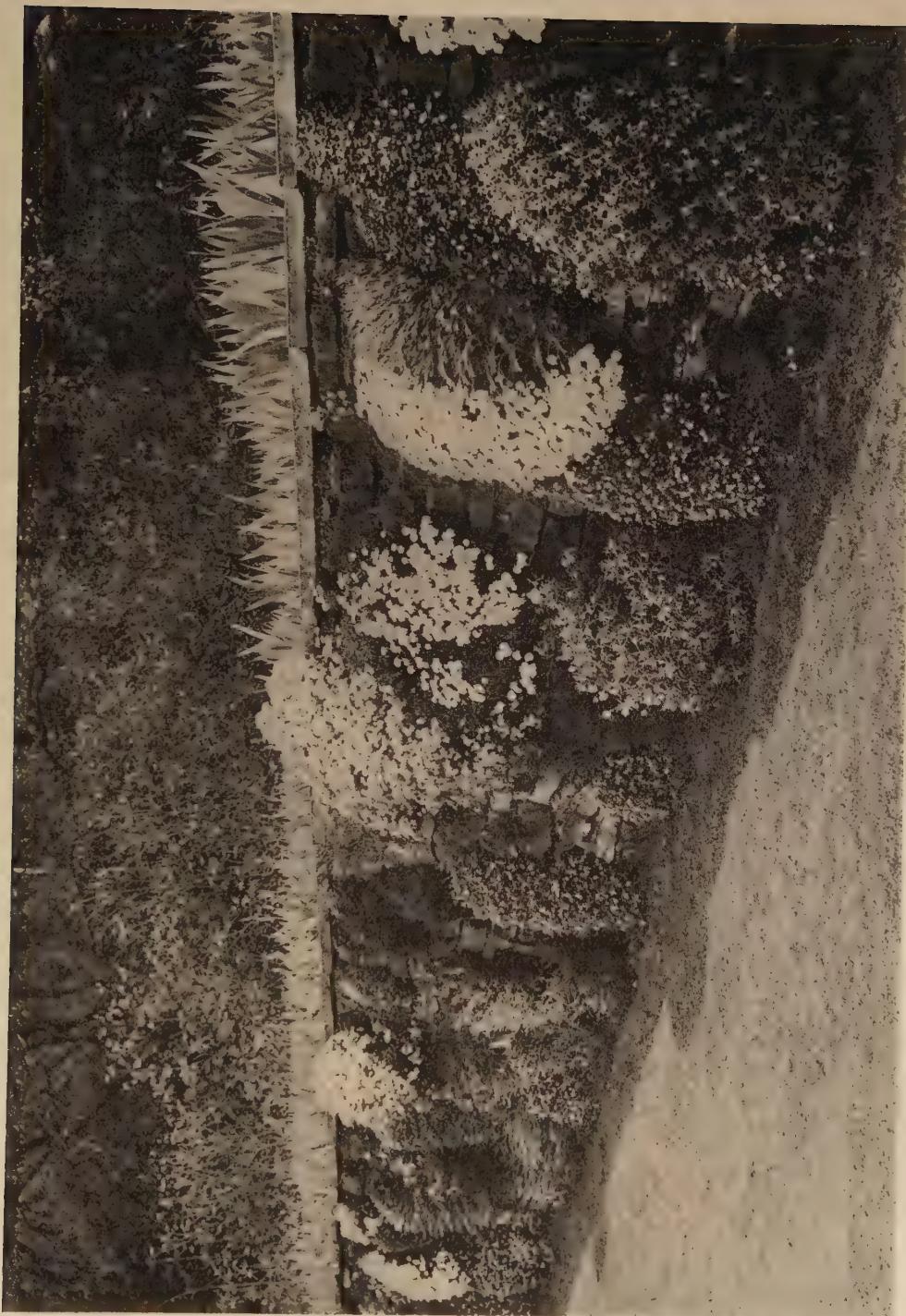


FIG. 645. PINES AND ROCK ROSES ON A DRY WALL WITH IRISES ABOVE, AT WISLEY IN JUNE

face, an exquisite breadth of the flame nasturtium (*Tropæolum speciosum*), which some people mistakenly suppose can only be grown successfully in Scotland and in the Lake District; or on a southern terrace wall the brilliant honeysuckle (*Lonicera sempervirens*) as at Gravetye; or even a villa wall with so homely a covering as that provided by *Clematis montana*, we realise that our forbears were not stinted. There are, however, many new climbers and creepers from which we can choose.

But there are low walls to consider—walls where the most suitable creeper would be a selected variety of Japanese pear (*Pyrus japonica*), which does not extend rapidly, but is very beautiful in spring; walls, however, that can be treated without creepers, by sowing in their crevices seeds of small campanulas, aubrietias, encrusted saxifrages, alpine pinks, wallflowers, snapdragons, sedums and yellow perennial alyssums ("gold dust"). At Gravetye one may see a wall which has been thus sown clouded over with clematis trails rambling on a trellis; and at Wisley one sees a dry wall clothed with beautiful things, amid which pinks and rock roses are conspicuous (Fig. 645). In cool spots ferns would be at home.

SOME BEAUTIFUL SEED-RAISED HARDY FLOWERS

It is not the least gratifying feature of the modern English garden that while it is more artistic and more varied than the old, it is potentially and in most cases actually less costly. It is true that extensive rock-gardens, carried out on the grand scale with large blocks that have to be transported a considerable distance, are expensive; but these are the exceptions. In the vast majority of gardens, where the bulk of the flowers are hardy kinds raised from seed or by division out of doors, the cost is comparatively small. Flower-lovers have learned that in seeds they have a means of obtaining very large numbers of beautiful plants, annual, biennial and perennial alike, by sowing in the open air at three seasons: spring, early summer, and autumn. And seedsmen have met them at least half-way by raising improved strains, not only larger and more freely bloomed than the older types, but with a greater range of colours.

In this connection one may doubt, however, whether beginners do best for themselves by sowing where the plants are to bloom; and whether the old gardener's way of sowing in prepared beds common greens for subsequent transplantation, is not worthy of imitation with flowers, with the possible exception of spring-sown annuals. It is in such beds, the soil brought to a fine tilth, adequate moisture provided, the drills drawn far enough apart to admit of regular hoeing, the kinds neatly labelled, the seedlings thinned betimes, and in as many cases as possible transplanted to nursery beds in summer where they can strengthen for the autumn planting—it is in such beds that the amateur can provide himself at small cost with large stocks of beautiful flowers.

Let us see what kinds, among others, he can thus provide: long-spurred columbines (*aquilegias*); tall, bushy anchusas of the most intense gentian hue; mauve, lavender, and rose aubrietias for the rock-garden; single and semi-double peach-leaved campanulas (*persicifolia*); white and coloured perennial candytufts (*iberis*) which form beautiful breadths of white spires on the rockery; Canterbury bells, of both the ordinary and the cup-and-saucer type—plants which one must remember are as good for pots as they are for the garden; orange Siberian wallflower (*cheiranthus Allionii*), which lasts so much longer than

the ordinary wallflowers; also cheiranthus (or *erisimum*) *linifolium*, the mauve alpine wallflower; the large-flowered yellow *coreopsis grandiflora*, one of the gayest of medium-height border plants; giant white, pink and crimson daisies for spring beds; foxgloves, especially the pure white; mixed hybrid delphiniums, and also the old light-blue favourite *Belladonna*, which comes true from seed, likewise the dwarf scarlet *delphinium nudicaule*; gold and crimson-banded *gaillardias*, and others of pure yellow; those wonderful *geums*, the orange-scarlet *Mrs. Bradshaw*, and the yellow *Lady Stratheden*; apparently quite double and yet producing seeds which reproduce them true to type; the chalk plant or gauze flower (*gypsophila paniculata*), which some people find difficult to grow, mainly perhaps from want of lime; the coral-red *heuchera sanguinea*, with its low masses of rounded, wrinkled leaves and slender stems crowned with charming flowers, one of the very best of June plants for the semi-shaded border and rockery; and single and double hollyhocks, those old-time favourites which so often disappoint because (in the absence of spraying with *Bordeaux mixture*) the leaves get badly diseased and the plants become unsightly; even so, they often hold their flower-stems in full beauty an appreciable time.

The list, strong as it is, by no means exhausts the supply. Beautiful pictures are made in English gardens with the modern improved herbaceous lupins, pink, yellow, mauve, and other colours, apart from the white and the yellow shrubby kinds; with *myosotis* (forget-me-nots), giving spring carpets of their precious blue in bulb and other beds; with giant pansies, white, primrose, mauve, purple, and other shades; with primroses and Munstead and other polyanthus, most beautiful of front-place border-plants for spring blooming (note that it is even better, but not always so convenient, to sow these in frames in February); with perennial poppies of the *orientale* and *bracteatum* types, having giant flower-stems in June, also Iceland poppies and the modern sunbeam poppies; with double and single giant pyrethrums, having in June (given proper staking) masses of beautiful flowers; with scarlet, white, pink, purple and rose Brompton stocks, flowering in May, and having large, long, sweet spikes; with sweet williams, in white, pink, scarlet and other colours, purchasable separately or mixed; with tall white and yellow biennial mulleins (*verbascums*); with bedding violas (tufted pansies) in white, yellow, bronze, and violet (the florists' named varieties are best raised from cuttings); and finally with wallflowers, a host in themselves for beds and borders, in yellow, crimson, chestnut, maroon, palest cream and—perhaps best of all—in the beautiful modern shade of orange.

If one omits antirrhinums (snapdragons), it is in no way from want of admiration, but rather from the belief that for outdoor sowing early autumn is soon enough, when at the same time one may sow many beautiful hardy annuals, such as candytufts, chrysanthemums, clarkias (the doubles under glass in September for early bloom in pots), collinsia bicolor, annual *coreopsis* (or *calliopsis*), cornflowers, godetias (the doubles under glass in September for early bloom in pots, like clarkias), larkspurs, the little *limnanthes Douglassi*, *linarias* (toadflax), the pretty blue *nemophila insignis*, the long-lasting blue *phacelia campanularia*, various poppies, the dwarf pink *saponaria calabrica* and the slightly taller but still dwarf *silene pendula*, sweet peas, sweet sultans and viscarias.

Of course antirrhinums, together with the beautiful yellow, pink, orange, scarlet and crimson nemesias, also with China asters, ten-week stocks, marigolds, zinnias, *phlox Drummondii*, *nicotianas* (white and coloured tobaccos), *salpiglossis*, etc., are often sown in gentle heat in winter and hardened in frames in order to provide material for planting out

in June, when late bulbs, such as Darwin and cottage tulips, have been carefully lifted from beds and borders and laid-in to ripen. It is by these and other means that modern English gardens are made beautiful at low cost.

BEAUTIFUL ENGLISH GARDENS

One would repeat with emphasis the advice to garden-lovers to seize all opportunities of visiting good gardens. In this connection one would say that the movement organised in 1927 by the Women's Committee of the Fund for the National Memorial to Queen Alexandra, to obtain the opening to the public, by payment of a small sum, on selected dates, of some of the most beautiful of the private gardens of England, was in every way an admirable, one might almost say an inspired, step. The results were highly gratifying. In the first place, a substantial addition was made to the fund. In the second, many thousands of people were provided with opportunities of seeing garden art in its highest phases, and thereby of receiving a stimulus at once pleasant and instructive.

Where the gardens were so numerous, and of so high a standard of beauty, it would be invidious to particularise, and one must be content with naming a few, such as the beautiful gardens of his Majesty the King, Sandringham, Norfolk; of the Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth, Derbyshire; of Mr. C. E. Keyser, Aldermaston Court, Berkshire; of Viscountess Hambleden, Greenlands, Berkshire; of Mr. L. de Rothschild, Ascott, Buckinghamshire; of the Duke of Westminster, Eaton Hall, Cheshire; of Mrs. Tremayne, Carclew, Cornwall; of Major Dorrien-Smith, Tresco Abbey, Isles of Scilly; of the Earl of Carlisle, Naworth, Cumberland; of Lord Walter Kerr, Melbourne Hall, Derbyshire; of Sir Randolph Baker, Ranston, Dorsetshire; of Lady Barnard, Raby Castle, Durham; of Miss Ellen Willmott, Warley Place, Essex; of the Duke of Beaufort, Badminton, Gloucestershire; of the Marchioness Curzon, Hackwood Park, Hampshire; of the Earl of Carnarvon, Highclere, Hants; of the Hon. Vicary Gibbs, Aldenham House, Hertfordshire; of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire; of Sir Charles Nall-Cain, Brocket Hall, Hertfordshire; of Sir Otto Beit, Tewin Water, Hertfordshire; of Sir Edmund Davis, Chilham Castle, Kent; of the Lord Sackville, Knole, Kent; of the Lord de Lisle and Dudley, Penshurst Place, Kent; of Mr. A. C. Leney, The Garden House, near Hythe, Kent; of the Women's Horticultural College, Swanley, Kent; of Mr. C. E. Gunther, Tongswood, Kent; of the Marquis of Exeter, Burghley House, Lincolnshire; of the Lady Battersea, The Pleasance, Norfolk; of the Duke of Portland, Welbeck, Nottinghamshire; of the Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire; of Viscount Ullswater, Campsea Ashe, Suffolk; of the Lord de Saumarez, Shrubland Park, Suffolk; of the Duke of Northumberland, Albury Park, Surrey; of the Earl of Dysart, Hain House, Surrey; of the Lord Dewar, East Grinstead, Sussex; of Mr. William Robinson, Gravetye Manor, Sussex; of the Lady Loder, Leonardslee, Sussex; of Mr. J. G. Millais, Compton's Brow, Sussex; of the Marquis of Lansdowne, Bowood, Wiltshire; of Earl Beauchamp, Madresfield, Worcestershire; and of the Lord Bolton, Bolton Hall, Yorkshire. These and other lovely gardens were open to the people.

Visitors to great private gardens find remarkable differences in treatment. Such gardens as, for instance, Chatsworth and Aldenham, both nobly beautiful, have practically nothing in common. One gladly takes the opportunity of referring briefly to the features of each in turn.

CHATSWORTH

The appeal of old buildings which have been sanctified by time and history is irresistible, and not less so is that of old gardens, such as those of Chatsworth. Over the meads of our pleasant land of England there lie spread the stately seats of her nobles, set in age-old gardens. In many cases the names of the founders may exist, while those of the architects and the landscape gardeners have been lost, and then there is an unavoidable sense of incompleteness. In other instances, however, the names of all concerned are enshrined in irrefutable records, so that the history of the place is complete; and it is precisely in these, given the necessary distinction in building and garden, that the interest of cultured people is keenest.

In seeking for an example of a place with which distinguished workers of all classes have been identified for several centuries, one need look no farther than Chatsworth. Many generations of noble owners, all eminent in public life; a series of stately buildings (for the original structure has entirely gone, and more recent ones have been altered and extended); landscape gardeners of unequalled reputation; famous architects, decorators, sculptors and painters—all these are associated in a work of almost unique force and attraction.

The building, its gardens and its galleries having long been thrown open to public inspection on approved occasions, Chatsworth is well known to countless thousands of English-speaking peoples, by whom it is revered. It is, indeed, one of the national treasures—a private possession, yet a possession which is freely shared with others. It is a symbol of that tradition of faith, fidelity and substance which is so precious, so vital to an old nation, sometimes shaken but never overthrown, standing steadfast and four-square in a world of turmoil and alarms: a nation whose fibres sink like the roots of its ancient oaks into the depths of an unconquerable soil, into the hallowed memories of a past which, if not wholly unstained by passing human frailties, is yet in sum noble, pure and magnanimous.

It would be impossible to the most expectant garden-lover, as it would be unwise for the artist, the architect, or even the simple holiday-maker, to separate Chatsworth from its environment. It is not an agglomeration of different things which can be detached and examined as objects of art-value, horticultural interest, or mere curiosity; it is a great unit of inseparable elements. Fully to appreciate Chatsworth, one must take in with one comprehensive sweep all the impressions and implications which it is capable of conveying—natural objects such as the swelling curves of the surrounding hills and the course of the winding river; works of art like the building itself, with its lakes, fountains and gardens; the steep eastern slopes with their massive boulders, down whose stained faces unending streams of water pour; the whole informed with that mysterious yet intimate appeal, that absorbing human interest, which binds past and present, tradition and reality. It is not a brief nor an easy task, yet it is one worth the making, because the Chatsworths of England are not merely of her Yesterday nor even of her To-day; they are of her To-morrow. For in them, in the very ground on which they stand, in their walls, in the pleasure which they convey and the education which they impart to visitors, in the impression of substance and security which they make on people from overseas, and not least in the lesson they teach of the sense of public duty which inspires the owners—in these things there is instinct

an assurance that faith, liberty and prosperity will remain secure in England in the future as in the past.

One passes on to the famous gardens. In Chapter XIII. of the present work will be found one of those fine old engravings by the Dutchman, Jan Kip, from a drawing by Leonard Knyff, which have so great an interest for garden-lovers. The engraving, one of many which were published in that rare French book of 1714-16, *Le Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne* (in which Kip, Knyff and other gifted artists collaborated and which is now available in *English Houses and Gardens* (B. T. Batsford)), shows the Chatsworth of other days. But there have been many changes. One must assume that Knyff saw a wide canal, with bridge connecting the western terrace, between Chatsworth House and the Derwent, since it appears in his drawing; but it no longer exists, nor is it known what purpose it could have served. Gone the range of low buildings to the north-west of the house, gone the *parterre de broderie* to the south of them. The garden on the south front lives, but with less elaborate adornment. Gone the vast series of intricate bedding on the east front.

There were great gardeners about in the early days of Chatsworth. Whether or no the famous Le Nôtre played any direct part there—and probably he did not—he had able disciples. Our author mentions one Grelly, a Frenchman, who was particularly clever in water-devices. Among the records in the Chatsworth library is a large volume, beautifully kept in a scholarly hand, showing payments made to various artists and workers late in the seventeenth century, and one of them named Grillet was perhaps the "Grelly" of our author.

Grillet (or Grelly) may have anticipated Paxton in the first garden on the west front, now called the Italian garden, also with the *parterre de broderie* on the southern portion. The Italian garden exists to-day, and very beautiful it is, although there is no trace of the elaborate bedding shown by Knyff and Kip. Instead, there are wide walks and broad areas of grass, broken by vases and clipped yews, with stone-framed mounds carrying golden yews amid which are drifts of yellow barberry. There are roses on the terrace walls, and here and there belts of tawny snapdragons, but of bedding so called there is none whatever. Nor, standing at the front of the terrace, and looking down to where there may once have been a large canal, but where indubitably there is to-day the river with its picturesque bridge on the right, can one feel that it would be in tune with the surroundings. But there is at the middle of the terrace garden a round pool with what is known as the Duke's Fountain, and that is more in keeping than the gayest of flower-beds.

No more garish than the Italian garden is the garden on the south front. The same note of cool spacious lawns, wide walks, and ample water is struck. Flowers there are, admittedly, but not in the form of wide borders and large beds. When one says that the brightest floral objects are the hedges of monthly roses, one has perhaps paid the best tribute that could be paid to the standard of taste which governs the planting.

Where, then, are the flower-beds of Chatsworth? Of formally grown flowers there are few anywhere. Perhaps the nearest approach to bedding is in the French garden (Fig. 646), which is close to the buildings on the east side. It fronts what was once the orangery (readers of this work will have grown familiar with the orangeries in the great gardens of the past), but which is now a camellia house. Here there is really bedding, albeit of no gaudy kind—simply a group of beds of bright old-fashioned flowers, flanked by rows of



FIG. 646. THE FRENCH GARDEN, CHATSWORTH

tall pillars bearing statuary that was once within the building. A charming place, this French garden. One lingers by it.

The hand of Sir Joseph Paxton is not apparent everywhere in the Chatsworth garden of to-day, although it might almost be said that he belonged to the place, since he went as a young man and stayed all his life. One may believe that when he found there the gardens and the fountains of Grillet (or Greddy) he was not ill-content to leave them, while dispensing with most of the parterres. One can conceive that he widened the lawns and walks, in order to impart that air of dignity which is now so obvious and so satisfying. It is well known that one of his greatest achievements was the building of the vast conservatory described in Chapter XVI. *Sic transit gloria mundi!* The conservatory has followed the canal and the parterres into the limbo of past things. A vestige remains, no more. The Great War brought about its destruction. And perhaps, if Paxton could emerge from the shades to revisit the scenes that must once have been so dear to him, he would not repine. For after all the conservatory was not his greatest work, and there remain, ever becoming more and more beautiful under skilful hands, imperishable in their setting of stone, the gardens which he made on the hillside to the east. Gardens they are, despite the absence of shaven lawn and trim walk. There must be several miles of paths winding in and out over the declivities, every yard skirted by cunningly placed rocks and shrubs, for countless tons of stone were brought down to the lower slopes and there used to form an immense variety of erections and homes for plants innumerable.

The treatment of this hillside, carried out by Paxton under the sixth duke, was a great achievement, and just as the abundant supplies of water from the higher elevations were used by Grillet (or Greddy) for the great cascade and fountains around the house, so they were utilised by Paxton for his gullies and ravines. The great cascade is avowedly artificial. It has pleased many eminent persons and displeased others. But Paxton's smaller cascades on the slopes of the hill, amid masses of rhododendrons and much other semi-wild growth, are so close to Nature as to have all her own native charm.

It is there that the chief gardening work at Chatsworth is now going on. The Italian garden remains, and will remain, the Italian garden. The French garden needs, and will receive, little renovation. The lawns, the great walks, the ponds, the pools, the fountains, will not be tampered with. The Chatsworth of to-day will remain, to become the Chatsworth of posterity. But up there, beyond the confines of the formal garden, where Paxton's great work was getting to be more and more overgrown with every passing year, where much that he had accomplished was actually hidden by ever-encroaching masses of vegetation—there active renovation is being pursued. Choked ravines are being opened out, new vistas are being cut, fresh plantings are being made. There is not the remotest fear, however, of any violation, however slight, of the spirit of the past. The traditions of Chatsworth will be maintained. It will remain an abiding monument of much that is best in English life, and a beacon to art-lovers in the years to come.

ALDENHAM HOUSE, HERTFORDSHIRE

Among the famous gardens which are described or named in various chapters of the present work, some are renowned as picturesque, some as formal; in some the interest is horticultural, in some botanical. There are few gardens which command attention from

every point of view: gardens which contain numerous exquisite pictures in the natural style, yet in parts are formal; gardens in which trees and shrubs are used lavishly to produce fine landscape effects, and yet are treated as individuals of botanical interest, forming collections which embrace the newest and rarest species; gardens which have the area of great public parks and yet have the distinction and refinement of the best private places; such a garden exists, however, a few miles from London.

In the whole history of garden art, long and remarkable as it is, there has been no achievement more admirable, more satisfying, than that which has been accomplished at Aldenham House, in Hertfordshire.

Admittedly there have been vast undertakings in the past, as the earlier chapters of this book show, and at Aldenham there is nothing comparable with the grandiose and spectacular works, carried out at fabulous cost by men who were half landscape gardeners, half engineers, which amazed the peoples of past centuries. In those stupendous operations pure gardening was not the first consideration. Ambitious kings vied with each other, and stimulated for political ends the rivalries of their peoples. At Aldenham, however, neither landscape gardener nor engineer has ever been employed. There has been nothing theatrical, nothing sensational. From first to last garden art, pure and undefiled, has been the object in view.

The knowledge that art is paramount at Aldenham must inevitably have its effect on people of culture. They will go, as they do go in their thousands on the days appointed for visitors, with the reassuring conviction that what they are to see is gardening and nothing but gardening, that it stands or falls by the extent to which art, and art alone, has gained the ends it sought.

The fact that the great work of developing the garden at Aldenham is comparatively recent, having been started in 1898, has led many to consider the whole place modern. That is not the case. There was probably an Aldenham House in being before Shakespeare was born, for the first structure was reputedly built in or about 1550. Naturally there have been changes in the mansion, as there have been in the owners. The point is that Aldenham has just the same claim to antiquity as Chatsworth or Hatfield, although the sequence of owning families has not been so continuous. In turn Thomas Sutton, Henry Coghill, Robert Hucks, Miss Noyes, and Lord Aldenham have been owners of Aldenham. If the first house was really erected in 1550, the Thomas Sutton who founded the Charterhouse could not have been the first owner, as he was born in 1552, but he may have been a son of the founder. And not only has Aldenham House the hallowing charm of age, but it is richly decorated in the grand manner and plenteously stored with art treasures.

The modern garden at Aldenham is the work of a man of genuine horticultural genius, the Hon. Vicary Gibbs, a London banker, devotedly seconded by a gardener of exceptional parts, Edwin Beckett. Neither had the special training of an architect or a landscape gardener. The horticultural education of both has been based—and this is significant—on a deep love for plants. Out of that all the rest has sprung. Superimposed upon it there has grown a garden (one might say a whole series of gardens) not only of vast extent but of almost bewildering diversity and overwhelming beauty. As to area, it is only necessary to compare Aldenham with, say, Hampton Court. The flower-garden at Wolsey's masterpiece extended to four acres, that at Aldenham approaches two hundred acres. But area is after all a minor thing, the real core is treatment; and here one realises how inadequate

is a single visit in any year, even if one's steps have the privilege of guidance by both the great workers. For Aldenham is garden within garden, repeated (with variations) a score, even a hundred, times. It is a garden of all seasons. Standing out above the majority of gardens in its wealth of shrubs, it shows colour of leaf, or stem, or twig alike in spring, summer, autumn, and winter. There is apparently no week, perhaps no day, in which colour cannot be found.

It is particularly in connection with shrubs that one realises the remarkable versatility of Aldenham. A garden most beautiful, it is also virtually a botanic garden, one might



FIG. 647. THE DIPPING POOL IN THE HON. VICARY GIBBS'S WATER-GARDEN AT ALDENHAM HOUSE, HERTS,
WITH HOLY-WATER STOUP FROM A CHURCH AT VENICE

almost say a nursery. For there are acres upon acres of shrub-beds, planted, not with commonplace aucubas, but with all the rarest introductions from the Far East. Famous modern collectors in China and Tibet like Wilson, Farrer and Kingdon Ward have had no more liberal supporter than Mr. Gibbs. Hundreds of thousands of seedlings, many wholly unknown to cultivation, are raised on the place every year, each labelled, the pedigree of each docketed.

As with shrubs, so with trees. There are vast collections of species, some exotic, some native, of the kinds best known in British gardens, parks and woodlands. That fine old English tree, the yew, is a case in point. The best species and forms may be found in the grounds. In this connection one may refer to the valuable article by the Hon. Vicary Gibbs on *Taxaceæ* (yew family published in the *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, vol. li. People interested in the yew (and who is not?) will find in it a mine of information

on this venerable old tree, so long associated with British churchyards. They will learn that although normally dioecious (male and female forms in separate trees as with the aucuba, the hop, and several others), a female branch will be found occasionally on a male tree. They will learn of at least one variety of which no male form is known, but a female only. They will learn of noble specimens here and there on the countryside, such as those on Mickleham Downs in the neighbourhood of Leatherhead, Surrey. And they may suffer the shattering of a delusion held by many—that yews were planted in the churchyards in order that our bowmen could have the best of wood for their bows, whereas most of the



FIG. 648. THE FORMAL GARDEN AT ALDENHAM HOUSE, HERTS, WITH SPRING BEDDING

wood used for bows by English archers was imported from the Pyrenees. The trees of Aldenham are indeed a wonderful source of interest and pleasure.

Cross-fertilising is carried on extensively with many kinds of plants, from choice hot-house things to plain kitchen-garden vegetables. The interest of, the joy in, Aldenham will, however, lie for most visitors, as would naturally be expected, in its lovely ranges of flower-garden. One uses the word "ranges" advisedly, for there are numerous pieces which are gardens in themselves, and yet which form but a part of the wonderful whole. Here, for example, is a piece of water enclosed by banks of shrubs, its calm surface enlivened with a host of water-lilies; there, at the turn of a walk, is a belt of rockwork clothed with exquisite bloom. Then there is the Wrestler's Pond, having the shape of a Maltese cross, with fountain in the centre and beautiful colonies of water-lilies. From a bridge one looks down in another place on water which plashes from dripping stone, and passes

on over a rocky bed to a ravine whose sides are planted with beautiful things. And there is human interest too, for in one water-garden one sees a dipping-pool (Fig. 647) with a holy-water stoup brought from a church at Venice.

One passes from garden to garden, from avenue to avenue, from vista to vista. While the note of nature is truly and firmly struck in almost every part; while, far away from the house, one feels in solitude among ranks of trees or groups of shrubs, there yet comes a moment when on the terrace behind the house one sees a formal garden (Fig. 648) which



FIG. 649. THE GREAT BORDER OF MICHAELMAS DAISIES (PERENNIAL ASTERS) AT ALDENHAM HOUSE, HERTS

in spring is furnished with tulips, primroses, polyanthus, and other gay things, and in summer is alive with equally beautiful flowers.

Landscape gardening in its purest, its most beautiful form is pursued at Aldenham on a scale rarely equalled, yet its garden interest is no more exhausted there than in the shrubberies and greenhouses, the orchards and the kitchen-gardens. For many great hardy herbaceous plants, particularly including Michaelmas daisies and delphiniums, are given special treatment, all the best varieties being grown and new ones raised annually in large numbers. It is because of this that on an autumn day the visitor may come upon a broad belt of perennial asters, giving light and fire to a long border (Fig. 649). Pictures such as this—and it is but one of thousands—live in the memory.

And memory, recalling the Aldenham of twenty years ago not less vividly than the Aldenham of the present; recalling, too, hundreds of gardens seen in our own and other countries, can find no parallel to the achievement which it represents, having regard to

the configuration of the ground, the soil, the vast extent, and the short period in which everything has been accomplished. Nature gave a flat surface and stubborn London clay; art has produced range and elevation in infinite variety and an amenable earth abounding in fertility. Moreover, this wonder-garden equals in area the combined parks of many an important town. Unexcelled as a work of pure art, a storehouse for thousands of ornamental plants which are now unknown but are likely to possess great artistic and commercial value in the future, a birthplace and testing-station for numerous utilitarian members of the kitchen-garden, almost equally important artistically and educationally, Aldenham stands for English gardening in its highest, its greatest phase.

THE PLEASAUNCE, OVERSTRAND

Among the gardens on the eastern seaboard of England, where the great East Anglian shoulder thrusts out into the North Sea, there are few which can compare in beauty with The Pleasaunce, that exquisite gem of horticulture founded by the late Lord Battersea a few miles from Cromer.

One recalls one's first visit, when the man who called it into being, famous alike as politician, sportsman and artist, himself acted as guide, and afterwards quietly asked a guest still struggling with his impressions and emotions to suggest improvements. In reply one could speak only of learning, not of teaching.

The Pleasaunce was, and remains, an artist's garden. It was the original, the finished work of a man on whose walls hung some of the best paintings of Botticelli, Leonardo da Vinci, Moroni, Burne-Jones, Bassano, Rubens, and Whistler; a man to whom the importance of line, form and colour was a law. Cyril Flower had brought both training and imagination to bear on the task which he had set himself. Despite this, he was not troubled by horticultural tradition. It was nothing to him that seventeenth-century architects and landscape gardeners had tied themselves to severe axial lines, terraces, elaborate water-devices, fountains and statuary, for these things were not art as he understood it. He had no sympathy, indeed, with the formal system as such. His respect for form did not blind him to the demands of Nature. He could not visualise the garden as a mere appanage of the house, although he was quite prepared to associate the two in harmonious ways. Above all things he set before himself the task of making a garden which should be beautiful in all its parts—a garden that conformed to the laws of art in line and colour and yet was entirely informal, creative, stimulating and original. He achieved success in a very remarkable degree—so much so, indeed, that The Pleasaunce became one of the distinctive gardens of modern England.

It remains a private possession, but just as, in mediaeval times, the great nobles of Italy threw open their grounds to the public, so, in these days, do many liberal-minded proprietors of English gardens give the people access to them on stated occasions. Garden-lovers may, therefore, visit The Pleasaunce at particular times, as they may the royal gardens at Sandringham a few miles away; and one can hardly imagine a more pleasant and inspiring pilgrimage than that which is made to embrace both these beautiful places.

Visitors to The Pleasaunce will find roses, hardy herbaceous plants, alpines, shrubs and aquatics used with equal taste and skill. They will see delightful pergolas, loggias and



FIG. 650. WATER-GARDEN WITH HYDRANGEAS ON THE LEFT AND SUMMER-HOUSE AT THE BACK IN LADY BATTERSEA'S GARDEN, THE PLEASAUNCE, NORFOLK

summer-houses. They will find enchanting ponds and pools, the banks of one of them planted with beautiful shrubs, beyond which a summer-house looms (Fig. 650), the water carpeted with *nymphæas*. The many beautiful walks will particularly arrest attention. It was in his treatment of walks that the creator of the garden displayed his greatest skill and originality. He was one of the first, if not the first, to edge walks with small borders of rock, planted with attractive alpines; and these stone-lined paths remain one of the most pleasing features. But there is much of the now familiar (and in many other places gravely overdone) crazy-paving, and some walks are wholly flagged. Of the wider walks, some are bordered with bright-hued shrubs, such as golden yew and golden box, clipped to a neat yet not excessively formal shape; and these give a note of both colour and distinction.

The rose-garden, with the neighbouring summer-house whose pillars are clothed at the base with flowering evergreens and wreathed above with ivy, is another beauty-spot. The approved plan of growing only one variety in each bed is adopted in most cases, for this facilitates securing that general effect of colour-harmony which is so desirable, and yet so difficult to obtain when several varieties are mingled in a bed. The sundial round which some of the beds are grouped gives its sedate, mellow and soothing note to the scene.

There can be few visitors who will fail to note the striking effect of flowering plants and shrubs grown in large tubs and vases. Particularly are these conspicuous in the Italian garden, with its flagged courts that are interlaid with mosaics (Fig. 651). The low walls of the bays, with their time-stained stones, the counterbalancing promontories of gay

flowers, the massed shrubs on the boundary walls, and the bold groups of colour beyond, combine in an entrancing picture. No shrubs are used more effectively in tubs and tall vases for selected places than fuchsias, which in some instances are lofty bushes, bearing myriads of graceful and beautiful flowers.

Pergola and herbaceous border combine to form another charming section. The herbaceous plants are of the approved kinds; and here, as elsewhere—in the rock-edged paths, in the Italian garden, in almost every part of the place—attention is devoted to the finish, a foreground of suitable dwarf plants being provided for the purpose. The pillars of the pergola, mostly brick or flint, are clothed with roses; but there are pergolas in other parts of the grounds which bear different burdens, in one part fruit-trees, in another laburnums, which in their abundance and their grace, though not in their colour, recall Mr. William Robinson's wistaria-covered pergolas at Gravetye Manor, in Sussex.

The Pleasaunce is not a garden which description can portray, nor one which can be understood and appreciated by the casual looker-on; but it is one of those works of art which study confirms as great, and in its finished beauty creates ineffaceable impressions.

WISLEY GARDENS, SURREY

In days that the present writer recalls vividly, it was held as a grave reproach against the Royal Horticultural Society that its appeal was less to horticulturists as such than to members of the nobility whether or not they had a real interest in plants and garden art.



FIG. 651. LADY BATTERSEA'S ITALIAN GARDEN AT THE PLEASAUNCE, NORFOLK

The society's headquarters were then at South Kensington, where it held periodical meetings, much as it does now at Vincent Square, Westminster. Its membership was small, it was poor, and it strove to make ends meet by letting its grounds for functions remote from horticulture. It had a garden at Chiswick, small, but well conducted on plain lines by a Scottish gardener.

Gardeners were not ill-satisfied with Chiswick. A minority, neither small nor unimportant, urged long and persistently that the South Kensington centre should be given up, and Chiswick Garden made the headquarters of the society. Perhaps at one time this minority was nearer success than its own leaders ever knew. Be that as it may, the society's fortunes took a change for the better with the great revival of gardening interest which set in about the end of the last century, and with the gift to it by the late Sir Thomas Hanbury of Wisley Gardens.

It may be a moot point whether the acquirement at Westminster of a large and well-equipped hall of its own, or the acquisition of Wisley, was the stronger influence in the further great increase in the society's strength which followed. Certain it is that Wisley swiftly became, and still is, an asset of immense value and importance. Its history is not without interest. Great horticulturist though Sir Thomas Hanbury was, and famous as were his achievements in gardening, he was not the founder of Wisley Gardens. They came into being through the wanderings of a nature-loving, flower-loving Battersea candle-manufacturer, one G. F. Wilson, whose name lives only in its attachment to a few plants. This nature-seeker found Wisley during a characteristic ramble, acquired it, and made the plantings which were destined to grow into so rich a heritage.

One must ever remember to the society's credit that it has dealt generously and spaciously with Wisley. It has enlarged the garden enormously, built glass-houses and laboratories on a handsome scale, and made extensive plantings of fruit-trees and ornamental trees and shrubs.

Founded mainly as a home for hardy plants, growing in a more or less natural environment, Wisley retains its charm for nature-lovers, while assuming wider interests. It was embellished with a large rock-garden (see frontispiece to Volume One) which alone in the season of its chief beauty attracts visitors in large numbers. Constructed by specialists, it was made on a scale which precludes complete repetition except by people who have both wealth and ample space; nevertheless, it is capable of conveying lessons to alpinists of all classes.

The great rock-garden is not, however, the only attraction for lovers of hardy flowers, who will learn valuable lessons of the possibilities of plant-culture in cool, moist, shady places by allowing themselves time for slow, tranquil rambles in its dells and coppices and by its hedgerows. Conversely, they will learn what delightful pictures can be made under drier, hotter conditions by observing how much at home are pinks, rock roses and other plants growing on the face and summit of dry walls (Fig. 645, page 391).

The ever-growing legion of shrub-lovers find rich pabulum at Wisley. And when, as in many cases, the love of aquatic plants goes hand in hand with that of shrubs, there is a still greater reward. The pond in the shrub-garden (Fig. 652) unites two interests, and enviable is the lot of the horticulturist who can seek this place not only in spring but also in summer. The greatest feast of shrub-beauty is obtained in May, of *nymphæas* and other water-flowers in July; but at all seasons Wisley has its rewards and its lessons.



FIG. 652. "SEVEN ACRES," THE POND IN THE SHRUB-GARDEN AT WISLEY

Wisley Gardens possess a source of interest and beauty which ordinary gardens, large or small, lack—a feature, in fact, which is not to be found elsewhere except in the grounds of a few of the great trading firms—namely, extensive trials of the different species and varieties of popular plants. On July days one may see, for example, a great array of modern roses, or of sweet peas, or of irises, or of poppies, or of dahlias, or of phloxes, or of delphiniums. It is not suggested that all these plants will be on trial in the same season; but it is safe to say that in most years July will show extensive trials of several important kinds, each a beautiful display in itself, and with the additional interest of educational value. The Wisley trials, indeed, form one of the most useful items in the work of the Royal Horticultural Society. It is obvious that when a selected number of important plants are selected for cultivation in a particular season, and thereupon a large number of the best varieties, old and new, of each, are sown or planted side by side, the whole forming a considerable area—it is obvious, one repeats, that something may be expected which will not only be very beautiful as a spectacle, but will also be intrinsically educational.

Lying near the heart of the Surrey pine-woods, catching something of their piquant odours when the heat-haze quivers over the surface of the adjacent ponds, Wisley Gardens draw with irresistible force nature-lover and gardener alike. There is no branch of horticulture which is not touched there with distinction. Considering the poor sandy soil, hardy fruit is grown with a success which surprises; and the stock vegetables of the kitchen-garden are also made to flourish. Homely and uninspiring, they are nevertheless important, like the fruit, in the economy of the garden and the household. Far from negligible, therefore, are those phases of the society's operations which concern themselves with food plants.

Still, having regard to the circumstances in which the garden came into being, it is natural and right that its chief interest should lie in the skill with which the woof of its natural amenities has been interwoven with the warp of modern flower-gardening in its highest aspects. It is in that triumph—for triumph it most truly is—that Wisley Gardens will live and grow, a joy to garden-lovers of the present, and certain to be a still greater joy to those of future generations.

PUBLIC PARKS AND GARDENS

In an industrialised and densely populated country there are few matters more important than the provision of public places for games and recreations. Modern nations realise that a "C₃" standard in a large proportion of their manhood is incompatible with their obligations and aspirations.

This view has gained ground rapidly in England since the Great War, with the result that there has been a strong movement in the direction of providing more parks and open spaces in or near existing towns, and also in the direction of regional town-planning in areas, such as parts of East Kent, where new towns are springing up.

The increase of playing-fields as such does not come within the scope of the present work, but in so far as public spaces embrace gardening (as the majority do in some shape or form) they have an undeniable claim to attention, and it will therefore be relevant to take note, even if briefly, of developments, alike as to area and manner of treatment.

LONDON

We may begin with London. References are made to some of its principal parks in Chapter XVI., and figures are quoted showing that in 1889 the area other than royal parks was 2656 acres, whereas in 1898 it had grown to 3665 acres. These figures showed great expansion, as might be expected, considering that in 1889 the chairman of the Parks and Open Spaces Committee of the London County Council was so pronounced a believer in progress as the Earl of Meath. The expansion was continued, with the result that in October 1927 the spaces under the control of the Council comprised an acreage of 5659½. Large as it is, this area would probably have been greater but for the effects of the war of 1914–18, which checked development considerably. That great efforts were made by the Council to regain lost ground is shown by the fact that in the ten years 1918–27 further new parks and open spaces, with a total acreage of 570, were added. Most of these are situated in such densely populated industrial districts as Greenwich, Woolwich, Plumstead, Stepney, Poplar, Wandsworth, Southwark, Lewisham, Beckenham, and St. Pancras. Most of them, too, are in the Eastern and South-Eastern districts.

So much for area, what of treatment? The first point to recognise is the inevitability of games and recreation grounds, as distinct from gardens, occupying by far the largest area of public spaces under the control of the London County Council. But public opinion asks, and rightly asks, that reasonable space shall be devoted to ornamental gardens. It asks more: it asks that as far as possible the gardening shall be modern. It has long been a reproach against flower-gardening in public places that it is conducted on the old-fashioned formal bedding pattern of mid-Victorian days, even embracing carpet-bedding. One must recognise that to a certain extent public flower-gardening will always be formal. To keep the cost of public parks and gardens in industrial districts within such limits as shall avoid unnecessarily oppressive local rates, entails the cultivation in bulk of a restricted number of amenable plants, and precludes elaborate schemes in which a considerable number of different kinds are associated. But that is not to imply an unchanging fare of tiresome bedding-plants, still less carpet-bedding.

To do the Parks and Open Spaces Committee of the London County Council justice, it has pursued an enlightened policy in this not unimportant matter. In the various properties which it has purchased that embrace informal grounds surrounding mansions, it has in many cases preserved the established amenities, as at Ravenscourt Park, near Hammersmith. At Ken Wood, comprising 121 acres in the borough of St. Pancras, it has retained cover for bird-life. At Golder's Hill, near Hampstead, an old English ornamental garden has been laid out in what was once the kitchen-garden. At The Rookery, once a private property, in Streatham, there may be seen a genuine example of typical landscape gardening. At Avery Park, Eltham, one finds a beautiful winter garden. Even in Battersea Park, with its plebeian surroundings, the visitor may see near the north-western entrance a delightful garden, with lily-pond, pergola and sundial. Standing in this garden from time to time both in spring and summer, the present writer has become familiar with its informal old-world charm, and earnestly impresses on other flower-lovers its undoubted claims to attention and admiration.

These remarks, brief out of necessity, may serve to show that flower-gardening under the London County Council is not hopelessly archaic and stereotyped, but on the contrary

is imbued with the modern spirit of artistic treatment. Nor in those large areas in London which are not controlled by this body does the cultured visitor find himself constantly bored, and even affronted, by floral platitudes and monstrosities. Many important London parks are controlled by the Government itself, through the Office of Works. Such familiar places as Hyde Park, St. James's Park, the Green Park, Regent's Park, Greenwich Park, and Kensington Gardens, are under State management, equally with Kew Gardens, Hampton Court Park and Gardens, Bushey Park, Richmond Park, Woolwich Common, and other large areas which, with smaller places, comprise an area of about 6000 acres.

During recent years the flower-gardening at Kew, in Hampton Court Gardens and in Hyde Park, always notable, has become of increasing beauty and importance. There was a time when the value of Kew lay almost solely in its work as a botanical station. Not less eminent in that respect to-day, it now enjoys the distinction of being a true and highly precious national garden, where plants are grown for their beauty and interest as plants, not exclusively as morphological objects. In fine, Kew is a place of outstanding interest to lovers of flowers as well as to botanists. The rock-garden, the azalea-garden, the bamboo-garden, the rhododendron-garden, the rose-garden, the herbaceous garden, the water-garden, not less than the vast collection of ornamental trees and shrubs, the greenhouses, the lakes, the lawns and the flower-beds (Fig. 653) provide between them beauty and interest throughout the whole of the year. One would be only too glad if space permitted of that detailed description of the principal features of Kew which they so well deserve.

The gardens of Hampton Court, whose history is so well described in an earlier chapter, claim increasing public attention every year. The flower-gardening is conducted on an ambitious and enlightened scale, and few garden-loving people visit this historic place, particularly in spring, about the time when the famous horse-chestnuts in Bushey Park are in full glory, without receiving agreeable impressions.

Similarly in Hyde Park, and to a smaller but not negligible extent in Regent's Park, the flower-gardening is conducted on bold, impressive lines, under the influence of which old-fashioned bedding plants have given place to modern plants, more free, more striking, and yet equally full of colour.

The parks and open spaces of London do not end with those controlled respectively by the Government and the London County Council. Areas, most of which are much smaller, but collectively constitute a considerable acreage, are governed by the City Corporation and the Metropolitan Borough Councils. Thus, the former controls, amongst other areas, St. Paul's Churchyard, Finsbury Circus, and the famous burial-ground of Bunhill Fields, in addition to larger areas beyond the confines of London, such as Epping Forest and Burnham Beeches; while the latter administer a large number of small recreation-grounds, playgrounds, churchyards, greens, squares, triangles, commons, gardens, and parks of a few acres. These enclosures are spread over the whole of the principal London boroughs. The largest has an area of only forty acres, and many have the dimensions only of a small allotment-garden. All, however, serve a real purpose.



FIG. 653. A BEAUTIFUL BED OF TORCH LILIES (*KNIPHOFIA*) IN THE ROYAL GARDENS, KEW

GLASGOW

When one turns to provincial cities, one is almost embarrassed in presence of the large number which take a genuine pride in their public parks and open spaces, so impossible

is it to do justice to them in the space available. It may be truly said that there is scarcely one town of importance in the United Kingdom which is not imbued with a healthy spirit of emulation in this matter, and seeks to increase its amenities to at least an equality with other large towns. We may take a typical Scottish and a typical English city as examples.

With a rise in its population from 329,096 in 1851 to 761,712 in 1901 and 1,034,174 in 1921; with an increase in its area from the original 1768 acres to the 19,183 of 1927; with a growth in its rateable value from £5,840,256 in 1906-7 to £10,480,454 in 1926-7, Glasgow attained to a strength and wealth which are a legitimate source of pride, while entailing momentous responsibilities.

The city has not failed to fulfil its obligations, and in addition to providing the various services which are most vital to public health, has greatly extended its parks and open spaces—a task in which

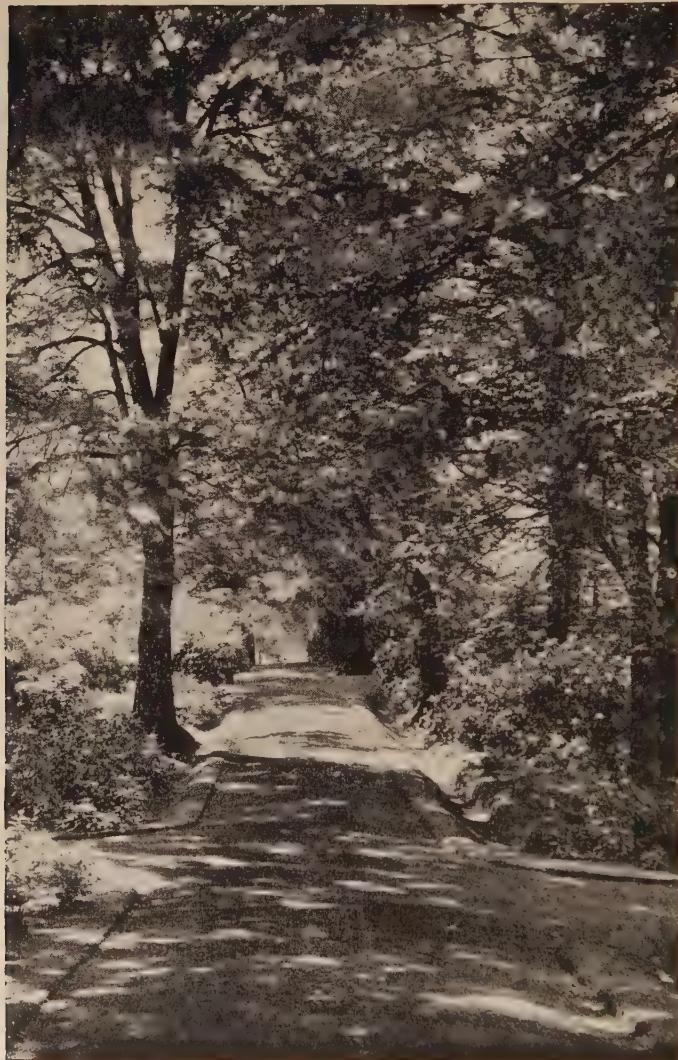


FIG. 654. THE BEECH WALK IN DAWSHOLM PARK, GLASGOW

its corporation has been greatly aided by public-spirited citizens and neighbours. Thus, Mr. A. Cameron Corbett (later Lord Rowallan) not only gave the beautiful Rouken Glen Park of about 228 acres, but also the great Ardgoil estate, of nearly 15,000 acres, which lies about forty miles from Glasgow. Ardgoil, with its mountain ranges and its glens, presents perhaps the nearest approach which is to be found in Britain to the national parks of America, so graphically described by Professor Frank A. Waugh in Chapter XVIII.

Glasgow Green, the first of the great parks of the famous Clydeside city, was founded as far back as 1662, and with its area of 136 acres is still a source of enjoyment to the citizens. Several of the more modern parks are larger, notably Queen's Park, Bellahouston Park, the Linn Park, Knightswood Park, and Ruchozie and Frankfield Park. On the other hand, many are much smaller, including Springburn Park, with its beautiful winter garden; and Dawsholm Park, with its delightful beech walk (Fig. 654). In connection with the great attraction of Springburn Park just mentioned, Glasgow justly prides itself on its great strength in winter gardens. The London County Council has its Avery Hill Winter Garden, but in point of numbers has to yield precedence to Glasgow. It is gratifying to know that the corporation has a keen sense of natural beauty, and preserves the amenities of many of its parks with jealous care, while providing no stint of flower-beds in other places.

The thirty-two parks administered by the Parks Department of the City Corporation of Glasgow by no means exhaust its responsibilities in the form of open spaces, for it also has charge of small areas in various parts of the city to the number of over ninety.

MANCHESTER

In turning one's eyes from the greatest of Scotland's industrial cities in search of a thickly-populated town in the north of England one naturally looks towards Manchester. This great city was an early mover in the provision of public parks; indeed, it claims to have been the very first town to provide parks maintained solely out of the rates. The year was 1846, the names of the parks were respectively Philips and Queen's. Twenty-two years later it acquired Ardwick Green and also Alexandra Park. Thereafter it rested almost supine for some twenty years, adding only forty-two acres in two decades. Then, perhaps in emulation of the progressive work done in London from 1889 onwards under Lord Meath and other public men, it set out in real earnest to increase its resources, with the result that in 1927 it was able to boast the possession of seventy-four parks and other open spaces with an area of nearly two thousand acres.

As in London and many other large towns, the greater part of the acreage at Manchester is devoted to courts, greens and courses for various games, the fees for which make a substantial contribution (in 1927 alone upwards of £14,000) to the cost of upkeep. But ornamental gardening is not forgotten. Thus, in Alexandra Park there are charming alpine, rose and herbaceous gardens in addition to a botanical garden; in Heaton Park there is a beautiful old English garden (not to speak of extensive spring flower-gardening); and at Platt Fields there is a Shakespeare garden.

An item in the gardening operations pursued by the Parks Department of Manchester which is not common, and might be imitated with advantage in other cities, is that of placing several hundreds of tubs containing handsome trees and shrubs in the principal squares and around the most important public buildings. Window-gardening and allotment-cultivation are also encouraged and given concrete assistance.

The sister-town of Salford is also active. Thus in 1927 it sought permission from the Ministry of Health to raise a loan of no less than £28,076 for acquiring eighty-seven acres of land with which to provide playing-fields.

GARDEN CITIES, SATELLITE TOWNS, AND TOWN-PLANNING REGIONAL SURVEY

Proof accumulates year by year that those who look with apprehension on the extension of the great industrial cities, fearing that the nation will soon begin to suffer from the reduction of open country, have good cause for their disquietude. Especially is this the case in the south-east of England, where the influence of London is so powerful, and where that of the East Kent coalfields must exercise increasing pressure.

It is but a few years ago that a radius of a dozen miles covered the railway lines which served the metropolis and its suburbs. Already (1928) the radius has spread to over thirty miles. A few years hence it will have extended to sixty miles or more: in other words, the metropolitan suburbs will have spread to the vicinity of Reading, Guildford, Brighton, Folkestone, Canterbury and Whitstable. In case this should appear exaggerated, one may point to the national scheme for extending electrical power, and the provision which is being made for linking it up with the new mining towns of East Kent. The widening of old and the formation of new roads will supplement these influences.

It requires but a very brief spell of reflection to realise that the amenities of the countryside and the interests of garden art must be affected by such developments. And the influences might easily be adverse. Unless the establishment of new towns is conducted with due regard to the provision of adequate gardens and the reservation of ample open spaces, the interests of the nation must suffer. Garden cities and garden suburb trusts must be multiplied; the National Trust must be strengthened in every possible way. There are many who would go farther, even to the extent of forming a department of the Government vested with the particular duty of scheduling and preserving large tracts of country, such as downs, woodlands and commons, as national amenities, safe alike from builder, manufacturer and farmer. There might be many worse objects, but the times are not propitious for the multiplication of State bureaucracies, and it will be well if an enlightened public opinion can be left to work out its own ways and means of attaining the end in view.

In this connection it is satisfactory to realise that much has been done during the past quarter-century. The mere fact that the present book is printed in a garden city carries its own significance. It is unnecessary to devote much space either to the objects or achievements of Letchworth. It has long been an accomplished fact. As it presented itself before the vision of Sir Ebenezer Howard and his supporters, so it stands to-day: a garden city in being, a town of decent dwellings, airy factories, flourishing gardens and reasonably large open spaces; a town where indoor work is carried on under conditions vastly superior to those which prevail in London; a town where life is lived on a higher plane than in the average provincial town with its petty social distinctions and narrow interests.

It is unnecessary, too, to describe at length such foundations as the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust, of which Dame Henrietta Barnett became chairman at the age of seventy-six, twenty years after she had cut the first sod. A wider social outlook, a better understanding between the different classes, is implicit in the spirit which animates the trust. In Dame Henrietta's own words:

The houses are for persons of every class of income, from houses costing £10,000 at a ground rent of over £100, to single-room tenements with a patch of border at 4s. 6d. a week. I think a great many social troubles are caused by the ignorance of one class of another. The rich and cultivated have always con-

sidered the poor as an object of pity. The ignorance of the disinherited concerning the wealthy has caused grave and dynamic consequences. In St. Jude's Church, the Free Church, and the Institute, at the Hampstead Garden Suburb people of all classes of thought mix together, thus enriching their lives.

Equally typical in their way are the garden towns, such as Bournville and Port Sunlight, which owe their foundation to broad-minded, far-seeing commercial magnates like the late George Cadbury and the late Lord Leverhulme. These places, with their roomy squares, wide streets, convenient and well-built houses, large gardens and spacious playing-fields, are also well known, and need only be mentioned as reminders that there are examples in the immediate past for the work which calls for accomplishment in the near future. Would that Bournvilles and Port Sunlights could arise near every great town, with concomitant destruction of slum areas, but short of that there are amenities well worth aiming at: as, for example, houses only in pairs and never in terraces, each pair with a good slice of ground. This must be claimed as the "irreducible minimum." Such new London County Council estates as Downham, at Bromley, in Kent, and St. Helier, south of Mitcham, in Surrey, adding as they will within a few years of the time of writing something like 80,000 to the population of Outer London, have immense possibilities both for good and evil.

The fact is often overlooked that the housing problem is two-sided: there is not only a war-shortage to be made up; there is also a past heritage to be replaced. It is a question if the latter—so often entirely forgotten—is not the greater part of the problem. These lines are written in an age-old city which has attracted thousands of visitors (pilgrims, art-lovers and the merely curious) annually for many centuries, and attracts them still. It is doubtful if one per cent of these people take the trouble to observe that the immediate surroundings of the cathedral and other historic buildings consist of mean streets, where humanity is herded together in small, gloomy dwellings utterly subversive of the simplest standards of comfort.

Garden art can penetrate but slowly, if at all, to places where humanity lives under conditions so debasing; and when one wanders reflectively through the great industrial towns, and sees the miles of dingy streets in which factories, small shops, smaller dwellings, and taverns jostle each other in their thousands, one can but marvel that culture is able to rear, however feebly, an aspiring head. That it does so is a tribute to the good instincts of large masses of the people, who seek, mainly through music and flowers, to quench the thirst of parched souls not wholly subdued by squalid conditions and gloomy surroundings.

Art gets its opportunities slowly in these places through the provision of garden suburbs and still more slowly through the elimination of slums. The building errors of the past were too gross and deep-seated for swift redemption. But the Town Planning Act of 1909, with the amending Acts of 1919 and 1923, all ultimately merging in the Town Planning Act of 1925, gave local authorities great opportunities. They now have such power over the land within and near the areas under their control which is not built on as can effectually prevent a repetition of past mistakes, by adopting under expert guidance schemes which make ample provision, not only for home gardens, but also for allotments, parks and recreation-grounds; and when equal powers are given to them of dealing with areas already built on, they can pursue schemes of replanning that are equally beneficent, although necessarily more difficult of accomplishment. Since the passing of the Act of 1925, local authorities have expedited the important work of town improvement,

and hundreds of thousands of houses, each with decent provision of rooms and a useful piece of garden, have been built in or near towns.

There is, however, still room for organisations such as the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association and the National Housing and Town Planning Council, not to speak of the younger Rural Community Council, which has made so promising a start in Kent. It must not be forgotten that Letchworth was launched under the auspices of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, a limited liability company being formed to raise capital, purchase a site, and found a city. Welwyn Garden City was founded in a similar manner. Such bodies have the initial advantage over the local authorities with their existing towns that they have no commitments—no slums, no cottages on potential factory sites, no factories on potential cottage sites. They can start with a clean slate. And with vision and courage they can proceed on bold, comprehensive lines. Thus, at Letchworth, an area of 4500 acres was purchased, although a large town was not aimed at, but rather:

A town planned for industry and healthy living; of a size that makes possible a full measure of social life, but not larger; surrounded by a permanent belt of rural land; the whole of the land being in public ownership or held in trust for the community.

As a matter of fact, the population was not estimated to exceed 30,000. Nor was it proposed that the area to be used for building, including roads and open spaces, should exceed one-third. Thus, out of the total acreage of 4500, less than 1500 acres was to be thus used, the balance of approximately 3000 acres being land to be devoted to farms and gardens.

With land unbuilt on, experts can choose the best sites for each particular purpose: public buildings, factories, shops, private residences, parks, recreation grounds, allotment fields, schools, and so forth; at the same time making new or adapting old roads. Proper provision can be made for water-supply, sewerage, heating, and lighting. In this connection attention may legitimately be drawn to Mr. C. B. Purdom's valuable book, *The Building of Satellite Towns*, published by Messrs. J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd.

Town-planning regional survey goes beyond the work both of local authorities with town-planning schemes and of bodies such as the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association with schemes for new garden cities. It goes beyond the abolition of slums, the erection of council houses, the building of garden cities, and the establishment of suburban trusts, although in a sense it embraces all of them. It takes in not only the great town, with its surroundings and its manufacturing and residential requirements, but also the adjacent countryside. In special cases, as in East Kent, where a whole series of new towns seemed likely to grow up in the modern coalfield areas without regard to one another, or to the rural amenities, a large section of a large county was embraced in the purview. The present writer, knowing intimately as he did every village and hamlet in East Kent; knowing Nonington, Tilmanstone, Eastry, Woodnesborough, Staple, Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Northbourne and Bettleshanger equally with Sandwich, Deal and Dover, was one of many who viewed with anxiety the future of East Kent under such a development as that which threatened. But the wisdom of her public men, happily shared by the mine-owners, averted what would have been almost a national calamity. Professor Patrick Abercrombie of the University of Liverpool was called in, and a regional survey prepared by him with the assistance of Mr. John Archibald. This survey took in the whole country-

side. It was not satisfied with considering the relation of its streets in one town, but it embraced the relation of each town to every other, and not only so but in relation to the whole of the surrounding district with its various amenities. There is now every hope that the foundation of a series of entirely new towns, housing in the aggregate more than a quarter of a million people, will be accomplished without outrage and with due regard to the interests of all classes.

In *East Kent Regional Planning Scheme* (University Press of Liverpool and Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd.) the reader anxious that more and more opportunities should be provided for increasing rural amenities, including gardens, finds a masterly Report which arose out of a meeting at which no fewer than seventeen local authorities decided to join in a regional town-planning scheme. Broadstairs, Deal, Canterbury, Dover, Folkestone, Herne Bay, Margate, Ramsgate, Sandwich, Walmer and Whitstable were among the number of adherents.

In its comprehensive survey the Report embraces:

- Natural Features, including Rainfall, Topography, Surface, Underground and Economic Geology.
- Agriculture and Vegetation.
- Archæological Factors.
- Administration.
- Population, Health and Housing.
- Coal, Ironstone and other Economic Minerals.
- Communications.
- Open Spaces and Natural Reservations.
- The Old Cities, Towns and Villages.
- The Principal Resorts.

In its outlook for the future the Report includes:

- Zoning Outlines.
- Ports.
- Population.
- New Towns.
- Communications.
- Coal-working Considerations.
- Water Supply and Drainage.
- Electric Power.
- Small Holdings and Allotments.
- Social Life and Education.

In its broadminded survey of methods of realisation, it asks for:

- A Regional Plan and a Regional Committee.
- A Development Company or Public Utility Society for the new towns.
- An Advisory or Civic Society.
- An Art Advisory Committee.

In short, the Report aims at a great scheme embracing more than 186,980 acres of land, a rateable value exceeding £1,797,644, an existing population of 300,000, an additional

population consisting of miners, steel-workers, and employees in ancillary trades with their families amounting in the near future to 278,000, and a thirty years' increase of 100,000. A scheme so vast merits unbounded respect and the most careful consideration, more particularly in view of the fact that the minimum standard of open space within accessible distance, and not counting natural tracts farther away, proposed by Mr. G. L. Pepler, F.S.I., in the *Town Planning Review*, namely, five acres per thousand persons, is accepted.

The remarkable illustrations included in the Report are themselves a feature of inestimable interest and value.

Although East Kent is one of the greatest it is by no means the only comprehensive scheme of regional survey combined with town planning, and there is ground for hope that the next few years will see still more. The fear that there is insufficient land to supply largely extended schemes without robbing agriculture is ill-founded. In his very useful *Town Planning Handbook* (Messrs. P. S. King and Son, Ltd.), Mr. Richard Reiss points out that while the acreage of England and Wales is rather more than 37,000,000, the population is between 37,000,000 and 38,000,000, or an approximate average of one person per acre; therefore, with average families of $4\frac{1}{2}$ persons per house, little more than 1,000,000 acres would be required even if the houses numbered no more than eight per acre. As a matter of fact, town housing schemes allow fifty per cent more.

No purpose would be served by exaggerating the potential value to garden art of the multiplication of garden cities, satellite towns, town-planning schemes, and schemes of regional survey. Let it suffice to say that there would inevitably be a gain, and that it would probably operate at increased speed with every passing year.

CHAPTER XVIII

LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE IN NORTH AMERICA (UNITED STATES AND CANADA)

A HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL SURVEY BY FRANK A. WAUGH

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CHAPTER XVIII

LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE IN NORTH AMERICA (UNITED STATES AND CANADA)

IN studying the progress of garden art in America, especially whenever any comparison with Europe is implied, one fundamental difference should always be taken into account—namely, that by comparison with Europe, America has never had a large number of great private estates. A certain number were indeed created, but many of them have already been abandoned, and none has ever had a permanent leadership or influence. At most they represent a transitory phase of American culture. On the other hand the American taste in small home grounds represents something permanent, general and significant; and this may be said to be a natural corollary of the earliest traditions.

Civilisation in America began, as it were, full-fledged. The early colonists came direct from the settled civilisations of Europe, particularly from England. Many of them were persons of education and refinement; some were men of substance. Under such circumstances one might expect that evidences of culture, including the making of gardens, would be shown very early, and that some of the slow and painful stages of progress as witnessed in the Old World might be altogether elided. This is in fact what happened. Other circumstances contributed to the same end. Every colony was compelled under threat of imminent starvation to gain an immediate living from the soil. Practical gardening and simple agriculture began at once and in great earnestness. The colonists were forced to strain every nerve, not alone to make a living, but to make homes. These they conceived inevitably in English terms—a house surrounded by a garden, and in the garden always plants both for food and for delight. There were flowers for colour and for perfume.

Even the first-comers brought seeds and cuttings and with these began at once the experiment of growing the English favourites: apples, plums, cherries; beetroots, turnips and carrots; catnip, marjoram and thyme; gillyflowers, poppies and roses. While some of these failed, others happily succeeded. Then there were the native plants of the New World, which were not to be neglected. Here were fruits and shrubs and gay flowers ready to be pressed into cultivation. Their enlistment moved more slowly than one might have expected, but it went on. There is to be considered the further fact that the first colonies were planted in regions of propitious soil and climate. Gardening came easily.

The first colonists were practically all English. They came from a country of gardens. They had been bred in the tradition of gardens and some of them were skilled in garden practice. And the great preponderance of English blood and of English culture, so marked in the beginning, has continued to rule American life even to the present day, in no realm—not excepting even literature and common law—more strongly than in gardening. In later years America received large levies of immigrants from other nations, notably from

Germany and the Scandinavian countries, and quite recently from Italy, Greece and their neighbours. These immigrants, especially the Germans and the Scandinavians, contributed substantially to some departments of American thought and culture—to education, science and technology, for example—but not appreciably to gardening. To conclude in a sentence this very brief account of foreign influence in American landscape architecture, it may be noted that French contributions have been nil: only two French settlements survived on the continent, a small one at New Orleans and a larger, more prosperous and more permanent one in Quebec. Neither has affected American culture, least of all American gardening.

In quite recent times, however, a certain amount of Latin influence, mainly Italian, has been manifest. This has flowed in through two openings. First has been the stream of wealthy (and largely parvenu) Americans who have travelled and lived abroad. They have found Paris a place convenient for the spending of money by persons of limited imagination. If they have returned to America at all, they have returned measurably Europeanised and in a temper to imitate the customs of France and Italy, even in the making of gardens. Since the Latin garden forms offered special opportunities for extravagance, it was natural that some of them should adopt this way of showing their wealth.

But the old garden forms, especially the Renaissance gardens of Italy, have strong attractions for more cultured minds also. Thus it happened, in the second place, that Americans of refinement began to be moved by Italian traditions. Here entered the new profession of landscape architecture, with a group of ambitious young men eager to learn all that Europe had to teach. The architecture and gardening of the Italian villas were studied intensively, sympathetically, and with some regard to their acclimatisation in America. These two groups—persons of wealth and persons of education—both helped to introduce French and Italian ideas, especially the latter, into American landscape architecture. Later an attempt will be made to estimate more exactly the results of this impact.

Before this topic is dismissed mention should be made of the truly remarkable cultural unity of the North American people. Though they are derived from many races and nationalities, there is an astonishing uniformity of speech, thought and feeling. There are of course appreciable differences of dialect, but not more over the whole continent than may be found in two adjoining counties in England or than can be discovered between the German spoken in Hanover and that of Bavaria. The newspapers, inordinately read, are highly standardised, printing the same news and the same "features" from Maine to California and from Texas to Canada. Everybody on the continent sees precisely the same "movies." Everybody listens at the same instant by means of the universal radio to the same lectures, the same songs, the same ball games. Schools are graded exactly alike from the kindergarten through to the college. Every article of daily use is "nationally advertised" and continentally sold. One buys precisely the same toothpaste, collars, canned foods or cigarettes in Montreal, New Orleans, San Francisco and Boston.

These conditions obviously affect every phase of life in America deeply, distinguishing it from Europe, with its multitudinous races and tongues. The strong national tendencies extend even to gardening. Nationally known brands of oranges, apples and bananas are eaten everywhere. Strawberries, onions, celery, early potatoes, peaches and watermelons are shipped in heavy carloads across the continent. And the nurseryman who introduces

a new rose or a new philadelphus advertises it impartially to Canada, California and Virginia. Every book on landscape architecture is written for sale over the whole breadth of the land.

GEOGRAPHIC AND PHYSICAL FACTORS

America is a large country, and no one can gain any comprehension of the garden-making problem there without due consideration of factors of geography, topography and climate. In latitude and longitude the inhabited portions of North America cover a territory equal to the British Isles, all of Western Europe, all Eastern Russia, one-half of Siberia, and the whole Mediterranean Basin, including Turkey, Persia and Northern Africa. If it is necessary, in writing of European gardening, to discriminate carefully such areas as Italy, Germany, Russia and Great Britain, it is equally necessary to examine the peculiarities of California, Florida, the Mississippi Basin, New England and Canada in speaking of gardening in North America.

Aside from its mere physical vastness, this North American continent has a highly varied topography. Beginning at the eastern seaboard there is found a narrow coastal plain marked by low hills, often rocky. Back of this lies the geologically old Appalachian mountain range, heavily wooded and watered, and in its northern reaches strongly glaciated. Next comes the Mississippi valley, very wide, generally level, considerably varied in its soil but largely of limestone derivation, exceedingly fertile and mostly well cultivated. The eastern two-thirds of this basin has an ample rainfall, ranging roughly from twenty-five to thirty-five inches annually. The western third verges toward arid conditions, the rainfall diminishing westward to the Rocky Mountains. In this system of high mountains is found a remarkable range of physical conditions, varying from narrow, sunny, fertile, well-watered valleys to arid steppes and mountain peaks capped with eternal snow. West of the Rocky Mountains lies the great interior plateau, about the size of France and comprising several states. The elevation ranges from 2000 to 6000 feet above sea-level, with many local mountains running considerably higher, a few up to 10,000 feet. Rainfall is deficient, but a few small areas under irrigation are highly fruitful. This brings us to the Sierra Nevada range, almost as high as the Rockies and perhaps more picturesque. These mountains are heavily wooded on their western slopes but nearly arid on their eastern side. Between them and the Pacific Ocean lie the rich, varied and mild areas of the Pacific slope in British Columbia, Washington, Oregon and California. Here the rainfall is generally heavy, especially northward, forests are made up of enormous trees and crowding undergrowth, and the climate is much milder than in corresponding latitudes eastward. This amelioration of the Pacific Coast climate by the warm ocean currents from Japan is a factor of commanding importance.

This glance from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coasts necessarily ignores many local conditions of great importance. And it leaves the necessity of retracing steps to speak of Canada at the north and the Gulf States at the south. It is true that, in general terms, the topographic features just sketched extend northward across Canada; true also that, lying farther north, each Canadian zone has a slightly shorter growing season and a lower summer temperature than the corresponding zone in the United States. Yet Canada is a highly fertile arable area, and has a large population of cultivated citizens who have made great progress in horticulture and landscape architecture. The areas bordering on the Gulf

of Mexico constitute another zone of quite individual qualities. This zone includes the whole of Florida, with portions of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. Altitudes are low, usually hardly above tide-level, the surface is flat, and there is much swamp land. There is naturally much heavy forest in which southern species of pine are conspicuous. Rainfall is ample and the temperature is warm and equable.

Emphasis must be placed upon the fact that these large areas represent major physical subdivisions of the continent, characterised by substantial differences of soil, rainfall, altitude or temperature, such as exert a determining influence upon plant culture. Nor may the complementary fact be overlooked that within these areas lie many smaller sections with very diverse conditions. The full development of local possibilities under these peculiarities has not, generally speaking, been accomplished in America, perhaps from lack of time; and this lack of intensive local refinement is one of the distinguishing characteristics of American horticulture as compared with that of Europe. In America, where everyone from coast to coast buys the same manufactured articles, reads the same garden magazines, and patronises the same nurseries, and where they even buy standardised ready-made houses from mail-order merchants, the tendency toward uniformity is very strong and the development of local specialities is correspondingly impeded.

NATIVE FLORA

In every land and in every time the art of gardening must have shown some impress from the native flora. In North America this impress has been very considerable. The following reasons may be alleged for this influence, though their exact measurement is obviously impossible: First, the severity of the climate has made the introduction of exotic plants always difficult. Second, the inhabitants have always shown a keen delight in the natural landscape and the native plants. Third, the natural style of landscape gardening for which a distinct preference has been manifest would tend to favour native scenery. Fourth, there has been working at sundry times a strong propaganda for native plants. Fifth and last, the native flora is extensive, varied, and exceedingly interesting, commanding itself to the skill of every garden lover. How cogent is this appeal may be read in hundreds of volumes written by early explorers on these shores—by Michaux, Rafinesque and scores of others. For upwards of two centuries the importation and acclimatisation of American plants in Britain and on the continent of Europe was the vocation and delight of all botanists and gardeners.

The index of American plants is a very long one, owing to obvious physical and climatic conditions. There are many notable species of trees well suited to planting for forest and landscape use—dozens of species of pine, fir, hemlock, maple, elm, and oak, not to mention such particularly interesting sorts as the tulip-tree, the live oak, the catalpa, and the magnolia. The species of shrubs suitable for ornamental planting probably exceed a thousand, many of them of signal beauty. The rhododendrons, azaleas and kalmias supply a suggestive illustration. Likewise the great number of desirable herbaceous species should be emphasised. The asters, solidagoes, pentstemons and aquilegias may be cited merely by way of example. In spite, however, of this abundance of native flora it is quite certain that the ultimate effect upon American gardens would have been less had it not

been for urgent preaching in a country where waves of propaganda have a powerful influence. A good many nurseries have been established which specialise in the collection, propagation, improvement and sale of indigenous plants; and of necessity their advertising has supported the doctrine that native plants are to be favoured. Yet it is a curious fact that some of the very best garden varieties of American plants have come from the nurseries of Europe, where they have been raised and large quantities sent to America. The selected varieties of asters grown in England, and the delightful coreopsis from Erfurt, Germany, exemplify this point.

It may be said, by way of summary, that at the present time a catholic taste prevails. Landscape architects and home gardeners use freely all kinds of plants with little respect to their nativity. Japanese species show a rather peculiar adaptability to the Atlantic seaboard region, yet the unquestioned merits of American species, especially trees and hardy shrubs, give them a conspicuous ascendancy in nearly all American landscape gardening.

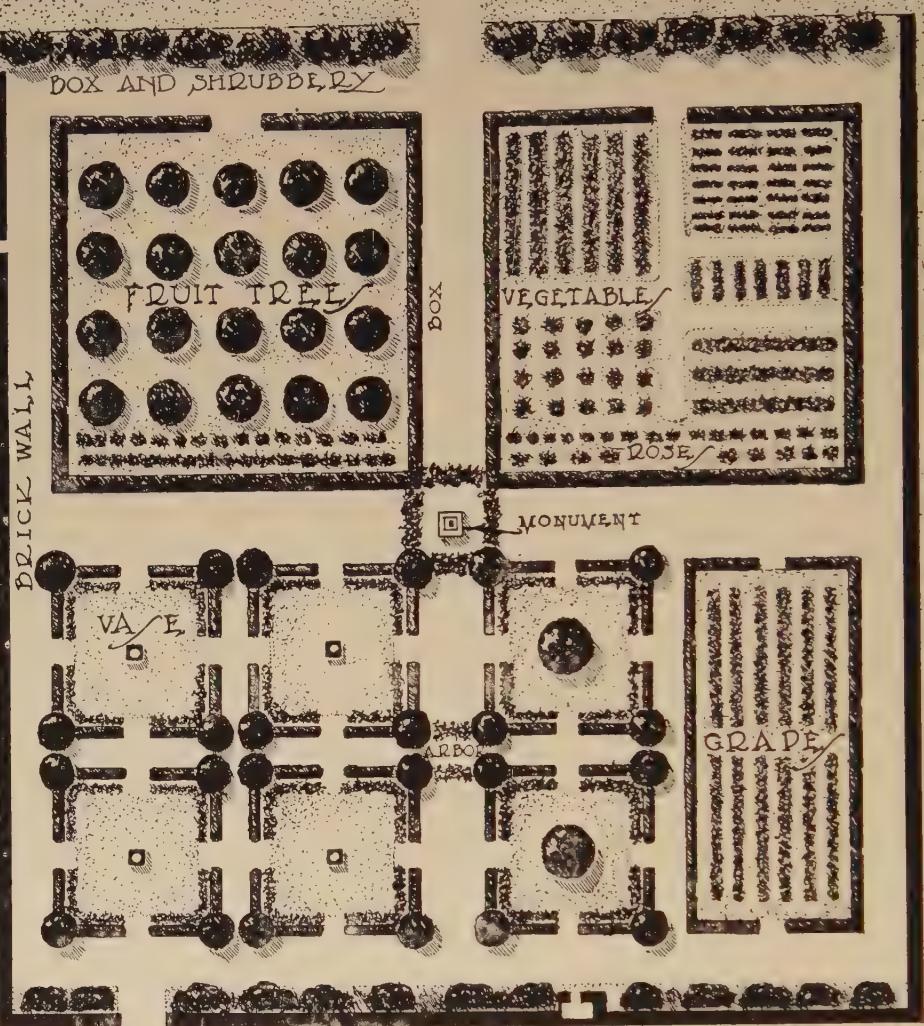
EARLY AMERICAN GARDENS

The first permanent settlements in America were made in Virginia in 1607 and in Massachusetts in 1620. Other colonies were planted soon after, notably the one at New Amsterdam (now New York), the one in Maryland, Penn's settlement at Philadelphia, and the Carolinas. The early colonists found some crude gardening already practised amongst the Indians; they found many useful native fruits and herbs (they were, for example, greatly impressed by the abundance of native grapes); and they were all under the stern necessity of making the utmost efforts towards supplying their own wants. Thus they were gardeners by example and by compulsion. They immediately began the cultivation of all economic plants. They formed small enclosures about their homes, and in what were literally gardens, they soon brought to blossoming, urged by a higher spiritual need, the favourite flowers of their old English homes.

Some of these early gardens were reasonably commodious and notably fruitful. Abundant records remain of Governor Endicott's garden in Salem, Governor Winthrop's garden in Plymouth, and of the gardens of Charleston dating back to 1682. Yet for the first hundred years there were no great gardens of princely scope, nor indeed anything more than cottage gardens, properly speaking. A few were larger and better furnished than the others; but the typical picture is that of a small garden plot next the humble dwelling, in which cabbages, beans and corn were grown for food, and hollyhocks, rosemary, pennyroyal, coriander and sweetbrier were cultivated about the windows and in the front yard. No particularly fine or famous gardens have come down to us from those colonial days. Yet there are remembered Mount Airy, built in 1650; Tuckahoe, from 1700; Stratford Hall, in 1725; and Westover (Fig. 655), the home of Colonel Byrd, built in 1726. Magnolia-on-the-Ashley (South Carolina) dated from 1671, and John Bartram's famous botanical garden in Philadelphia from 1728.¹

Mount Vernon, the home of George Washington, is the only one of these colonial gardens which has ever appealed warmly to the popular imagination. This was not formed on its present lines until the colonial period had closed with the revolutionary war.

¹ References to these items are to be found in Earle, *Old Time Gardens*, New York, 1901; Tabor, *Old Fashioned Gardening*, New York, 1913; *Historic Gardens of Virginia*, Richmond, 1923.



HIGH BRICK WALL ALL AROUND

ORIGINAL BOX GARDEN AT WESTOVER

FROM "HISTORIC GARDENS
OF VIRGINIA"

FIG. 655. THE ORIGINAL BOX GARDEN AT WESTOVER, BUILT IN 1726

It was not in any sense an elaborate "estate," but was a very simple country home. Tens of thousands of citizens to-day own places larger, more elaborate or artistically better. Yet it was one of the best of its time; it was well planned; above all it was the home and the handiwork of the "Father of his Country," and it has been carefully preserved to the present time. These circumstances have contributed to its celebrity. Yet even Mount Vernon has had no perceptible influence on American gardening, though the house has been copied many times in many forms. It should be added that the "colonial period" in general has been held in high repute in later years and has had a considerable influence in many fields of art. Colonial architecture, colonial furniture and colonial gardens belong to this category; and there has been a good deal of conscious effort to reproduce the atmosphere of those simple, dignified old homes of pre-revolutionary times.

From the War of Independence to the Civil War (1776-1861) the country changed little except for its westward expansion, both in Canada and the United States. Such building and gardening as were done followed the colonial models, but with decreasing fidelity. Towards the close of this period certain new movements were observable, but it is more convenient to treat of them under the period of their fruition, which came after the Civil War, than here. The great Civil War began in 1861 and gripped the nation wholly till 1865. At the end the country was exhausted and nearly bankrupt. A new era then opened, but unfortunately one of very bad art. In architecture, sculpture, poetry and gardening, inspiration was denied and taste fell to the lowest levels. Yet beneath this ruck of stupidity good beginnings were being made. For there had already arisen that great luminary of landscape gardening, Andrew Jackson Downing, who had flamed a moment in the sky, and then gone down to his untimely death. All this was before the Civil War. Downing was born in 1815 at Newburgh on the Hudson, New York, and died near the same spot in 1852. He represented very clearly the Reptonian tradition in America. He preached the doctrine of the English or natural style (the two terms were interchangeably current) of landscape gardening, and his preaching found a ready response in the best American thought. In his editorials in the *Horticulturist* (1846-52) and in his classic treatise on *Landscape Gardening* (first edition 1841) he completely captured the popular taste.

This noble leadership, though implanted before the Civil War, flowered and bore its fruit after that interregnum. And in this later period it was reinforced and ably continued in the leadership of Frederick Law Olmsted, Senior. Olmsted was born at Hartford, Conn., in 1822 and died in Brookline, Mass., 1903. He came to public notice during the war, but his real work as landscape architect had begun in 1857, when he was appointed superintendent of the new Central Park, New York City, then under construction. This project was resumed under his direction after the war; and at about the same time he began to make plans for other important parks in Brooklyn, N.Y., New Britain, Conn., San Francisco, Calif., Chicago, Ills., and other cities. With him was associated for a time Calvert Vaux, a capable English-trained architect, who had previously been the professional partner of Downing.

Olmsted continued the traditions of Downing. He strongly favoured the English or natural style of landscape architecture (this term has to be used rather inexactly, since a strict analysis will show that every "natural style" is more or less conventionalised, and by each worker in his own way). He was the first man in America to organise and practise the profession of the landscape architect on a large scale. For a time he had associated with

him Charles Eliot (lamented for his early death); also his stepson John C. Olmsted and his son Frederick Law Olmsted, Junior. The firm is still very active. During all these years, mainly the time from 1870 to 1890, a number of young men worked with the firm, afterward setting up for themselves, thus propagating in wider circles the Olmsted influence.

Olmsted, with sore misgivings, took the style of landscape architect, discarding the earlier nomenclature; and his example, more than anything else, fixed the use of "landscape architect" and "landscape architecture" on America in place of the older English terms, "landscape gardener" and "landscape gardening."

He wrote little for the public. His great influence was exerted through his personal disciples and through his works. These works were very many, of large proportions, widely placed throughout the United States and Canada, and lay in the main trend of the developments of the period. This period might fairly be called the park era. The construction of Central Park in New York (already advocated by Downing before his death) advertised widely both the park idea and the landscape architect in charge. American cities were multiplying and growing under the impetus of heavy immigration and the first burst of modern industrialism, and the park idea matched the times. Olmsted and his associates designed many parks besides those enumerated above, insomuch that his ideas were easily dominant throughout this distinct chapter in American landscape architecture.

Briefly, the Olmstedian principles may be described as follows: (1) preserve the natural scenery and if necessary restore and emphasise it; (2) avoid all formal design except in very limited areas about buildings; (3) keep open lawns and meadows in large central areas; (4) use native trees and shrubs, especially in heavy border plantings; (5) provide circulation by means of paths and roads laid in wide-sweeping curves; (6) place the principal road so that it will approximately circumscribe the whole area. These principles may still be seen exemplified in several of his parks, perhaps best of all in Mount Royal Park, Montreal, and in Franklin Park, Boston.

Along with the park movement, and as an integral feature of it, came the park cemetery. This idea is a distinctively American contribution to landscape architecture, for, while park cemeteries have been made in other countries, the first and most numerous successes were those in the United States and Canada. The first park cemetery to attract wide attention was Mount Auburn, near Boston, founded in 1831. Spring Grove Cemetery at Cincinnati came about twenty years later and was generally admired. But perhaps the most influential example of all has been Graceland Cemetery in Chicago (Fig. 656), of still later date. Graceland was designed and constructed by Mr. O. C. Simonds, who soon became famous as a designer of park cemeteries. In following years he designed some hundreds of these. Various factors contributed to the vogue of the park cemetery in America. The comparative cheapness of land, the popular taste for naturalistic garden design, and the coincident rise of the park movement, may be enumerated. Beyond all these, however, lies the fact that the idea is inherently sound and appealing. At the present time park cemeteries are the rule, not the exception. They are made by corporations, religious societies, municipalities, and even by the Federal Government.

In order to complete the discussion of American park design a few observations on later work may be added. Two new conditions began to change the park problem soon after Olmsted's death. The first of these was the further growth and industrialisation

FIG. 656. THE POND, GRACELAND CEMETERY, CHICAGO—A TYPICAL EXAMPLE OF PARK CEMETERY DESIGN IN AMERICA



of American cities, requiring "neighbourhood" playgrounds of a new type. The second was the introduction of new means of passenger transit, at the outset the electric tram and later the much more influential automobile. The local playgrounds had to be relatively small and had to bear very intensive use. Neither requirement was compatible with the open scenic park idea. The playgrounds were therefore a new development in American landscape architecture. Thousands of them were built and furnished, some of the most successful being designed by Olmsted's business successors.

In contrast to these small playgrounds, scattered thickly through the residential sections of cities, stand the large exterior parks made possible by the improvement of transport. The first fruit was seen in the Metropolitan Park System of Boston, founded under the leadership of Charles Eliot. Many other cities have adopted the same principle, such as New York; Minneapolis, where an excellent zone of outer parks has been acquired through the energy of Mr. Theo. Wirth; and Chicago, where the Cook County Forest Preserves have been built up under the leadership of Mr. Jens Jensen. A considerable portion of the energy in this park movement, however, was later diverted into the demand for state and national parks, forests and other rural playgrounds—a movement so important as to require extended treatment under a separate head.

Reference has already been made to the fact that in America the fundamental taste for the natural style of landscape gardening has developed in two different aspects. On the one hand has been the tendency to lay out private estates and city parks in a naturalistic, informal manner; on the other has been the movement to preserve considerable areas of native landscape for purposes of education, health, and recreation. Natural scenery is reserved for use. These reservations have been extensive; and this aspect of American landscape architecture is perhaps the most significant of all. While many of these reservations have been made by private purchase, or by private clubs holding the land for hunting and fishing, or merely as "country clubs" for general recreation, by far the largest and most important areas are dedicated to public ownership and use. The principal types of reservations are (1) the national parks, (2) the national forests, (3) the national monuments, (4) the state parks, (5) the state forests, and (6) sundry historic localities.

THE NATIONAL PARKS

The beginnings of the national park system in the United States were merely fortuitous. In 1832 the Hot Springs region in central Arkansas was reserved and has since been kept as a public park. The wonderful geyser basin in north-western Wyoming was set aside in 1872 and placed under the care of the War Department. In 1890 Congress created the Yosemite National Park, taking over the property from the state of California; and in the same year also the Sequoia and the General Grant National Parks for the preservation of the giant sequoias—the "Big Trees" of California. About the same time Mount Rainier in Washington became a national park.

As a system, however, the national parks came into existence in 1916 with the organisation of the National Park Service as a branch of the Department of the Interior to take charge of the entire group. At the time of writing (1927) the system consists of nineteen parks as shown in the following tabulation, taken from official sources:

Hot Springs National Park; middle Arkansas; $1\frac{1}{2}$ sq. miles. 46 hot springs possessing curative properties. Many hotels and boarding-houses. 19 bath-houses under Government supervision.

Yellowstone National Park; north-western Wyoming; 3348 sq. miles. More geysers than in all the rest of the world together. Boiling springs. Mud volcanoes. Petrified forests. Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, remarkable for gorgeous colouring. Large lakes. Many large streams and waterfalls. Vast wilderness, greatest wild bird and animal preserve in the world. Exceptional trout fishing.

Sequoia National Park; middle - eastern California; 604 sq. miles. The Big Tree National Park. Several hundred sequoia trees over 10 feet in diameter, some 25 to 36 feet in diameter. Towering mountain ranges. Startling precipices. Includes Mount Whitney and Kern River Canyon.

Yosemite National Park; middle-eastern California; 1125 sq. miles. Valley of world-famed beauty. Lofty cliffs. Romantic vistas. Many waterfalls of extraordinary height. 3 groves of big trees. High Sierra. Waterwheel Falls. Good trout fishing.

General Grant National Park; middle-eastern California; 4 sq. miles. Created to preserve the celebrated General Grant Tree, 35 feet in diameter, 6 miles from Sequoia National Park.

Mount Rainier National Park; west - central Washington; 325 sq. miles. Largest accessible single-peak glacier system. 28 glaciers, some of large size. 48 sq. miles of glacier, 50 to 500 feet thick. Wonderful sub-alpine wild-flower fields.

Crater Lake National Park; south-western Oregon; 249 sq. miles. Lake of extraordinary blue in crater of extinct volcano. Sides 1000 feet high. Interesting lava formations. Fine fishing.

Platt National Park; southern Oklahoma; $1\frac{1}{3}$ sq. miles. Many sulphur and other springs possessing medicinal value.

Wind Cave National Park; South Dakota; 17 sq. miles. Cavern having several miles of galleries and numerous chambers containing peculiar formations.

Sullys Hill National Park; North Dakota; $1\frac{1}{2}$ sq. miles. Small park with woods, streams, and a lake; is an important wild-animal preserve.

Mesa Verde National Park; south-western Colorado; 77 sq. miles. Most notable and best preserved prehistoric cliff dwellings in United States, if not in the world.

Glacier National Park; north-western Montana; 1534 sq. miles. Rugged mountain region of unsurpassed Alpine character. 250 glacier-fed lakes of romantic beauty. 60 small glaciers. Precipices thousands of feet deep. Almost sensational scenery of marked individuality. Fine trout fishing.

Rocky Mountain National Park; north-middle Colorado; 378 sq. miles. Heart of the Rockies. Snowy range, peaks 11,000 to 14,255 feet altitude. Remarkable records of glacial period.

Hawaii National Park; Hawaii; 186 sq. miles. Three separate areas—Kilauea and Mauna Loa on Hawaii; Haleakala on Maui.

Lassen Volcanic National Park; northern California; 124 sq. miles. Only active volcano in United States proper. Lassen Peak 10,460 feet. Cinder Cone 6907 feet. Hot springs. Mud geysers.

Mount McKinley National Park; south-central Alaska, 2645 sq. miles. Highest moun-

tain in North America. Rises higher above surrounding country than any other mountain in the world.

Grand Canyon National Park; north-central Arizona; 958 sq. miles. The greatest example of erosion and the most sublime spectacle in the world (Fig. 657).

Lafayette National Park; Maine coast; 12 sq. miles. The group of granite mountains upon Mount Desert Island.

Zion National Park; south-western Utah; 120 sq. miles. Magnificent gorge (Zion Canyon), depth from 800 to 2000 feet, with precipitous walls. Of great beauty and scenic interest.



FIG. 657. A SIDE CANYON INTO THE GRAND CANYON, NATIONAL PARK, ARIZONA

In this list are several areas of great importance. Perhaps it will not be invidious to name the Grand Canyon first. By many judicious persons it is regarded as the most thrilling spectacle to be found amongst all the landscapes of the world. Its enormous scale, its stupendous mass effects and its glorious colourings combine to overwhelm the spectator. At the point where the canyon is most frequently visited it is thirteen miles wide and slightly more than one mile deep. The pictorial effect of this extraordinary landscape gains greatly from the dry, clear atmosphere of Arizona and from the altitude, which is from 7000 to 8000 feet. The Grand Canyon is notably versatile, and to be even partially appreciated, must be examined and explored at leisure, and must be seen at all hours of the day and night and at all seasons of the year. It is indeed an inexhaustible feast of its peculiar kind.

Just here a digression may offer a suggestion of some value. It would not be the whole story, but it would be a fair comparison to place the Grand Canyon beside Versailles, allowing one to represent the landscape architecture of America and the other to represent the landscape architecture of Europe. Each one is truly representative of a characteristic part of its country.

The Yellowstone Park is one of the oldest and most interesting. While it has many delightful landscape features—a noble lake, high mountains, a beautiful waterfall, much interesting wild life—the prime attraction is found in the wonderful exhibition of volcanic forces in action. There are great hot springs, mud volcanoes, and especially the famous collection of geysers. These spectacular sights attract hundreds of thousands of visitors annually.

Yosemite National Park in California preserves a very remarkable granite valley with several waterfalls of striking beauty, and many large trees. Glacier National Park is characterised by superb alpine scenery, including many glaciers, glacial lakes and streams. Zion National Park presents another deep and very beautiful canyon to the admiration of all lovers of the primitive landscape.

The Dominion of Canada has also set aside a number of national parks comparable in all respects with those of the United States. A brief summary of these parks is all that space will permit.

Rocky Mountain Park, in Alberta, was established in 1885 and has an area of 2751 sq. miles. Here is found some of the most famous alpine scenery on the continent, including the two noted alpine resorts, Banff and Lake Louise.

Yoho Park, in British Columbia, was established in 1886 with an area of 476 sq. miles. This park is characterised also by rugged mountain scenery.

Glacier Park, on the summit of the Selkirk Mountains in British Columbia, dates from 1886 and has an area of 468 sq. miles.

Revelstoke Park, also in British Columbia, has an area of 95 sq. miles and includes much accessible mountain country.

Kootenay Park, British Columbia, area 587 sq. miles, is notable for very wild mountains and unexplored country.

Jasper Park, in northern Alberta, established in 1907, is one of the largest and one of the most significant reservations on the North American continent. It has an area of 4400 sq. miles, or more than one-fourth the size of Switzerland. This region includes great ranges of mountains and much unexplored territory, and is called "the largest big-game sanctuary in the world."

Waterton Lakes Park lies in southern Alberta, adjoining the Glacier National Park of the United States, and has an area of 423 sq. miles.

St. Lawrence Island, in the Thousand Islands region of the St. Lawrence River, is a popular tourist section.

Buffalo Park, in Alberta, was dedicated in 1907 especially to assist in the preservation of the American bison, though large herds of moose, elk and other animals are maintained.

Other Canadian national parks, to a total of fifteen, are smaller and serve mainly to preserve points of historic interest.



FIG. 658. MOUNT HOOD, LOOKING ACROSS LOST LAKE, NATIONAL FOREST, OREGON

NATIONAL FORESTS

The picture of national scenic reservations would be seriously incomplete without the national forests. These are of vast extent, covering an area of nearly 250,000 sq. miles, or about double that of the British Isles. They include important mountain and forest lands in the eastern states, especially New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee, and a few important though relatively small areas in the middle states; but the great bulk are to be found in the Rocky Mountain regions, and thence westward to the Pacific Coast. Quite naturally they include much of the wildest and most inaccessible lands on the continent; and just as naturally do they include much beautiful scenery and picturesque country highly eligible for hunting, fishing, exploration and other hardy forms of recreation. In fact the number of persons entering upon these national forests for recreation, attracted thither by scenery, by hunting, by fishing and by other sports, already runs into many millions annually.

Some of these areas are nationally famous for health or recreation, as the White Mountains in New Hampshire, the whole of western North Carolina about Asheville, the Rocky Mountains, including Pike's Peak, near Denver, and Colorado Springs, Colo., and the high sierras from Mount Baker near the Canadian border through Washington and Oregon (including Mount Hood [Fig. 658]) and California to the Mexican boundary. Popular scenic objectives are found in many places, e.g. in Lake Chelan, Chelan National Forest, the Columbia River Highway and Mount Hood Loop, Oregon National Forest, and the Mount of the Holy Cross in Holy Cross National Forest. While these wide areas are administered primarily with reference to timber production, water conservation and grazing, some

supervision is also given to the highly valuable recreation uses. In particular is great care exercised not to impair the beauty of natural scenery, since this is generally held to be of great æsthetic, educational and social value to the nation.

As with parks, so with forests, Canada has placed herself in laudable competition with the United States. Correspondingly large areas of the notable forest lands of the Dominion have been reserved and are used for such immediate human needs as health, recreation and spiritual inspiration.

NATIONAL MONUMENTS

Another form of public holding which has considerable interest in this connection is found in the national monuments of the United States. These are relatively small areas, sometimes only a few acres, though two in Alaska extend to over 1000 sq. miles. They are set aside by Presidential order (as distinguished from the Congressional enactment required for the creation of national parks) and are administered by sundry federal officers. In general, each one preserves some historic monument, some prehistoric relic, or some feature of scientific interest. This may be illustrated by a few representative examples, selected from the catalogue of fifty-six monuments existing in 1927.

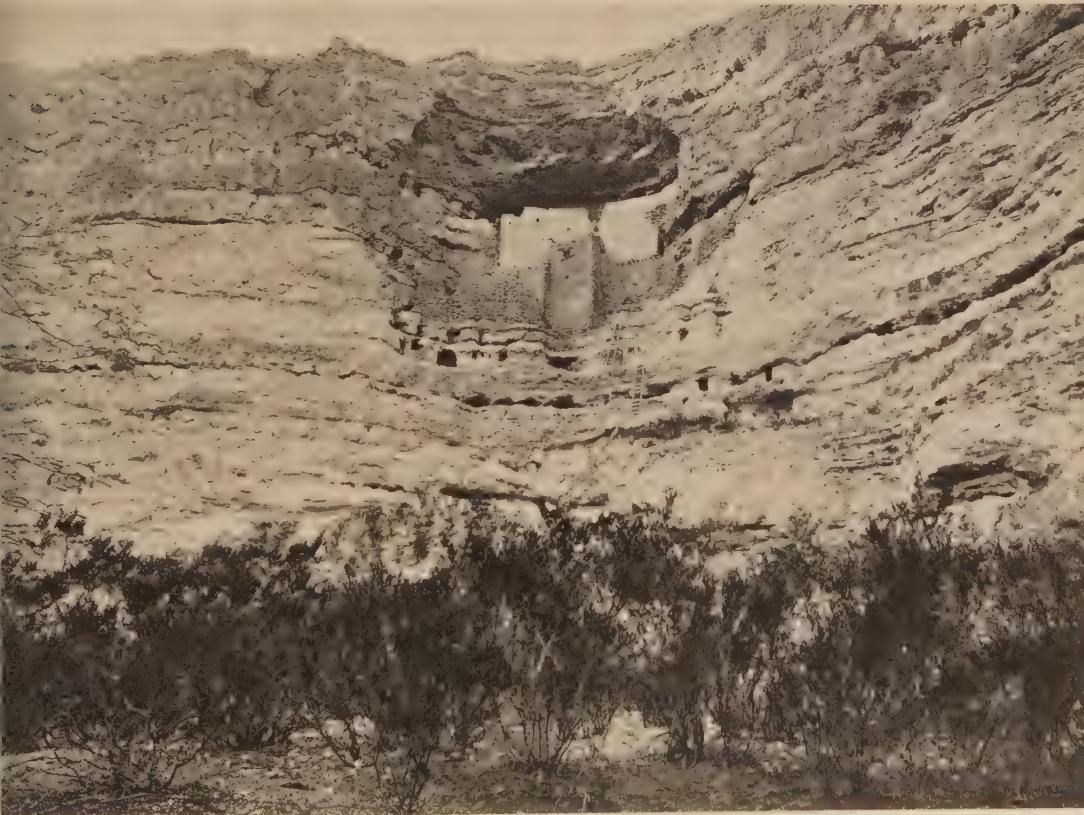


FIG. 659. CLIFF-DWELLING RUINS, NOW A NATIONAL MONUMENT, KNOWN AS MONTEZUMA CASTLE, ON BEAVER CREEK, BETWEEN THE COCONINO AND THE PRESCOTT NATIONAL FORESTS, ARIZONA

Montezuma Castle National Monument; Arizona; 160 acres. Prehistoric cliff-dweller ruin of unusual size situated in a niche in face of a vertical cliff. Of scenic and ethnological interest (Fig. 659).

Petrified Forest National Monument; Arizona; 25,625 acres. Abundance of petrified coniferous trees, one of which forms a small natural bridge. Is of great scientific interest.

Chaco Canyon National Monument; New Mexico; 20,629 acres. Many large pueblos

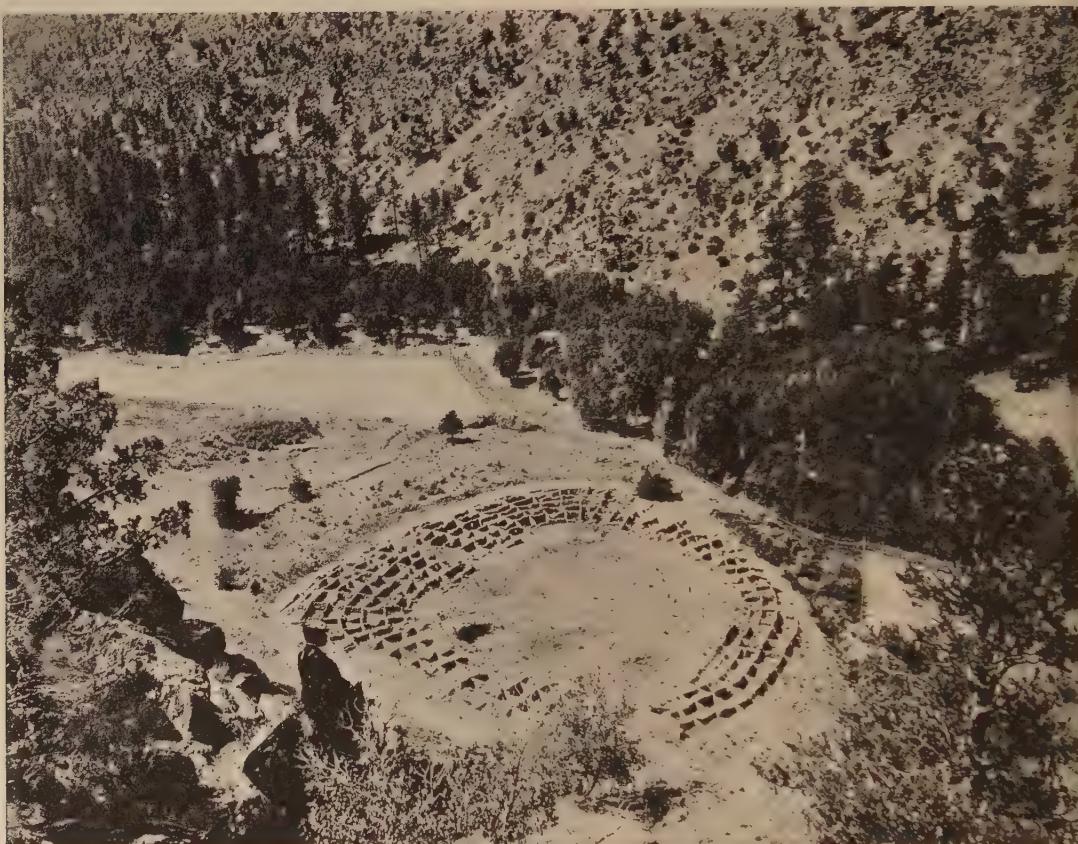


FIG. 660. AN OLD COMMUNITY DWELLING, EXCAVATED AND PRESERVED, BANDELIER NATIONAL MONUMENT, NEAR SANTA FÉ, NEW MEXICO

or communal houses, in good condition and of great interest. Considerable excavation done on several of the ruins.

Muir Woods National Monument; California; 426 acres. One of the most noted redwood groves in California; donated by Hon. William Kent, ex-Member of Congress. Located 7 miles from San Francisco.

Tumacacori National Monument; Arizona; 10 acres. Ruin of Franciscan mission dating from seventeenth century. Being restored by National Park Service.

Gran Quivira National Monument; New Mexico; 560 acres. One of the most important of earliest Spanish mission ruins in the south-west. Monument also contains pueblo ruins.

Dinosaur National Monument; Utah; 80 acres. Deposits of fossil remains of prehistoric animal life of great scientific interest.

Casa Grande National Monument; Arizona; 472 acres. These ruins are one of the most noteworthy relics of a prehistoric age and people within the limits of the United States. Discovered in ruined condition in 1694.

Katmai National Monument; Alaska; 1,087,990 acres. Wonderland of great scientific interest as example of volcanism on a scale of great magnitude. Includes "Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes."

Mount Olympus National Monument; Washington; 299,370 acres. Contains many objects of great and unusual scientific interest, including many glaciers. Is summer range and breeding-ground of the Olympic elk.

Bandelier National Monument; New Mexico; 22,075 acres. Vast number of cliff-dweller ruins, with artificial caves, stone sculpture, and other relics of prehistoric life (Fig. 660).

Bryce Canyon National Monument; Utah; 7440 acres. Box canyon filled with countless array of fantastically eroded pinnacles. Best exhibit of vivid colouring of earth's materials.

Some of these national monuments are of extraordinary interest or beauty. Bryce Canyon, for instance, is one of the most remarkable examples of erosion known, with brilliant colourings and modellings even surpassing those of the Grand Canyon, though on a smaller scale. The Petrified Forest in Arizona has great scientific interest. Yet these are named only as examples to illustrate the character and quality of the national monuments as a series.

STATE LANDS

All the lands mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs are held and administered by the Federal Governments of the United States and Canada; but practically all of the forty-eight states of the United States and most of the provinces of Canada also own and administer public lands for similar purposes. In the aggregate, these lands mount up to many millions of acres, and their utility is greatly enhanced by their wide distribution. As an example, the Palisades Interstate Park, a mountain-forest area near New York City, receives over ten million visitors a year. Many thousands of these are children who remain in the forest camps for considerable periods, and very substantial contributions are thus made to their health and education. These state lands are held mainly in three forms, as (1) state parks, (2) state forests, and (3) historic reservations. No clear distinction is evident between these three classes of reservations and they may be fairly grouped together for social study. There is, of course, a theoretical distinction to the effect that parks are reserved for scenery, forests for timber, and historic areas for their educational value; but in actual service these distinctions become so blurred as to have little authority.

Finally, it may be repeated that so much attention is here given to these public landscape reservations for several carefully considered reasons, viz.: (1) they appear to illustrate a characteristically American form of organisation in answer to (2) a vital American taste for wild landscape; and (3) this seems to be one of the very strongest tendencies visible in the field of American landscape architecture.

HOME GROUNDS

Quite obviously it is the American social ideal that each family should have an independent home; that this home should consist of a detached house in a plot of ground; and that this plot of ground should be suitably planted with trees, shrubs, flowers and grass. This was the ideal from the days of the first settlements, and it is even now hardly obscured by the fact that increasing percentages of the population are going over to live in flats and hotels. Such makeshifts are still regarded as temporary and as tolerable only



FIG. 661. HOME GROUNDS PLANTED IN THE DOWNING MANNER, WITH EMPHASIS ON INDIVIDUAL SPECIMENS

under compulsion of circumstances. In the extensive literature of American landscape gardening a strikingly large proportion of attention is given to the discussion of the problems of home-grounds design and planting. The subject, furthermore, has been presented nearly always from the standpoint of the small home (cottage garden), it being felt apparently that practically all the home grounds in the land were reducible to this one type.

At the outset, and for many years thereafter, the majority of home gardens were enclosed. There were first rough stockades; but soon the neat fence of sawn wooden pickets became the recognised mode. This fashion persisted for many years. Wood being plentiful and woodworking a universal industry, much ingenuity was shown in elaboration. Posts were elaborately turned, sawn or built up of wood, and surmounted by turned or carved capitals, often of quite artistic design. The pickets themselves were shaped and spaced in various ways to gain effects pleasing to the eye; and the fences were nearly

always neatly painted, white being the traditional colour. Naturally, also, the swinging gates in these picket fences received special attention, sometimes being real works of art.

The early colonial gardens enclosed by these fences were very simple. Nearly always they were made up of fruit-trees, kitchen vegetables and medicinal herbs, interspersed with flowering plants. Next the house and in the front yard, flowers and ornamental shrubs were grown. The lilac was an early favourite, as were roses, sweetbriars, hollyhocks, lemon lilies, and "flags" (iris). These front yards were narrow, seldom more than six to ten feet wide, though the larger houses were sometimes set farther back.



FIG. 662. FOUNDATION PLANTING ABOUT A TYPICAL WOODEN DWELLING ON A VILLAGE STREET—MODERN

Roughly speaking, the modern American taste for a wide set-back did not develop till after the Civil War (1865). Primarily these enclosures were made for protection against live stock running at large. As soon as pioneer conditions began to wane this necessity disappeared, and after a time the picket fences also disappeared. For although they were retained for a time on custom, there presently arose the counter style of having front yards all open to the street—a style which has ruled ever since. Correlated with this change was the movement of the dwelling-houses back farther from the street. The front yards thus became considerably larger at the same time that they became more open.

These front yards now began to be regarded as a major feature of the home grounds. They were large, open, democratic, and if they could be so dressed up as to be a bit showy, that quality was also in character. At the same time the English and German habit of living much in the garden was lost—indeed, seems never to have survived in America—and the demand for privacy, either in the front yard or in any other part of the garden,

diminished, or vanished altogether. Indeed, American landscape architects and laymen of taste have long lamented this lack of privacy in home gardens.

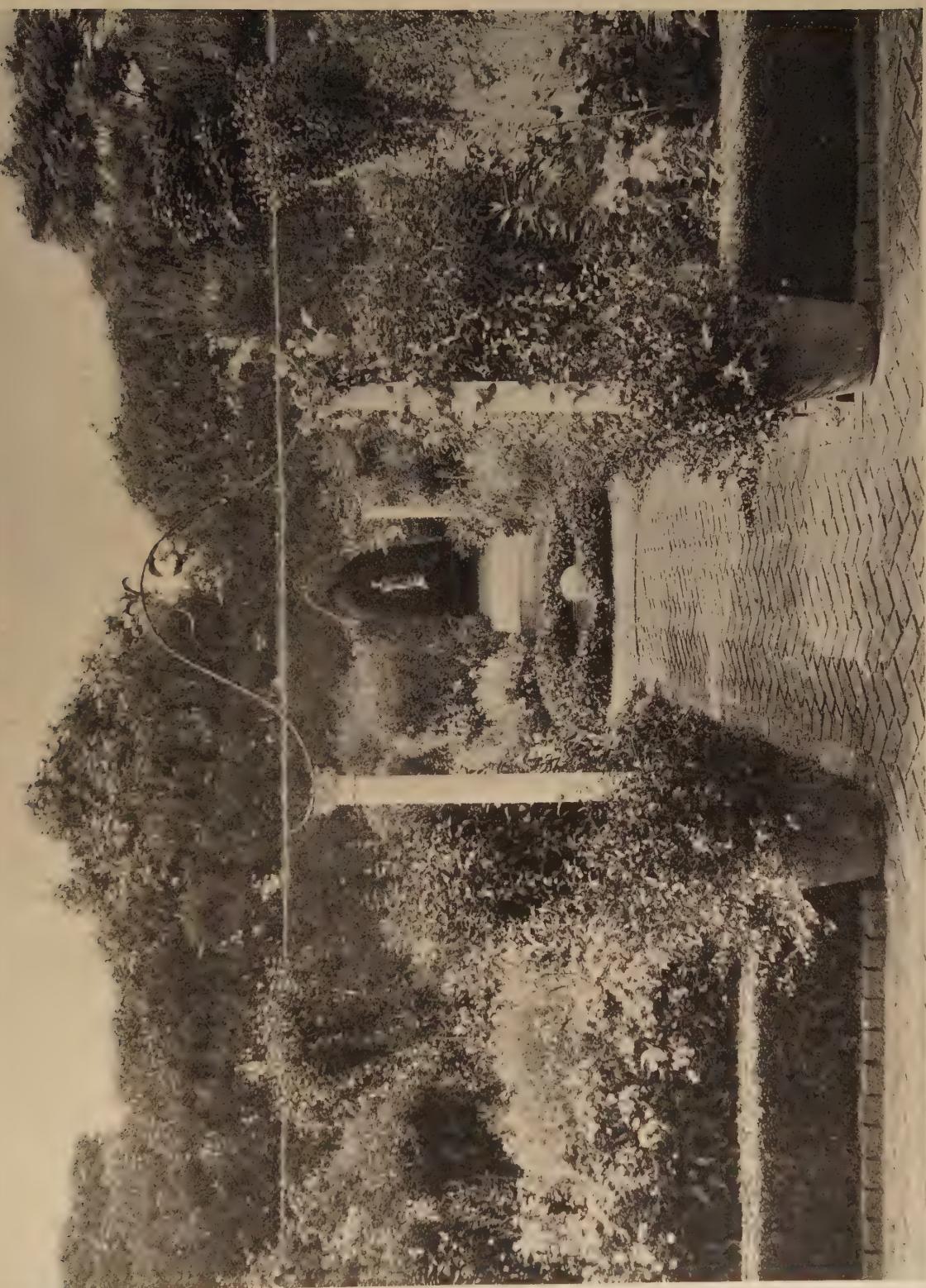
The best of these front yards, as treated by Downing and his disciples (1850 to the present time), have one or two large shade trees, possibly more. In the northern states elms and maples were preferred; in the southern states, live oaks and magnolias; though many other species were used here and there. It also became the custom, less praiseworthy, to plant one or two showy exotic "ornamental" trees on the front lawn. Copper beech, weeping birch and Camperdown elm were old favourites: in recent times blue



FIG. 663. WALK, GATEWAY AND BORDER OF PERENNIALS, WITH BACKGROUND OF TREES—TYPICAL OF HOME GARDENING IN THE NORTH-EASTERN STATES

spruce has outdistanced all competitors. Fine shrubs, often as single specimens, sometimes in beds or groups, were also employed (Fig. 661). Of these lilacs were common and pleasing. Spiræas, syringas (*philadelphus*), weigelas, and deutzias were also used. In later times *Hydrangea paniculata grandiflora* became very popular—perhaps even too common. In extensive grounds rhododendrons, azaleas and kalmias made their appearance. On small places of the poorer sort flower-beds were often cut into the front lawn and filled with geraniums, zinnias, coleus, cannas or what not. The canon demanded always some clipped grass in this front-yard area. With the house well set back from the street and published so blankly to the world, and especially with the concomitant custom of using high foundations, it became very desirable to develop the planting of shrubs and vines immediately against the dwelling and its porches. These "foundation plantings" have come to be quite the style—a recognised necessity of the present mode. They soften

FIG. 664. A SMALL MODERN GARDEN OF OLD-FASHIONED FLOWERS ON LONG ISLAND, NEW YORK



the break between house and lawn, cover bare foundations and greatly ameliorate the bareness of a design otherwise somewhat meagre. (See Fig. 662).

During the middle period (1850-90) there was a strong movement, powerfully influenced by the teachings of Downing, towards the so-called natural style of landscape gardening, accompanied by some prejudice against the formal style. This preference showed itself most clearly in the park design of the time, but also in the design of the larger home grounds. Walks and drives were curved, sometimes without good reason, while trees and shrubs were scattered in asymmetrical groups. Where the land surface was altered, pains were taken to secure rolling and blending conformations. Although at first odd and exotic trees and shrubs were introduced into these "natural" plantings, even by Downing him-



FIG. 665. MODERN GARDENS OF AN ARTIST'S STUDIO AT GLENDALE, MASSACHUSETTS

self, they latterly were largely excluded on the theory that only indigenous species were proper to the natural style.

Towards the close of this period, and towards the end of Olmsted's time (1890-1910), there were built a number of new country estates showing the emergence of other influences, largely European. They were built, of course, for wealthy families; and as these persons had travelled much in Europe they were naturally hospitable to French and Italian ideas. Some of the smaller French and Italian works were openly copied; but more generally there were enclosed parks and formal gardens in the Latin manner. Much of this work was tentative, some of it ill adapted to American conditions, some of it vulgar and bad. Yet the net result has been excellent, especially in that it has broken down old prejudices and established a catholicity of taste highly advantageous to modern landscape architecture.

Having rid itself of prejudices and preconceptions, the American garden-loving public has quite recently made substantial progress toward a better domestic garden art. Privacy is again considered a desirable quality. Simplicity, snugness and intimacy are sought. And with an increased tendency to live in the garden, a new mode of design has

been clearly developed. This is a genuinely native style of domestic design, although it bears a strong resemblance to the type of design used on small home grounds in England and Germany, where people of similar tastes have met the same needs in much the same way. In these modern home gardens the front yard is made small, severe, and simple. Clear separation is made between this public area and the service area and the private grounds—for now the desirability of strictly private gardens is generally recognised. All areas are kept small, not merely for the sake of economy, but also for the sake of intimacy. And since these areas are small, since they are necessarily rectangular, and since they are closely tied to the dwelling-house, quite the simplest thing is to give them formal treatment. This formality, however, is not elaborate. A single simple axis, suggested rather than defined, and terminated by such unpretentious figures as a bird-bath or a garden bench, gives the popular measure of formality. (See Figs. 664 and 665.)

Clipped trees or shrubs are not much used, and statuary of any sort is rare indeed. Enclosures are rarely made by masonry walls; they are usually formed by hedges, by vines on lattice screens, or by masses of informal plantings. Climbing vines on porches and on brick walls are popular. Flowers are grown in "old-fashioned gardens," simply formal, and in borders, or in reserve gardens. (See Fig. 663.)

CALIFORNIA

The fact has already been remarked that North America is too large and too diverse to be brought wholly under one point of view. While all regions have much in common, there are some important particulars for which exception should be made.

California is in many ways an empire to itself. Quite significant for the present study is the different character of the Californian climate, determining a horticulture very unlike that of the central states or the eastern seaboard. There is also to be considered the history of the state, for it was at first a Spanish province, a part of Mexico, and its early traditions were Spanish instead of English. As to climate, California shares with the entire Pacific coast the warming influence of the Japanese current, which so ameliorates the temperatures as to make Oregon, Washington and British Columbia much warmer than regions in the same latitudes on the Atlantic coast. The effects of this warming are most important in the winter season, making it possible to grow most species of plants far northward of their natural range. Thus palms, araucarias, eucalyptus and pepper-trees are characteristic of California horticulture, being grown freely as far north as Sacramento; while in Portland, Seattle and Victoria there are luxuriant gardens of hybrid tea-roses and other half-hardy plants which can be grown in the east only under special methods of protection. The climate of British Columbia, Washington and Oregon, in fact, may fairly be likened to that of England. And for a similar reason, for England, too, is warmed by the mild Gulf Stream which flows to her shores from the western ocean.

These similarities, however, seem to run deeper than the thermometer would indicate. There are doubtless other factors involved. Long ago the famous botanist, Asa Gray, pointed out the interesting fact that the flora of the Pacific Coast resembled that of western Europe more than the flora of eastern North America; while the flora of the eastern states is more like that of Japan and eastern Asia. This likeness, visible in the indigenous flora,



FIG. 666. THE INTERIOR GARDEN, SANTA BARBARA MISSION, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

extends to the artificial flora of horticulture. For example, the European grape, which thrives greatly in California, can hardly be grown at all in the eastern states. Thus it has come about that the horticulture and landscape gardening of the west coast have always had a more European cast than those of the east coast.

As to early history, it may be remarked briefly that the Spanish civilisation made a sufficient stand on Californian soil to leave a palpable mark and a considerable influence. But as these settlements did not extend northward beyond the boundaries of California, Oregon, Washington and British Columbia were wholly unaffected. The early Spanish settlements mentioned were those of the Franciscan missions. The first was established at San Diego by Father Junipero Serra in 1769. From this point the missionaries moved steadily northward, building missions every day's journey until a chain of these institutions, twenty-one in number, reached to the region about the Golden Gate where San Francisco now stands. Each one of these missions was an establishment of considerable proportions; some of them approached the dimensions of imperial colonies. Extensive buildings were erected, and large areas of land brought under cultivation. The work as a whole was prodigious and of a sort to fire the human imagination. Its romantic quality is certainly not dimmed for the present generation by being seen through the purple haze of one hundred and fifty years (Fig. 666).

The mission buildings were of substantial construction, built necessarily from materials found at hand, mainly brick (adobe or native sun-dried brick) and stucco. The mission fathers also invented a kind of tile for roofing. In design these buildings naturally followed Spanish models, though they were modified towards a greater simplicity and a certain crude though pleasing ruggedness hardly characteristic of their prototypes. The total result was indeed æsthetically quite satisfactory; and as many of these structures have been preserved up to the present time, they have become an authentic source of architectural inspiration. "The mission style of architecture" is generally admired, and has been successfully employed in many modern works, both public and private, in California and neighbouring states. In more recent times this "mission style" has been subjected to many dilutions, some of them acceptable, others less praiseworthy (Fig. 667).

Various strains of Spanish influence are blended in this modern architecture; mention is made of "Mexican," "Mediterranean" and "Argentine" styles, though they are not fairly recognisable as types. Under the general head of "Mediterranean" style there are demonstrable references to Italian and Moorish prototypes. Occasionally some fairly pure Italian Renaissance architecture is seen. Another type, still more curious though of much nearer origin, is taken from the Indian pueblos of south-western America. There is also found, endlessly multiplied, the so-called bungalow, though these small dwelling-houses hardly carry any reminiscence of India, where their name originated. They are snug, one-story houses, usually built of wood, with varied roof-lines.

The total effect of this modern California architecture is a kaleidoscope of oddities. The quieter examples of "mission style," and of Spanish and Italian inspiration, are altogether agreeable and are widely accepted as characteristic of California. This consideration of architecture is essential to an understanding of California landscape architecture, since the gardening receives its art impress primarily from the buildings. There has been much thought given, too, to the problem of making gardens which would give a proper atmosphere to the local types of architecture. One of the most fascinating problems in this



FIG. 667. MODERN ARCHITECTURE AND LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE IN CALIFORNIA, CONSIDERABLY INFLUENCED BY SPANISH IDEAS

field has been found in working out a "desert style" of gardening. For it must be remembered that large sections of California and of neighbouring states are arid owing to lack of rainfall. Yet many of these arid and semi-arid areas are inhabited by prosperous and home-loving Americans, who must have comfortable houses and who want gardens too. Now the native desert has in it many species of plants, some very interesting, some incontestably beautiful. These are impressed into the local gardening. To them are added xerophilous types (cacti, opuntias, cordylines, yuccas, etc.) from all over the world. The results are highly interesting from a horticultural point of view, and are sometimes artistically effective.

But the coming of the Franciscan missionaries brought more to California than Spanish forms of architecture. To the other side of landscape architecture they brought an equal contribution, that of horticulture. Father Junipero Serra himself planted seeds of the date palm as early as 1770, some of which grew and made fruitful trees. He and his followers also brought other palms, and all the fruits of southern Europe, the olive, the pomegranate, the fig, the lemon, the orange, the apple, the pear, the peach, and above all the wine grape. Because of the climatic affinity between California and Europe already remarked, these importations thrived. Most of them were soon acclimatised, and were widely propagated by the industrious missionaries. It is recorded that the mission of San Gabriel near Los Angeles had over 2000 fruit-trees at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and even to-day there is exhibited at this mission an ancient grape-vine dating back to those early times.

Each one of the twenty-one missions on Californian soil was an active centre of civilisation. Schools were maintained, industries and crafts were promoted, and the native Indians were educated and to a notable extent taught the European handicrafts and the practices of agriculture and horticulture. There were also a good many immigrants from Spain and Mexico, Spaniards of both high and low degree, who received grants of land upon which they developed ranches for the cultivation of fruits, vegetables and live stock. This was the condition of affairs in California in 1848, when the cession of that whole empire from Mexico to the United States was almost simultaneous with the discovery of gold. The gold rush of 1849 filled the country with Americans—men mainly of English descent—and changed California abruptly from a Spanish colony into an American state. The Spanish influence lingered faintly in speech, in law and in customs; but its principal contribution to modern California is seen in architecture and gardening, as already stated.

FLORIDA

Like California, Florida was at first a Spanish colony. In 1565 Menendez built a fort and established St. Augustine, the oldest city built by white men on the western continent. Yet the Spanish settlements in Florida never flourished, their fragile military posts soon decayed, and the permanent occupation of this subtropical peninsula was accomplished by English colonists of the same general stock as those who settled in Virginia and the Carolinas.

Florida presents physically somewhat the same picture as California, yet with important differences. It lies well southward, and it is warmed by tropical ocean currents. Palms and other subtropical plants flourish and give their character to the landscape.

Yet the two floras are not the same. The divergence between the two sides of the continent already described, though less noticeable than in the temperate zone, extends into the subtropics. European and Mediterranean plants generally prove more at home in California. The many species of eucalyptus, so freely acclimatised in California, are less often seen in Florida. And while California is characteristically rugged and mountainous, Florida is characteristically flat and swampy. In terms of modern horticulture, however, the two states are similar. Citrus fruits are grown in large commercial plantations, and early fruits and vegetables for northern markets are produced in large quantities. Amongst ornamental plants the same favourites are noticeable—abelias, Cape jasmine, coprosmas, escallonias, hibiscus, myrtles, and bougainvilleas.

Southern California and Florida have other striking similarities of a more superficial origin. Both are popular winter resorts and are much patronised by tourists. Both have been "developed" by real estate "booms." In both there have been enormous areas of land sold in small lots under more or less artistic subdivision. This has led to the construction of vast, and usually rather flimsy, residence colonies of persons having their homes and businesses elsewhere. But the subdivision of land, the erection of multitudinous new houses with considerable effort at garden embellishment, and the provision of public works, buildings, parks, etc., for the new colonies, have offered extraordinary opportunities to architects, engineers and landscape architects. There has been a great deal of experimenting, and some of the results are highly pleasing. At the time this record is made, however (1927), no Floridan style of gardening has emerged, and it can only be surmised that the future has much to reveal in this fascinating land.

LOUISIANA

One side of Florida fronts upon the Atlantic Ocean, the other on the Gulf of Mexico. The shore-line of this Mexican gulf is thousands of miles in extent and marks a region interesting throughout its whole length. In the American vernacular "the Gulf states" include Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, it being customary to disregard Florida in this grouping. This Gulf region then centres upon New Orleans, an old city with a foreign history and a foreign atmosphere tenaciously held. This region of New Orleans and the Gulf coast has much of the character of Florida. There is much low, marshy land, wide, slow rivers, heavy native jungle-like growth, and a subtropical flora.

The old gardens of New Orleans have been much admired, mainly for their magnolias, their gardenias and similar plants, and not for their strength of design or sumptuous furnishings. Audubon Park, a large public playground, has been famous especially for its fine live oaks hung with grey curtains of the epiphytic Spanish moss. This whole region, though less exploited than other southern countries, has great charm and contains much of interest.

THE CENTRAL PLAINS

While exceptions are being made, and a few special localities more critically defined than the general picture of American conditions, a word should be said of the great central plains region, known at home as "the Middle West." It might be known as the upper Mississippi valley except for the fact that it includes Chicago, and all the region lying about

Lake Michigan, Lake Huron and Lake Erie, which waters of course belong to the St. Lawrence and not to the "Father of Waters." This Middle West is a vast empire of fertile level land, now highly farmed with staple crops, especially cereals, and is also a large producer of meat, especially beef and pork. Several large cities and many of moderate size have grown up. The region is wealthy, and the people are strongly devoted to education and to all forms of culture. Especially are they given to the making of comfortable homes, so that here we have the fundamental conditions for the development of architecture and landscape architecture. Rather unfortunately, perhaps, no indigenous architecture has emerged. Homes are mainly built of wood in forms common to the states farther east. In quite recent times the California bungalow type has appeared in considerable numbers. Brick and stucco have also begun to take the place of wood for buildings of the better class. A few public buildings of merit have been designed, e.g. the state capitols at Lincoln and St. Paul.

In the field of landscape architecture there is much promise, with, as yet, somewhat meagre realisation. The native flora is varied and exceedingly beautiful. This statement holds true whether we regard the open, grassy plains approaching the Rocky Mountains or the more rolling prairies of Illinois and Indiana, where the grassy meadowlands are richly interspersed with woodland. Throughout the whole region the watercourses are generally marked with ribbons of tree and shrub growth. Along these borders one finds wild apples, plums, hawthorns, dogwoods, redbuds and dozens of other strikingly beautiful species. Thus the natural topography and the native flora are full of grateful suggestion to the landscape architect.

A few able men have been quick to seize upon these opportunities. Mr. Jens Jensen, landscape architect in Chicago, may perhaps be specially mentioned, without forgetting others. Mr. Jensen has been an uncompromising advocate of the native landscape and the native materials, and insistent upon the duty of developing here a native style of gardening. Many others, also, moved by a love for the vast level plains, have sought to preserve the spirit of that landscape in their park lands and in their home gardens. A "prairie style" of landscape architecture is indeed sometimes discussed. While this is still incompletely formed and by no means widely accepted, some of the principles which govern such a garden form may already be observed. For example, the very level character of the topography makes the straight horizon line especially conspicuous, and suggests that it be adopted in the design. The whole composition, architecture and planting, may be given a general horizontality, with just enough of vertical lines to supply needed contrast. The use of native plants is strongly recommended. The use of wind-breaks supplies a very practical desideratum, since the plains are swept by strong winds for considerable periods both winter and summer.

Shade is more in demand here than in the eastern states, and accordingly more deciduous trees are planted. The proportion of deciduous plantings is increased because in the middle states fewer evergreen species can be grown with full success. As lawn grasses are hard to maintain, especially in the drier zone westward, lawn areas are made smaller and are less emphasised in the design. The obvious need for shelters, like the English garden-houses and the German *gartenlaube*, has not yet been met. All conditions so strongly invite the populations of these middle states to more and better gardening that every lover of this gentle art may confidently look forward to great advances in the near future.

CANADA

Frequent references are made in this chapter, both in foregoing and in following pages, to conditions in Canada. General statements, unless explicitly qualified, apply to the North American continent, including Canada and the United States. Special mention was made in an earlier section of the national parks and forests of the Dominion. A brief special reference in this place may be permitted, therefore, to cover an important area.

Canada's northern position on the map has fixed the belief in many minds that it has an arctic climate, a limited horticulture and little opportunity for gardening. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The Canadian climate, especially in the more thickly settled portions of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario and the Western Provinces, is agreeable, and wholly suited both to horticultural pursuits and to the development of the highest type of civilisation. Since garden operations are determined by the summer season rather than by the winter, it may be pointed out that the Canadian summer, though shorter than the summer of Florida, is warm and highly adapted to the growing of all popular kinds of plants, including such fruits as the apple, pear, plum, and even the peach; all kinds of forest and ornamental trees; all hardy shrubs, roses, etc., and of course every popular genus of hardy perennials, such as peonies, irises, delphiniums, etc.

In the English sections of Canada the gardening tradition is strong, being derived direct from the mother country. In these sections good gardening has been promoted to a marked degree by local and provincial horticultural societies. These organisations have been much more active and effective, generally speaking, than in the United States. With respect to kinds of plants grown, however, or to types of design, whether in cottage gardens, large private estates or public parks, there is hardly an appreciable difference anywhere between Canadian practice and that of neighbouring states across the border.

Mention has already been made of Mount Royal Park at Montreal, designed by Frederick Law Olmsted, Senior, as illustrating the development of the park idea in America in the years from 1865 to 1900. Victoria Park at Niagara Falls belongs to the same era. It is a fine public park of 1600 acres on the Canadian side of the great falls and is under the control of the government of Ontario. The superlative scenic importance of the Niagara Falls makes this park unique. Though it was first conceived under the earlier theory as a reservation of purely natural scenery, it has latterly been developed in the modern manner with ample refectories and other facilities for the entertainment of tourists and recreationists.

Mount Randle and Echo Lake in Banff National Park (Fig. 668) make this noble park famous.

Perhaps the most effective example of municipal park-making in Canada is found quite fittingly at the capital city, where the Ottawa Improvement Commission (established 1899) has created a comprehensive modern park system of the best sort. As at present constituted, this system comprises Rockcliffe Park, Central Park, Strathcona Park, Nepean Point Park, Macdonald Gardens, National Park, Somerset Street Park, Russell House Park, and Bronson Park; also certain beautiful islands in the Rideau and the Ottawa Rivers; also a system of park driveways through the city. In addition to these areas, formally dedicated as parks, the controlling commission also holds and administers various smaller tracts, more or less completely developed.

This brief inventory of the parks of Ottawa gives a fair picture of modern tendencies



FIG. 668. MOUNT RUNDLE AND ECHO LAKE IN BANFF NATIONAL PARK, CANADA

as seen in most modern cities, both in Canada and the United States. But before dismissing finally the Canadian parks, mention should be made of a few others. Spring Gardens, in Halifax, Nova Scotia, have considerable historic interest and are highly cherished by the Nova Scotians. At Victoria, British Columbia, are the Butchart Gardens, especially famous as a rock-garden on a grand scale. Stanley Park, near the same city, is notable for its very large trees of Pacific Coast species. Further, the Central Experimental Farm at Ottawa deserves mention on account of its very influential position and the extensive work done there in testing and disseminating valuable trees, shrubs and flowers.

MUNICIPAL PLANNING

One of the most characteristic phases of American landscape architecture is found in municipal planning, i.e., in city planning, regional and country planning. Here is a field of professional activity which frankly requires highly technical work in architecture, engineering, traffic regulation, sanitation, social service and other lines, yet the field has been aggressively occupied by the American landscape architects. A large number of men in the profession, perhaps a majority, style themselves "landscape architects and city planners." Obviously this position could not be taken, and certainly could not be held, unless the profession were well organised and sure of its ground—unless, in short, it were made up of well-trained and competent men.

City planning doubtless received its first effective impulse in America from landscape architecture. Though L'Enfant was an engineer, and though his plan for Washington was always held in high esteem, the real urge towards general planning came as a part of the park movement already described. Downing, Olmsted and the other men associated with them all saw beyond the parks which they were then planning and spoke cogently of the need of applying better æsthetics to the entire physical community.

When this park movement was at its zenith came the World's Fair in 1893. This proved to be the beginning of a far-reaching revolution in American affairs. For the first time engineers, architects and landscape architects co-operated on a large scale to produce a unified result. The Fair Grounds were a revelation to America. The cities and towns of that day were mere aggregations of poor architecture in which individualism had run wild. The effort of each builder was often given to producing something totally different from his neighbours. Architectural freaks and monstrosities flamed on every horizon. Yet here at the World's Fair were unity, harmony, order, beauty, and withal practical convenience. The buildings were placed in connected groupings, they were embellished with significant sculpture, there were graceful bridges, and there was good landscape architecture shown in broad sheets of water, stretches of lawn, and plantings of trees. Every honest citizen gazed in wonder and immediately asked himself why his own home town could not adopt the same principle of methodical planning. The country was ready for the lesson, and the influence of this one demonstration was incalculable.

The first efforts to realise in local communities the dream of the World's Fair were not altogether successful. They were conceived on too narrow a basis. Attempts were for the most part directed to a rather superficial "beautification" of cities. More than one ambitious community launched a hopeful campaign for a "city beautiful," only to find that early enthusiasm presently faded before a paucity of permanent results. It was soon

seen, therefore, that many other factors, especially convenience of business and health of citizens, must be combined with æsthetic improvement. It was seen, further, that this necessity greatly complicated all problems, so that long and thorough study would be indispensable if plans were to prosper. From another quarter also came a strong impetus towards city planning. This lay in the strong altruistic forces promoting housing reform. Tenement house life in the rapidly-growing cities was found to be unsanitary and immoral in a marked degree. The public-spirited men and women working for better conditions soon saw that the remedy must include far-sighted planning, not alone for better tenement houses, but for better streets, parks, transport and public service. Thus their objective was soon merged with that of the city planners.

Meanwhile, the architects, engineers and landscape architects, freshly inspired by the success of their work at Chicago, went forward with redoubled efforts. Architecture, in particular, which had suffered a severe lapse of taste in the years immediately preceding this period, began to show signs of a great revival. Public buildings of better and better design came into being and domestic architecture improved. On their part the city engineers, the builders of streets and of bridges, strove to do better work, both in quality of construction and in external appearance. Called forth by the public demand, the city planners, recruited largely from the ranks of the best-trained landscape architects, now entered upon the scene. The plans of Washington were re-studied (1900) by such eminent talent as Daniel H. Burnham, architect and leading spirit of the World's Fair; Augustus Saint Gaudens, sculptor; Charles F. McKim, noted architect; and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jun., landscape architect. Studies were instituted for a new plan for Chicago. Mr. George E. Kessler, landscape architect, made notable improvements in Kansas City. Many other cities developed plans, some thoroughgoing and useful, others superficial and transitory. Necessarily first essays were tentative and less fundamental than later plans. But the inexorable necessity for planning was now generally recognised.

Conditions in America at this time (1900-17) greatly favoured the city-planning movement. Many cities were growing rapidly both in population and prosperity. Large areas of farm lands were being converted into city property. The processes of industrialisation were in full swing. There was a strong spirit of emulation between cities. Then came the World War. There were immediate and serious dislocations of industry. New industrial centres had to be developed overnight. The city planners were mobilised, the United States Housing Corporation was organised, a large number of new towns and new suburbs were planned, and a few of them were constructed before the armistice of 11 November, 1918, put an end to war activities. But the demonstration of what could be done by intensive planning was impressive. The work of this period was characterised especially by the fruitful co-operation of architects, engineers, landscape architects and "realtors" (professional real estate dealers).

Since the war closed some American cities at least have continued their phenomenal growth, and new problems in city planning have been met with fresh knowledge and zeal. Some noteworthy industrial residence suburbs have been constructed. A good example is seen in Mariemont, a residence suburb of Cincinnati, planned by Dr. John Nolen. Another striking example may be seen in Palos Verdes, a residence and resort suburb on quite broad and rural lines, planned by Olmsted Brothers and lying on the hills next the Pacific Ocean near Los Angeles. This post-war period has also witnessed an extra-

ordinary sweep of land speculation, touching many localities, but most fervent in southern California and Florida. The customary practice has been to subdivide large tracts of open country and sell the parcels as town lots, as small farms, or in any size between. Here the profession of municipal planning has had ample exercise. One brief comment will cover the entire case, viz. as might have been foreseen, some of this planning was admirably done, more of it was of very moderate merit, and some of it was jerry-planning of the shabbiest sort.

The war emergency also brought to the fore the idea of "regional planning." It was soon found that no municipality exists apart from its neighbours. Both communities and industries overlap. Any main thoroughfare, for example, runs from one city to another and must be planned with reference to mutual demands. Some cities are satellites, while others are pivotal. Fundamental planning problems are regional because populations and industries and commerce are regional. The study of these broader relationships, involving several municipalities at once, has come to be known as regional planning. It is manifestly more difficult to accomplish practical results on this large scale than on smaller areas; but the American genius for organisation and co-operation promises to overcome such obstacles and eventually to justify the serious attention given by the experts to regional problems.

Meanwhile a few persons had begun to talk of country planning, and the American Civic Association in its annual conference of 1915 had specialised on this topic. Again in 1921 the annual conference was devoted exclusively to country planning. It was conceived that the rural districts have a physical form of their own, quite different from the physical frame of the cities; that these differences of form and function imply different lines of growth, different planning—an understanding of a different category of causes and effects. And as rural interests in the United States and Canada are well organised under strong leadership, this idea has not remained fallow. There has been active work in the improvement of rural highways, much study given to rural schools, an extensive dedication of country parks and forests, and renewed study of the economics of farm-land subdivision.

Ambitious proposals have been made from time to time for carrying this planning conquest still farther, that is, for planning whole states and even the whole nation. Mr. Cyrus Kehr's recent book on *Nation Planning* expounds the idea on its theoretical side. But while there has been much real planning of national highways, national railways, national waterways, national parks, national forests, etc., it can hardly be claimed that as yet much has been done in unified study of national problems. Still less has been done by individual states. The emergence of such ideas, however, and their eager public discussion, give evidence of the extent to which the planning idea has captured the American mind.

LITERATURE

Landscape architecture in North America has a large, varied and worthy literature. As in any other extensive bibliography, there is, of course, much rubbish and much of only passing interest. However, there is also much of indubitable and permanent value.

In literature, as in practice, American landscape architecture grew out of horticulture. Any search for beginnings, therefore, must be made in the horticultural field. The English colonists brought over the English books of the time (middle of the seventeenth century),

and though there never were many of these works in circulation they were accepted as authoritative. This fact is best measured in the notable extent to which they were quoted in the early books written in the New World.

The earliest instructions on gardening printed in America were those found in the more or less periodical (often annual) calendars or almanacs. These were numerous and widely circulated. (*Vide L. H. Bailey, Cyclopædia of American Horticulture, 3: 1521. 1915.*) The first garden book was probably Robert Squibb's *The Gardener's Kalender for South Carolina and North Carolina*, published in Charleston in 1787. Next in order was an American edition of an English work, Marshall's *Introduction to the Knowledge and Practice of Gardening*, published in Boston in 1799. In 1804 appeared another purely American work, though with many quotations from English sources, *The American Gardener*, by John Gardiner and David Hepburn, and printed in Washington. Bernard M'Mahon's *American Gardener's Calendar* was published in Philadelphia in 1806 and marked a notable advance. It was the work of an able man, was well written, and had a large circulation.

Passing over many interesting works, and ignoring those devoted primarily to fruit-growing or kitchen-gardening, a pause should be made to note the works of Peter Henderson. Henderson was a Scotchman, born near Edinburgh in 1822, who came to America in 1843 and who set up in business for himself in Jersey City in 1847 on a capital of \$500, savings from his own small wages. He founded a famous seed and nursery firm, wrote several valuable books, and generally made a notable contribution to American horticulture. His first book, *Gardening for Profit* (1867), wellnigh pointed a revolution in American horticultural literature; for though Henderson was born and trained in Scotland, his book was intensely American, being derived strictly from experience under American conditions. It marked the final triumph of indigenous experience over foreign authority. It had a very wide sale. It was followed by other books on various branches of gardening, all of which proved popular.

In many of these early books on gardening were observations on the æsthetic aspects of the subject, or more specifically on garden design. But the American literature of this subject must be dated always from 1841, when there appeared the notable work on *Landscape Gardening* by Andrew Jackson Downing. This had an enormous vogue, and easily did more than any other printed work to form American ideals. It is much read and admired even to the present day, being still in the hands of the original publishers and now on sale in a tenth edition. Since 1841 there have been published hundreds of books in this field, but it would be invidious to mention particular titles, and a complete bibliography is obviously out of the question.

Periodicals of many sorts have had their place also in the development of American gardening. According to Bailey (*Cyclopædia of American Horticulture*), the first journal to devote any appreciable space to horticultural matters was the *New England Farmer*, published in Boston from 1822. The *Floral Magazine* was established in Philadelphia in 1832 and ran for some years. The *Horticultrist* was established in Albany in 1832 and had an influential career. The first seven volumes appeared under the editorship of Andrew Jackson Downing, and as a matter of course contained much important matter on gardening and on what is now called landscape architecture. Indeed some of the most notable portions of Downing's great work appeared in this magazine. From 1888 to 1897

there appeared weekly from New York the numbers of *Garden and Forest*, Dr. Charles Sprague Sargent, managing editor. This magazine devoted a large part of its space to landscape architecture during a critical and formative period; its work was of very high quality and its influence incalculable. In 1910 was established the quarterly magazine *Landscape Architecture*, the official organ of the American Society of Landscape Architects, and devoted exclusively to this special field. Several other excellent journals now current present various aspects of gardening, nursery practice, fruit-growing, forestry and general horticulture.

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

Landscape architecture in the United States shows one unique feature in the highly organised system of professional education now developed. The point which may be most conveniently marked as a beginning for this movement was the opening of a professional course at Harvard University in 1900. Other courses of a similar character were offered soon after in Massachusetts Agricultural College, Cornell University, and Illinois University, with still other institutions making a beginning from year to year. It would be an impossible task, and a needless one, to fix an exact chronology of these events. In many instances the initial work was quite unpretentious. Instruction in gardening, into which some elementary ideas of landscape gardening were introduced, was characteristic of the times and was to be found in almost every agricultural college (of which there are approximately fifty) in the country. Quite naturally some of these institutions found the demand stronger and their facilities better than others, and in such circumstances the courses grew. In brief, the teaching of landscape architecture nearly always began (under the name of landscape gardening) as a very modest development in horticulture. Wherever it received support and encouragement it developed, sometimes rapidly, by the steady addition of course after course, progress being towards higher academic standards, towards more professional quality and towards a broader foundation of engineering, architecture and general art training.

As a result of these developments there is found at the present time (1927) a well-developed system of instruction in landscape architecture, notably standardised, after the American manner. This system is distinctively of a university character. With only two or three exceptions, the courses are organised in colleges or universities, including many of the largest and most famous. In those exceptional cases where the work is given in a separate special school, it still follows closely the same pattern and conforms to the same standards. With considerable uniformity, therefore, this professional instruction in landscape architecture is standardised upon the regular college curriculum, which is almost invariably a course of four years beyond the completion of high school.

These college courses lead always to the degrees of Bachelor of Arts or of Bachelor of Science, though graduates in landscape architecture nearly always (quite paradoxically) receive the latter. During his four years in college the budding landscape architect is expected to receive, in addition to his professional training, a rather substantial education in general subjects such as languages, literature, history, and science, including economics and social sciences. By custom, the specialised professional courses are pressed mainly towards the end of this four-year curriculum. The professional studies generally include extended problems in the design of private grounds and public parks, in city planning

and land subdivision, and in the construction of landscape work; also other courses, as extended as time will permit, in plants, mathematics, surveying and engineering, and architecture.

Instruction in these professional courses is nearly always given by means of lectures combined with laboratory and drafting-room study upon problems, with a strong tendency to emphasise the latter. Field studies and visits to public and private places of interest are also considered important. Many schools further lay stress upon the need for a considerable period of apprenticeship with established landscape architects after graduation from college. No very elaborate equipment is required for this instruction, and most of the colleges seriously attempting professional courses are well supplied with the needful libraries, class-rooms, drafting-rooms and gardens.

As in every other branch of formal education, however, more depends on the teacher than upon all other things combined. In those colleges where professional landscape architecture is emphasised the staff for strictly technical instruction usually numbers from three to six men (or men and women). Some of these are known to be teachers of marked ability; a number have gained national repute in this field. American university practice, however, strongly suggests still higher standards than those fixed by the four-year college course and the baccalaureate degree. The learned professions and many of the technical industries are taught by preference in graduate schools. Such schools require the baccalaureate degree for admission, their curricula extending for two, three or four years beyond the general college course. Throughout the fraternity of landscape architects, and especially in academic circles, there is a manifest desire to place instruction in landscape architecture upon this higher plane. The one outstanding example of such a programme is to be found in the School of Landscape Architecture at Harvard University, which is a graduate school exclusively. Here the course normally covers a period of three years. The work is highly specialised and professionalised, and an option is offered between landscape architecture and city planning.

Several other universities offer graduate courses in extension of their undergraduate curricula, but, generally speaking, these have not as yet been largely developed. The completion of such graduate courses, at Harvard University or elsewhere, usually earns for the successful student the degree of Master of Landscape Architecture.

PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS

Commentators on American life have often pointed out the boundless tendency of Americans towards organisation. Societies for every purpose are formed everywhere. Many of these, of course, come to nothing; others enrol large memberships and exercise vast influences on a national scale. Americans are accustomed to operating through such societies and readily assign to them important functions.

The field of landscape architecture is no exception. As soon as there came to be any considerable number of landscape architects gaining their livelihood from the exercise of this profession, the American habit of organisation, operating in view of their common interests, brought them together, and the American Society of Landscape Architects was the result. The initial organisation was made in the year 1899 and the society was incor-

porated and made really national in its scope in 1916. Since that time it has gradually enrolled a large proportion of the men and women landscape architects of America. Naturally the efforts of this society have been turned first to the practical business interests of its members. Business methods, policies and ethics have been discussed, and to some extent standardised. But the society has also exercised a substantial public influence in such matters as national parks, state parks, war memorials, city-planning law and practice, and the promotion of art education in general.

From time to time there have been sundry horticultural organisations which have exercised some influence in gardening matters. The American Pomological Society (organised in 1848) deserves first mention. From the beginning this society gave most of its attention to fruit-growing, and with the increasing specialisation of later years passed over entirely into that field. Then came the Society of American Florists and Ornamental Horticulturists (organised 1883) which has had a lively interest in gardening, especially on its commercial side, and which has always included in its membership many eminent leaders in horticulture.

The more recent Garden Club of America (organised 1913) is made up of a large number of local women's garden clubs. The members are mainly women who own gardens and who are intensely interested as amateurs. This federation issues a monthly bulletin and other publications, and is a highly significant organisation. There have been, and still are, many other horticultural societies in the field, some of them of long record and honourable achievement, such as the Massachusetts Horticultural Society (organised 1829) and the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society (organised 1838); but on the whole this form of effort has been less effective in directing taste in landscape architecture than the other agencies mentioned. In the field of horticulture, more narrowly defined, their service has been of great value.

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